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THE
HISTORIES OF TACITUS

WITH
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND AN INDEX

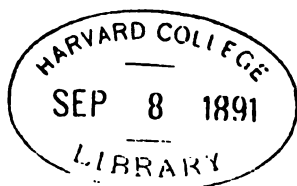
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THE REV. W. A. SPOONER, M.A.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD


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PREFACE

THERE are, curiously enough, but few English editions of the *Histories of Tacitus*. The translations of this work are numerous, and several of them excellent ; but almost the only complete English commentary on the *Histories* is that of Mr. A. J. Valpy, which, however, scarcely professes to be more than a reproduction of the notes of the French editor Brôtier. There seemed, therefore, room for a more complete English edition of this masterpiece of Tacitus than any which had yet appeared. Had I, when I commenced the work, known that an edition by Mr. Furneaux might ultimately be looked for, I should not have ventured to undertake it, feeling how unequal to his are my qualifications for the task. Now, I have only to express the great obligations I am under to his careful and scholarly edition of the earlier books of the *Annals*, and the admiration I entertain for it. Since this work was in the Press there has appeared the second part of a school edition of the *Histories*, by Mr. A. D. Godley, based mainly on the German edition of Heraeus, the notes of which are a model of terseness and clearness.

At the outset of my labours I had hoped to have had the assistance in them of my friend and quondam colleague, the Rev. W. F. Short, who would have brought to the task a taste and scholarship to which I cannot lay claim ; circumstances have, however, rendered it impossible for him to give me his assistance, and so I have had to labour on alone. In the notes

of previous foreign editors from Lipsius downwards I have found abundant help, and my task has often been more that of selection and arrangement than of original work. In every case, however, I have tried to exercise to the best of my ability an independent judgment. To the editors whose works I have chiefly consulted I have expressed my obligation in the chapter on previous editions of the *Histories*. I would only repeat here what I have said there, that the present work could never have been undertaken but for the help given by Ruperti and Ritter, Orelli and Dr. Karl Heraeus. The text I have followed has been that of Orelli (in the two earlier books his text as revised by Meiser, in the three latter books the unrevised text of the edition of 1848), and I have only ventured to depart from it in a very few instances. Besides these works of the commentators I have also consulted with advantage on several points the admirable *Lexicon Taciteum* of A. Gerber and A. Greef.

Of works not directly bearing on the *Histories* I have found most help in the introductions to Mr. Furneaux's edition of the *Annals*, which I have consulted on many points, Madvig's *Latin Grammar*, Mommsen's *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (to which I am mainly indebted for one of my introductory chapters), Dean Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, and Professor Teuffel's *History of Roman Literature*. Those whose wants I have had principally in mind in the construction of the Commentary have been students at the universities and boys in the higher forms of our public schools. For the latter the Commentary may be thought somewhat fuller and lengthier than is needed. But I cannot but feel that scholarship in England is suffering from the prevalence and general use of what are called school editions of classical authors, the object of which seems to be to boil down into the notes all the information which is considered necessary to enable the boy to understand the text of his author, and not a word more. No doubt the use of such manuals will enable a student to produce the most satisfactory examination-papers on the subject, but it does nothing to stimulate curiosity, to excite interest, to encour-

age inquiry, to call out judgment and intelligence, and so it fails as an instrument of education. Of the many imperfections in my own Commentary, the superfluities on some points, the shortcomings on others, I am deeply conscious; but I have tried to put into the notes whatever seemed to me really illustrative of the subject, and to indicate as far as I could (for Tacitus's language is sometimes a riddle) the author's actual meaning. The work has been a labour of love, for I value Tacitus alike for his wit and for his wisdom; for the true things he says and the matchless way in which he says them. In the introductory chapters I have attempted to discuss the questions of greatest importance arising out of or connected with the *Histories*. I hope they may add something to the interest of the book and to the right understanding of the history.

In conclusion, I have only to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to my friends and colleagues, Mr. P. E. Matheson and Mr. A. H. Cruickshank, for the help they have given me by revising the proof-sheets; and also to express my hearty thanks to my printers, Messrs. R. and R. Clark, of Edinburgh, for many valuable corrections and hints which they and their readers have furnished while the work has been passing through the Press.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,

December 1890.



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CORNELII TACITI HISTORIAE

4. Codex Budensis was written at the end of the fifteenth century for Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, from a more ancient MS. at Florence. From him it went to Vladislaus the Second, who gave it to Spiegel, amanuensis to Maximilian; Spiegel in turn presented it to Rhenanus. To it Rhenanus attached much value, but Lipsius, who also examined it, considered it of comparatively little worth. There was another MS. also made for Matthias Corvinus, called Sambuci or Vindobonensis, still at Vienna. It agrees generally with the first Vatican MS., and still more closely with Spira's original edition, indeed so closely that Spira must have used either this MS. or the original from which it is taken.

5. Codex Guelferbytanus, so called from the library of Wolfenbüttel, near Brunswick, where it is at present. It was written in Italy after the middle of the fifteenth century. It contains much curious orthography, but agrees in its text generally with the two Oxford MSS.

6. There is a Parisian MS. (sometimes called Codex Regius), which dates from the latter part of the fifteenth century. Its text agrees very closely with the edition of De Spira.

7, 8. To this same period belong two Oxford MSS., one in the Bodleian, the other in Jesus College Library, first collated by J. F. Gronovius. Both these are dated; the first at the end having the same subscription as the third Vatican quoted above, the latter at H. iii. 34, where this note is added, "Hodie autem ab ortu Creatoris sunt anni MCCCCLVIII."

All these, however (except, perhaps, the two first Vatican, for which Lipsius was inclined to claim original authority, and a Spanish MS. which he equally highly prized), are of secondary importance. They seem, as already stated, to be all copies of the Medicean, and almost their only value is that they have enabled the critics in some instances to correct the mistakes into which individuals among them have fallen, and to restore in a few cases a reading which has been obliterated in the Medicean itself.

Tacitus was one of the earliest classical authors to command the attention of scholars at the revival of learning in the fifteenth century. This was natural. It was as models of style that the works of the ancients were at that time most eagerly studied, and such a master of style as Tacitus was not likely long to escape notice. Accordingly we find a whole series of editions of Tacitus appearing in Italy before the close of the fifteenth century. The earliest of these editions was published at Venice in 1468 A.D. It appeared without date or place of publication, but had instead the following lines appended:—

FINIS DEO LAUS.

Caesareos mores scribit Cornelius; esto
Iste tibi codex; Historie Pater est,
Insigni quem laude feret gens postera; pressit
Spira premens: artis gloria prima suae.

The last line gives the clue alike to author and date. John and Vendelinus de Spira published at Venice in 1469 a splendid edition of Pliny. That the Tacitus also was their work the last line demonstrates, and the edition of Tacitus being described as "artis gloria prima suae" must have come out before the Pliny; therefore not later than 1468. In this edition the *Agricola*, as well as the first six books of the *Annals* (which had not yet been discovered), were wanting. The text agrees so closely with that found in the Codex Sambuci, both edition and text ending with the words "magnitudine potiore" in c. 23 of Book V, *i.e.* three chapters earlier than most of the other MSS., that it seems almost certain that both MS. and edition were based on the same original.

The next edition was published at Milan some ten years later. Its editor was one Franciscus Puteolanus, a professor of oratory of note in that city. Puteolanus was a fervent admirer of Tacitus, and describes him as the Prince of Historians, "the skill of whose language was only surpassed by the pungency and truthfulness of the thoughts to which it gave expression." It was the enthusiasm aroused by his eloquent elogium of our author which led to that more diligent search for his writings, which resulted in the discovery of the first Medicean MS. in the monastery of Fulda in Hesse Cassel, or of Cörvey in Westphalia. The task of publishing this new-found treasure was entrusted by Leo X to Philippus Beroaldus, head of the Academia Romana at Rome, whose edition of Tacitus, including the first six books of the *Annals*, appeared in the year 1515.

The earliest non-Italian edition was published by Beatus Rhenanus at Bâle in 1519, and a second edition appeared in 1533. Rhenanus based his original edition mainly on the edition of Beroaldus, his second edition, as we have already said, on a recension of the Codex Budensis.

Rhenanus's editions were, however, soon surpassed in fame by those which the Belgian Lipsius published in rapid succession between 1574 and the close of the century. Lipsius, called by his contemporaries *Sospitator Taciti*, made use of a far more complete *apparatus criticus* than any of his predecessors. He collated, as he tells us in his preface to his fourth edition, the two Vatican MSS., the Codex Farnesianus, a Codex Covarruviae, notes on which he got taken for him in Spain, and various other MSS. Being a man of sound sense, of great learning, and an enthusiastic student of Tacitus, his notes and critical emendations have a permanent value, and have been drawn upon by almost all later editors.

Nearly contemporary with Lipsius was Pichena. His first edition appeared at Frankfort in 1607, a second in 1619. Pichena founded his text mainly on a fresh recension of the Medicean, which he often corrected most ingeniously in places where it was obviously in error. A great number of his corrections of the Medicean text have approved

themselves to later editors, and there is probably no single editor except Lipsius who has done so much as Pichena to place the text of Tacitus in a satisfactory and intelligible condition.

Not much later than Pichena's edition was the first important English work on Tacitus. Sir Henry Savile published in 1612 a translation of the whole of the extant books of the *Annals*, together with the *Germany*; and in a second volume the first four books of the *Histories* and the *Life of Agricola*. This second volume he quaintly entitled *The end of Nero and the beginning of Galba: Foure Books of the Histories and the Agricola of Cornelius Tacitus*. The first part of the title was due to the fact that he introduced by way of preface to the translation of the *Histories* an account of the rising of Vindex, the proclamation of Galba, and the death of Nero, taken mainly from the works of Dio and Suetonius. At the end of each chapter in the *Histories* he has added notes, mainly antiquarian and historical, showing constantly a wide learning and much ingenuity. The translation, composed in the racy English of his time, is generally free and readable, though not always exact in point of scholarship.

In the course of the seventeenth century there appeared a variety of works on Tacitus, mainly by Dutch and French scholars. Perhaps the most noteworthy editions are those of J. F. Gronovius, published at Leyden in 1672 (this was re-edited and republished by his sons some years later); and that of Ryckius, also published at Leyden in 1687. Gronovius, for the purposes of his edition, collated the two Oxford MSS., which seem hitherto to have escaped the notice of scholars, while Ryckius largely drew upon a Codex of Rudolphus Agricola.

During the course of the eighteenth century two fresh English translations of Tacitus saw the light. The first was by various hands, Dryden being the most important contributor to it; the second by T. Gordon, a friend and contemporary of Sir Robert Walpole, to whom the work was dedicated. Gordon supplemented his translation by a series of political essays, suggested more or less by Tacitus's writings, which contained a good deal of the Whig doctrine fashionable at the time. Indeed it was for the sake of his supposed Whig philosophy that Gordon seems to have been principally attracted to Tacitus. Gordon's translation is somewhat cumbrous and involved, but generally accurate.

The earliest annotated English edition of which I am able to find a record was by Homer, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, published in London in 1790. Homer's edition is mainly critical, but it contains also a very full index of Tacitean words and phrases, completed after his death by his two brothers. The next English edition was Valpy's, which appeared in 1834. Valpy's, however, does not profess to be an original work, but is merely a translation, as far as the notes are concerned, of the work of the French scholar Brotier, published in Paris in 1771. This edition of Brotier, besides containing a copious *apparatus criticus*, has many geographical and antiquarian

notes of value, but is overladen by the amount of the material he has thought it necessary to introduce. It is singular that while the English translations of the *Histories* have been so many—and Messrs. Church and Brodribb have in our own days added another excellent one to their number—so little has been done by English scholars for the emendation or the elucidation of the text.

It remains to mention four editions of foreign scholars, all noteworthy in different ways, to the three last of which the present editor is under the greatest possible obligation. Ernesti in his edition, published at Leipzig in 1752, condensed the notes of Lipsius and Gronovius, and added besides others of his own. Rupert's edition, published at Hanover in 1834–1839, besides having a careful digest of the readings, is full of learning, and illustrates Tacitus admirably, particularly on the historical side. His introduction contains a very careful review alike of the MS. authorities and of the various editions of our author. Ritter's edition, published in Cambridge and London in 1848, with a revised text and notes critical and exegetical, is in many respects a work of real genius. His text is unfortunately too often disfigured by the undue license in conjectural emendation which he has allowed himself. The notes, though always ingenious and showing tokens of wide reading, display sometimes a tendency to prefer a strained and far-fetched interpretation to the more obvious and therefore the truer one. His work is thus perhaps marred by excess of subtlety and ability, but subtle and able it is in no ordinary degree.

Orelli's work is distinguished by that thoroughness, sobriety, and sound sense which make him the prince of commentators. His text, based on a careful sifting of the MSS. and adhering wherever it is possible to the readings of the Medicean, approximates probably as closely to the original as, unless some new MS. is discovered, we are now ever likely to be able to get. The notes contain almost all that it is necessary to know for the elucidation of the text, and are but little encumbered with superfluous learning. They are what few notes are—eminently readable. The new edition now being brought out under the joint editorship of Schweizer-Sidler, Andresen, and Meiser, of which only the two first books of the *Histories* have unfortunately yet appeared, is being done with conscientiousness and good taste.

We come last to the school edition of Dr. Karl Heraeus published at Leipzig in 1864, various later editions of which have since appeared. Dr. Heraeus, as is natural in a school edition, occupies himself primarily with illustrating peculiarities of grammar and construction. His plan is, as far as may be, to make Tacitus his own interpreter. His notes are invaluable as a storehouse of Tacitean phrases and turns of expression. But while thus directing his attention in the first instance to the elucidation of Tacitus's language, his notes will be found to contain in addition almost all the extraneous information which is necessary to the right understanding of the *Histories*, and his interpre-

tations of the more difficult passages show always an independent and a sound judgment. His work is thoroughly good and satisfactory, leaving indeed little to be desired. As an emender of the text he is somewhat more adventurous than Orelli, holding indeed a middle place between him and Ritter. I have been led in most instances myself to prefer the more conservative reading, but Heraeus's suggestions are scarcely ever without ingenuity or without authority from the other writings of Tacitus.

II. THE *HISTORIES* AND THE OTHER WRITINGS OF TACITUS

Tacitus, so far as we know, composed only five literary works, viz. the *Dialogus de claris oratoribus*, the *De vita et moribus Julii Agricolae Liber*, the *Germania*, the *Histories*, the *Annals*, or to describe it by the title which Tacitus himself seems to have given to it, *Ab excessu Divi Augusti*. In addition to these five works we know that he contemplated at least two others. One was an account of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, a work which he says (H. i. 1) he had set apart for his old age; the other a history of the reign of Augustus, intended as a supplement or introduction to the *Annals* (Ann. iii. 24). Neither of these projected works did he live to execute; his untimely death put a stop to them both.

Of the five works which he lived to complete, all of which, though not in their entirety, have come down to us, the *Dialogue* holds a place apart. It was written in Tacitus's youth, probably when he was not more than twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, at the end of the reign of Titus or the beginning of that of Domitian (see c. 17, where the dialogue itself, which Tacitus represents himself as relating, is placed in the sixth year of the reign of Vespasian). Its immediate object was to prove and to account for the decay of eloquence during the imperial period, an object he attempts to carry out by means of an imaginary dialogue between literary and oratorical celebrities living in the time of Vespasian. Indirectly it was, perhaps, composed with a personal object—to state the reasons which induced Tacitus himself, in spite of his extensive rhetorical studies and the fame he had acquired in the art, to devote himself to literary and historical pursuits. Whether this was the object of the *Dialogue* or not, it is certain that he did about this time finally abandon oratory, and devote himself to those historical studies with which his name has continued henceforth indissolubly associated.

All his four remaining works are most intimately connected with one another, the *Histories* being the centre of the whole group. The *Agricola* and the *Germany* may both of them be regarded as preliminary studies for the *Histories*, while the *Annals* are a kind of appendix to the earlier work, designed to show how the condition of things sketched in the *Histories* had gradually grown up, and also

intended to bridge over the gap which separated the year 69 A.D. from that earlier epoch when "the successes and reverses of the Roman people were recounted by brilliant authors," and from those days of Augustus, "for telling the story of which there was no lack of clever men" (Ann. i. 1).

The appearance of the *Agricola* did not very long precede that of the *Histories*. The first was probably published about 98 A.D., early in Trajan's reign, the latter perhaps two or three years later. It is obvious from *Agricola*, c. 3, that when he published the *Agricola*, Tacitus was already at work on the *Histories*. Yet the smaller work was not designed directly to supplement, or even to pave the way, for the larger; its publication was dictated by a genuine desire on Tacitus's part to preserve and to do honour to the memory of a good and distinguished man, with whom, as his son-in-law, he was himself intimately connected. The study, however, of *Agricola*'s life and character gave him the opportunity of treating in a somewhat different manner, and from a different point of view, a portion of the period he was afterwards to traverse in his larger work, and of drawing out somewhat more explicitly some of the lessons he thought were to be derived from the study of the times. The temper of the work is not, as we should expect, seriously different from that which breathes through the *Histories*. In both of them we find combined the same detraction of the existing state of things with the same hopelessness of effecting any remedy of the evils from which the state and the age suffered. In both works alike the epoch is regarded as one in which Rome "can neither endure the evils under which she labours nor the remedies which would be effectual to cure them." In both the presence of lights among the shadows is recognised; only in both the lights are so treated as to make the shadows look darker and more black. In both works, again, we meet with the same spirit of depressing fatalism—a belief, that while the gods are not wholly indifferent to the affairs of men, they interfere only to punish, never to help. In one point the *Agricola* supplements in an important way the gap which has been left vacant by the lost books of the *Histories*. It has let us into the secret of the horror with which the closing years of Domitian's reign filled the whole soul of Tacitus (Ag. 45, 46), a horror which, we cannot doubt, has coloured our author's representation of the whole imperial period. The dark colours in which he has painted in the *Annals* the later years of Tiberius's rule owe at least some of their gloom to the sense that Tiberius's evil acts were an anticipation of, perhaps a preparation for, the miseries and the degradation which Tacitus had himself experienced at the hands of Domitian; while his judgment on some of the events of 69 A.D. is overshadowed by the sense that they were the introduction to that series of events of which the tyranny of Domitian was the culminating point and climax. If here and there a more kindly and sympathetic spirit breaks out in the *Agricola* than is to be met with in

the *Histories* and the *Annals*, this is rather to be ascribed to the genuine enthusiasm felt by the writer for the subject of his memoir than to his taking at this earlier date any happier or more hopeful view of life and society as a whole. His very love for his hero seems to have been in part dictated by the contrast he presents to the prevailing sordidness, meanness, and incapacity of the times in which he lived.

The composition of the *Germania* seems to have belonged to almost the same time as that of the *Agricola*. The mention of Trajan's second consulship in c. 37 appears to place its publication in 98 A.D., the date of that second consulship. Like the *Agricola*, it was, therefore, written when the composition of the *Histories* was not only contemplated but was also apparently well advanced. It is probable enough, as has been often contended, that one object which Tacitus had in the preparation of the treatise was by means of it to satirise manners, characters, customs, and institutions which lay nearer home; and he certainly omits no opportunity in the course of the work of pointing the contrast between the moral and manful independence of these children of nature, and the corrupt manners and degraded servitude of his own more civilised countrymen; but it seems simpler and more natural to ascribe the origin of the work to the historian's anxiety to impart by anticipation to the readers of his *Histories* a more exact knowledge of the localities occupied by the German people, their customs, religion, and tribal differences, than he could well find space for in the main current of his narrative. Germany is selected as the subject of a separate treatise, partly on account of the important part which the German armies and the free peoples of Germany play during the years which are covered by the *Histories*, partly, perhaps, though this is matter of conjecture, because Tacitus's own official duties had given him exceptional opportunities for obtaining information about the country. Anyway the work furnishes a most useful introduction to large portions of the *Histories*. Many of the details in this latter work, particularly in the account of the outbreak of Civilis, would be unintelligible to those who had not prepared themselves to understand them by the study of the *Germany* or some similar book, while the perusal of it could scarcely fail to invest the whole of this part of the *Histories* with additional interest. No doubt on many points we should like fuller and more definite information than the *Germany* furnishes. The limits of the different tribes, the exact position occupied by them, their migrations in earlier or in later times, have been left by Tacitus provokingly vague and indefinite; but we must remember that he was writing without definite maps for readers who had no chance of consulting them; and the country moreover was one which was to a great extent closed to Romans, and which was visited by them, if visited at all, not for purposes of scientific research, but for trade. Under these circumstances the matter for surprise is not that Tacitus should have done so little but that he should have done so much, and that he

should have been able to present to his readers a picture which, if not precise in all respects nor always exact, gives a fair representation of the country as a whole, and a not untrustworthy survey of the main races and peoples by which it was occupied.

Some fifteen years separated the appearance of the *Annals* from that of the *Histories*. When the earlier work was composed, the latter had not been even thought of. Its composition was thus, with Tacitus, an after-thought. In the introduction to his *Histories* he had indeed already expressed himself dissatisfied with the way in which the story of the reigns of Tiberius and of Caius, of Claudius and Nero, had been told. Those who wrote accounts of them had been either partisans or opponents; they had sought either to curry favour or to gratify hate and spite; neither one set nor the other had any true regard for posterity, any real reverence for truth. But he was not then proposing to set right the errors which he saw and deplored; rather he contemplated, if his life was spared, to recount the reigns of Nerva and of Trajan—"those happy and glorious times when men were able to think what they liked and say what they thought" (H. i. 1). What induced him to alter his determination, and to cast his glance backward instead of forward from the period covered by the *Histories*, we do not know. It may have been that the task of writing nearly contemporary history proved less secure and less easy than he had anticipated; perhaps he found it hard to maintain for the later period that high standard of impartiality which his theory of the duties of an historian required; or again it is possible that the earlier period may have seemed to him on reflection more full of examples for warning, of instances for imitation, more prolific of moral, social, and political lessons, than was the more sunny and prosperous age of Nerva and of Trajan. It may be also that the dark features of that earlier time seemed more congenial to his own gloomy and unhopeful disposition. He himself alleges in the *Annals*, as his reason for undertaking the work, his desire to present an impartial picture of a period which had never yet received from previous writers such treatment. It was the carrying out for an earlier time of the task which he hoped and flattered himself he had successfully accomplished for the years covered by the *Histories*—that is, for the period of the Flavian dynasty and the year which ushered it in. Posterity has, however, on the whole, pronounced that the same success has not attended the later as the earlier attempt; that both artistically and historically the later is less successful than the earlier work—artistically because the form adopted in the *Annals* allowed him less freedom of treatment and less variety of detail than he had secured in the *Histories*; historically because, while there has been indeed the same anxiety to arrive at truth, the same sifting of materials and weighing of evidence, yet partly owing to the fact that he has been able to depend less on personal observation and inquiry, and has had to have recourse more to the written accounts of others, partly also to the epoch

being farther removed from his own time and requiring a greater effort of imagination to present it in its true colours, the *Annals* are less impartial and less trustworthy than are the *Histories*, more exaggerated and more over-coloured. We shall hardly be wrong again in saying that, as years grew upon him, a more severe and desponding tone became habitual with the historian. The hopes which the earlier years of Trajan's reign had excited had died away within him. This growing despondency both explains his selection of the earlier reigns as the subject to be treated, and also accounts for the more severe and uncompromising judgment which he passed upon them. It requires a more cheerful, hopeful creed than that of Tacitus to make the judgments of our old age more charitable than those of our youth.

And yet when all has been said against the *Annals* that can be said, with what a splendid panorama of a period do they and the *Histories* together, even in the incomplete and fragmentary shape in which they have come down to us, present us! In their completeness they told in thirty books the tale of more than eighty years—from the accession of Tiberius to the death of Domitian. Of what similar period in the world's history has the record been given with equal brilliancy, variety, force, perspicuity? No doubt there are faults (faults greater generally in the *Annals* than in the *Histories*) which modern critics find. We should often, it has been urged, have been glad to hear less about the doings and intrigues of the court and the gossip of the city, more about the misery or prosperity of the farmers and peasants of Italy, and of the inhabitants of the provinces. In the accounts of campaigns, too, we could well have dispensed with the speeches put into the generals' mouths, and even the epigrams made upon their conduct, could we have had in their place more exact and fuller details of the operations carried on by them, and the disposition of the forces they commanded. We should have been glad to have heard, also, more of the methods of Roman government and its effect upon the subject peoples, less of personal detail respecting individual governors—their comings and goings, the ups and downs they had encountered in the journey of life. Such are the demands we make; such the blemishes in the historian's narrative we vainly seek to have corrected. But Tacitus might reply that we go to history with other objects than that with which he wrote it; that while with us its interest is mainly antiquarian and scientific, or at most political, this was not so with him. History in his eyes was a branch of moral philosophy, perhaps not the least important branch. "I hold it to be the chief office of history," he wrote (*Ann.* iii. 65), "to rescue virtue from oblivion, and that base words and deeds should have the fear of posthumous infamy." History shows us in conspicuous examples the misery which vices cause, and the happy results of a virtuous and well-regulated life. Though the age which he describes is rich in horrors, "it is yet not so sterile in virtues as not to furnish as well good examples of high value" (*H.* i. 3).

The warnings, the examples of history, then, in Tacitus's eyes, give it its value. It is because it furnishes such warnings and examples that he cared to write it. The point of view has, as we have said above, now changed ; yet we are inclined to think that it is one, and not the least, of the advantages of the perusal of history in ancient authors that they have preserved for us a point of view in the study of it, which our own age is somewhat rashly and prematurely only too ready to set aside and underrate. No doubt the ideal history would be a synthesis of the two points of view, the moral and the scientific. Scientific history (if the term is not a misnomer) need not leave out the moral lessons which history teaches, and history which points a moral need not be deficient in scientific exactness and detail. But the ideal history has still to be written ; and meanwhile we shall do well to remind ourselves that there is another side to the teaching of history than that which is now most dwelt upon ; and there are few authors in whom that other side is set forth with more force and perspicuity than it is in Tacitus, few, that is, who lay before us more tellingly and unflinchingly the great moral truths which history inculcates. It is because this is so that his writings have up to to-day lost nothing of their value, and can be read by the moralist with as much advantage as they can be by the historian, or the lover of literature.

III. THE MATERIALS USED BY TACITUS IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE *HISTORIES*

There are three distinct sources of information on which Tacitus must have drawn in the composition of his *Histories* :—

1. Personal observation and recollections.
2. The accounts of those who were eye-witnesses of, and took a part in, the events he describes.
3. The narratives of previous writers who had treated of the same period.

Between the first and the second of these sources of information it is often hard to discriminate. There are scarcely any of the events which took place in Rome at which Tacitus might not have been present ; there are still fewer events, whether in Rome or elsewhere, accounts of which he may not have received from those who were present at, or took a part in, them. All we can do is to indicate those portions of the narrative which seem to bear the stamp of personal recollections, and those which were derived probably from the narratives of others. With respect to events which took place at a distance from Rome, Tacitus would seem to have drawn his information mainly from the accounts of previous writers—a comparison of his accounts with those of Plutarch, where they cover the same ground, makes the fact that both authors drew from a common source almost certain ; but there are also few of these events, extra details with

respect to which he may not have gleaned from the accounts of eye-witnesses.

§ 1. Tacitus was himself from fourteen to fifteen years old when the events recorded in the first four books of his *Histories* took place. The work itself was composed from twenty-five to thirty years later, but the design of writing it had probably been formed earlier, and materials which were subsequently to be made use of may have been collected over a period of many years. Those fifteen hateful years of Domitian's reign, blotted out, as he himself says (Ag. 3), from the span of his active life, may have been in part spent in committing to writing the recollections of an earlier time, since to forget is not equally easy with being silent. It is almost certain that Tacitus, if not actually born in Rome, received his education there, rather earlier than, but under the same masters as, his friend, the younger Pliny (Plin. Epp. vii. 20, 4; iv. 13, 11; Dial. 2). He must therefore have witnessed as boy or youth some of the most stirring of the events which he describes in the *Histories*, and he may well have written accounts of many of them while they were still fresh in his memory.

Of Galba's entry into Rome, and the unfavourable impression produced by his massacre of the *Classiarii*, Tacitus writes as of events which he had witnessed and recollected. Much more decisively is this the case with the proclamation of Otho in the camp of the praetorians; and with Galba's subsequent descent in his litter "into the Forum, where the temples and basilicas were filled on all sides with a sad and expectant crowd." Who but an eye-witness could have told how "the people and plebs uttered no word, but stood with awestruck countenances, their ears open to catch every sound;" how "there was neither tumult nor peace but the silence of a great fear, a great anger;" or have described the mad rush of the infuriated soldiery into the Forum, the hasty flight of the people, the swords drawn against all who showed signs of hesitation or resistance (i. 40, 41)? But at this point most likely Tacitus himself fled; there is no ground for believing that he witnessed the death of Galba, or of Vinius, or of Piso. The details in each case are given rather on the authority of others than as the result of his own observations.

To none of the speeches which are interspersed through this part of the narrative can Tacitus himself have listened. That addressed by Galba to Piso on his adoption was heard by so small an audience that Tacitus can scarcely have received more than the barest draft of it; nor do the words with which he introduces it imply that he was giving any very exact account of what was actually said ("Galba—in hunc modum locutus fertur," i. 15). Piso's speech addressed to the cohort on guard in the palace, Otho's to the praetorians in their camp, as both were matters of greater notoriety, are probably both of them more accurately reproduced; and Tacitus seems to claim a higher authority for them. ("Piso—in hunc modum adlocutus est," i. 29. "Otho—ita coepit," i. 36.)

Another striking scene which we shall hardly be wrong in considering that Tacitus described from personal recollection was Otho's departure from Rome for the seat of war with his praetorians, classici, gladiators, and attendant train of reluctant senators. The details are just those which would fix themselves in the memory of an eye-witness—the look and bearing of Otho himself, the martial ardour of the troops, the distress and perplexity of the senators summoned to attend, the obvious terror of some, the vain parade adopted by others, the anxiety shown by the remainder not to leave behind them the comforts and luxuries to which they had grown accustomed in their life in Rome. We can imagine, too, Tacitus listening to that farewell speech of Otho's to the citizens, and taking in the surmises of the crowd whether or no the hand of Galerius Trachalus could be detected in it (i. 87-90).

Of another event narrated in the First Book, the scene of which is laid in Rome—the military émeute described in cc. 80-86—Tacitus cannot himself, except in part, have been from the nature of the case an eye-witness. It will be well therefore to reserve what we have to say upon it till we come to consider the next head.

The thread of the narrative through the greater part of the Second and Third Books takes us away from Rome, but there occur in them three or four remarkable descriptions, the vividness of which seem to betoken the pen of an eye-witness. The first of these is the account of Vitellius's triumphal entry into the city at the head of his victorious troops. As we read Tacitus's narrative the whole picture seems to pass before our eyes. The shaggy soldiers from the wilds of Germany, clothed in their dresses of skin and brandishing their huge weapons, who were the advanced guard of the army, and spread no little consternation among the citizens as they resented being jostled by the crowd or falling on the slippery pavement (ii. 88); the Emperor Vitellius himself advancing from the Milvian bridge mounted on his splendid charger, clad in his military coat and suit of armour, driving before him senate and people, but persuaded by the solicitations of his friends to halt at the Porta Carmentalis and don the *toga praetexta* that he might not seem to be making his entry into a conquered city; the long line of the troops behind him headed by the eagles of four legions and the colours of the maniples of as many others; behind them the standards of twelve troops of horse, and then the cavalry themselves following the long lines of the infantry; after these the four and thirty cohorts of the allies marshalled according to the races from which they came or the character of the arms they wore; the praefects of the camps, the tribunes, and the leading centurions all clad in white, marching in front of the eagles, and the rest of the centurions each heading his own century; the glitter of the arms, the splendour of the trappings and bracelets and orders—all this Tacitus had seen and noted. He had encountered also the German soldiery in the city, and had seen their

strength gradually undermined by the enervating climate and the undisciplined ill-regulated lives they lived (ii. 93). He witnessed too, and the sight moved him to no little indignation, the celebration a few days later of Vitellius's birthday and the funeral feast held in the Campus Martius to Nero's shade, and the revelling and the gladiatorial shows in the streets with which the day was concluded (ii. 95). Scarcely less vivid, though far less elaborate, is the account of the outward march of Caecina's army, when at last the news of the fast-gathering storm forced him to quit the city: the listless bodies, the drooping spirits of the men, the slow and broken march, the arms dropping from their hands, the tired horses, all these are recorded with the precision of one who had seen and marked the contrast they presented to the brave appearance of the victorious army only a few weeks previously (ii. 99).

The next scenes which we can with confidence affirm that Tacitus described from personal recollection are those of the closing days of Vitellius's reign and life, his attempted abdication, the storming and burning of the Capitol by the Vitellians, the entry of the Flavianist troops into the city, and the sights of carnage and inhuman indifference to it by which that entry was followed. The tale of Vitellius's attempted abdication* (iii. 68), "when a Roman emperor sought to divest himself of his dignity while women even looked on," is told with an indignant pathos which seems to bespeak the feelings of one who had himself witnessed the shameful sight. Nor is the account of the storming and burning of the Capitol less minute and circumstantial (iii. 71). Each successive stage in the attack—the rapid advance of the troops up the lower part of the hill, the breaking in of the door at the foot of the steps, that portico on the right as you go up to the Capitol on to the roof of which the "defenders mounted and from which they discharged stones and tiles at the Vitellians," the torches which the latter replied with, and Sabinus's hurried barricading of the passage with the statues which he had had torn down; then the attack from the other side, the rush of the besiegers into the Asylum, and the fatal firing of the temple of Capitoline Jove—all this is noted and made clear; and indeed almost the whole scene must have been visible from the Forum, where the citizens stood and looked on. All the details relating to the destruction of so great and famous a shrine as the temple of Capitoline Jove, the very palladium of the Empire, must have branded themselves into the memory of every patriotic man and youth. The young Tacitus was one on whom so remarkable a scene was bound to make a profound impression.

In a later chapter Tacitus seems to give expression to the feeling of personal horror with which one sight had filled him. He had been describing the advance of the Flavians and the entry of Vespasian's army in three divisions into the city, the attempts which had been made to secure peace, the many conflicts generally to the advantage of the attacking side which had been fought outside the walls. "At last," he

says (ii. 82, 83), "the two opposing forces met in regular battle in the Campus Martius; fortune and the many victories they had already won favoured the Flavians, the Vitellians had despair alone to animate them; though beaten they gathered once again within the city. As they fought the people loitered around as spectators and, like as at some gladiatorial contest, cheered on with shouts and applause this side or that. Whenever one side gave way, if the vanquished hid themselves in the shops or sought a refuge in any private house, the onlookers demanded that they should be dragged forth and slain, and then possessed themselves of the greater part of the booty, for while the soldiery were taken up with bloodshed and slaughter, the spoils fell to the rabble. The whole city presented a dreadful and ghastly sight: here were fighting and wounds, there baths and cookshops; there were to be seen together gore and heaps of slain, harlots and men worse than harlots; there all the lusts that luxurious ease could prompt, side by side with all the crimes which accompany the sack of a captured town. The city seemed at once to have gone mad with lust of blood and to be keeping a wanton festival. Armed forces had encountered one another before now in the streets of Rome, twice when Sulla was the conqueror, once when Cinna was so. On those occasions there was no less cruelty displayed; now the awful thing was the inhuman callousness and the refusal by the crowd to intermit their pleasures even for an instant. It was a time of festival, and as if for that reason they were bound to enjoy themselves the more, they broke out into a delirious transport of delight without a thought even for the fate of their party, actually revelling in the misfortunes of their country." That surely is an indictment which could only have been written by one in whom the actual sight of the facts he describes had excited the liveliest feelings of detestation and of horror.

There is not much in the Fourth Book which we can ascribe to the personal recollections of Tacitus himself. The first chapter with its powerful description of the terrorism which prevailed in the early days of Vespasian's reign is, perhaps, an exception. It may be that Tacitus had also himself visited Vetera and Augusta Treverorum. The account of both these localities is far more minute and exact than is usual with him when describing places with which he was not personally acquainted. It is at least a probable suggestion that his official duties during the years when he was absent from Rome took him to this part of the world. One more picture Tacitus probably drew from memory—the record of the proceedings connected with the commencement of the rebuilding of the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The author may have been among that great crowd of people who helped to drag with joy and enthusiasm the immense foundation-stone into its place (iv. 53). All the details are here given with such precision as to make the conjecture all but certain.

§ 2. The parts of his history which Tacitus drew from the in-

dependent accounts of eye-witnesses it is, in the absence of the documents he consulted, hard to determine. It is at least probable that he often supplemented the written accounts he used by information derived from personal inquiry. That he made use of this source of information is clear from Pliny's letters. The account which Pliny has given in them of the eruption of Vesuvius was clearly furnished by him in answer to a request of Tacitus for a first-hand report of what he had actually witnessed, and there can be no reasonable doubt that Tacitus sought the information for the purposes of his *History* (Plin. Epp. vi. 16 and 20). What he did in this instance he certainly must have done in other cases also. But these more or less casual pieces of information it is impossible for us now to detect. All that can be done is to indicate the main narratives which were probably derived from this source.

Of the three speeches contained in the earlier chapters of Book I. our author may have received epitomes from those who listened to them. It is just possible that Marius Celsus, who was one of the audience (c. 14), may at a later date have given him an account of Galba's address to Piso, but this is not very likely; it is more probable that in this instance Tacitus drew on his own imagination for the words he has put into the aged emperor's mouth. The speeches of Piso to the guard in the palace, of Otho to the praetorians in the camp, must have been heard by many, and may well have been reported to him. Further on, Otho's joy when the head of his rival Piso was brought to him is expressly mentioned on hearsay evidence ("nullam caedem exceperisse—dicitur," i. 44).

The account of the revolt which, beginning with the 17th cohort stationed at Ostia, spread to the praetorian troops and was almost the destruction of the city, is told with so much spirit that it would seem to have been communicated by one of the guests present at the banquet into which the unruly soldiery burst. From the same source may have been derived the report of the speech with which on the next day Otho attempted to allay the turbulence of the raging guards and to quiet the fears of the alarmed senators (cc. 83, 84).

Early in the Second Book there occurs a little episode which we are able with much probability to trace to its source. The invasion by Otho's troops of the district of the Maritime Alps was witnessed by many with whom Tacitus must have had a chance of conversing. Agricola's mother was killed in that attack upon Albintimilium which he records (c. 13), and his own wife or her attendants may well have recollected the details of an event which affected them so nearly. For the outline of the operations which took place in the valley of the Po, by which Otho's fate was determined, Tacitus seems mainly to have relied on the published accounts of the military authorities, though he exercised an independent judgment in selecting between the different versions of the events which came before him; but the speech which he puts into Otho's mouth on his deathbed differs so much, though the

same in general purport, from that to be found in Plutarch, that we must either suppose that our author gave it a colouring of his own or else that he had received a different version of it. The account of the dangers encountered by the senators after Otho's death (cc. 52-55) may well have reached Tacitus from one of their number. Many of the events which follow would be found recorded in official documents; but Vitellius's visit to the field of Bedriacum was just one of those incidents which court scandal delighted to make the most of, and Tacitus has shown a wise discretion in omitting with reference to it many loathsome details which Suetonius has been anxious according to his usual custom to treasure up and retail.

At the end of Book II we have mention of authors who related in the times of the rule of the Flavii the history of the Civil War. Who these were we shall have to consider at length in the next section. It was from them that Tacitus probably derived most of his review of affairs in the East. But here again there would have been officers who, serving under Vespasian, must have been able in many particulars to supplement these written narratives; and of such information our historian was sure to avail himself. Perhaps it was from this source that he obtained a sketch of the speech in which Mucianus pressed Vespasian to seize the crown, though the elaborate care with which the speech is constructed seems also to testify to Tacitus's own handiwork in the making of it.

In the Third Book the graphic picture of the manœuvres culminating in the second battle of Bedriacum was probably taken from the account which Vipstanus Messalla, himself actively engaged in them, left behind him; so too was the still more striking account of the storm and sack of Cremona (cc. 26-34), though the genius of Tacitus imported to the latter narrative a form all his own. The story of the death of Junius Blaesus our author seems directly to imply (c. 38) was based upon reports which were still widely prevalent when he was collecting his information or writing about it. For the events which followed the fall of Cremona he cites incidentally *celeberrimi auctores*, without, however, mentioning any names (c. 51). It was to them that he was perhaps indebted for the striking scene of the surrender of the greater part of Vitellius's army before Narnia (c. 63). Most of the events detailed in the remainder of the book must have fallen under Tacitus's personal observation, and need not, with one exception, in the present connection be further treated of. The closing scenes of Vitellius's life Tacitus can scarcely himself have witnessed. Its outlines must have been matter of common notoriety; but the differences in detail between the accounts of Tacitus, Dio, and Suetonius, testify to the varying recollections or opportunities of those who were present on the occasion and told the tale of maltreatment and ignominy.

The transactions and debates in the Senate, which take up a good deal of the earlier part of Book IV, might be gathered from the "Acta"

of that body. But the details given are often of a kind which would certainly be omitted from the official register of the proceedings, and for them Tacitus must have been indebted to the reports of his friends. How else could he have known, for instance, the remarks to which the receipt of Mucianus's letter gave rise (c. 4), or the impression which Domitian's blushes produced when first he appeared in that body (c. 40), or the contrast in the mien of Vibius Crispus and of Marcellus Epirus (c. 43)? The speeches, again, actually delivered, or the more important of them, were published by their authors or became at any rate commonplaces in the schools of rhetoric. It is thus that in the *Dialogue* (c. 5) our author refers to Epirus Marcellus's defence against the attack made upon him by Helvidius Priscus (iv. 7, 8). Vipstanus Messalla's defence of his brother Aquilius Regulus, and Montanus's attack upon him, perhaps, come under the same category (cc. 42, 43).

From what quarters Tacitus drew the materials for his careful and minute account of the revolt of Civilis we shall never know. He makes no single reference to his authorities during the course of it. It may be that Pliny the elder included the story of the war in those twenty volumes on "all the wars that were ever waged with the Germans" (Suet. ed. Roth. p. 300), a work which his nephew tells us (Epp. iii. 5, 4) he undertook while still fighting in Germany, prompted thereto by a dream. The exhaustive character of the work makes it probable that some account of the revolt of Civilis, in which the Germans were so mixed up, was contained in it; and if so, since we know from Ann. i. 69 that Tacitus was acquainted with and made use of the book, it is very likely that in the present instance he would also have drawn upon it. That he did not, however, restrict himself to this one authority is certain from the careful study which the *Germania* proves he had made of all German affairs. We have already noticed that there is some ground for believing that he had himself conducted investigations on the spot, and among his investigations it is certain he would not neglect inquiries from those who as officers or as men had taken part in these events, many of whom he must have met shortly after their return from the war, as he grew up from youth to manhood. Among his informants we may with some probability reckon the celebrated writer on Tactics and on Roman Aqueducts—Frontinus, mentioned in iv. 39 as praetor urbanus, who (Strat. iv. 3, 14) tells us that he was engaged in the war against Civilis and took over 70,000 men surrendered to him by the state of the Lingones. To this same source, the reports of those who had taken part in the war, we shall probably not be wrong in considering that he was indebted (so far as it is not derived from Pliny's *Natural History*) for the materials for the remarkable description of the physical features of Judaea which he has introduced in the earlier part of Book V, for there seems no reason to believe that he had ever himself actually visited the country. Whence he drew his account of the antiquities

and early history of the Jewish people will come on for consideration in the next section.

§ 3. The writers whom we know or may suppose that Tacitus consulted are the following:—

(a) Cluvius Rufus. He is not indeed directly referred to in the *Histories*, but is twice quoted as an authority in the *Annals* (xiii. 20, xiv. 2). Tacitus describes him as “vir facundus et pacis artibus, bello inexpertus” (i. 8). As he was already a consular at the time of the assassination of Caius in 41 A.D. he was probably an elderly man by 69 A.D.—perhaps he did not long survive that year; at least we have no subsequent mention of him, though Teuffel considers it most probable that he composed his historical works in his later years after he had retired from politics (§ 309, 2). The precise limits of his history it is not easy to determine. Some have thought that it began as early as the reign of Caius, and that he is the authority followed by Josephus in his description of that prince’s death; but Tacitus only quotes him as an authority, in that part of the *Annals* which has come down to us, for events in the reign of Nero. His *History* certainly included some account of Verginius, as we gather from the interesting story told in Plin. Epp. ix. 19, 5. Pliny there relates that once in his hearing there took place the following conversation between Cluvius and Verginius. “You know, Verginius,” said Cluvius, “what honesty history demands. I must, therefore, ask you to pardon me if you read in my history anything you do not like.” To this Verginius replied: “Do you not know, Cluvius, that I acted as I did, in order that you and others might be free to write about me whatever you pleased?” From Plut. *Otho* 3, it further appears that some account of Otho and his reign must also have been comprised in Cluvius’s work. It is likely that it extended at least to Vitellius’s death. For one remarkable scene shortly before that event Cluvius must have possessed unusual means of information—viz. as to the agreement come to between Vitellius and Flavius Sabinus for Vitellius’s deposition of the Empire. Cluvius Rufus is expressly mentioned as summoned along with Silius Italicus to be a witness on the occasion (iii. 65). Mommsen considers that the common source of information on which Plutarch, Tacitus, and Suetonius all drew in their accounts of the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius was this *History* of Cluvius Rufus.

(b) The older Pliny, C. Plinius Secundus. Suetonius (p. 92, ed. Reiffsch) gives the following account of him and of his writings. “Plinius Secundus of Novum Comum (in Northern Italy), having taken an active part in cavalry service (chiefly in Germany), administered with singular uprightness most distinguished offices during many successive years. (He was procurator Caesaris under Vespasian of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Tarraconensis.) In spite of this he gave himself with such ardour to literary pursuits that scarcely any one who was in the enjoyment of perfect leisure wrote more than he did.

Thus he embraced all the wars which have ever been waged with the Germans in twenty volumes, and also completed a *Natural History* in thirty-seven books. He died in the disaster of Campania; for being in command of the fleet of Misenum, and having when Vesuvius was in eruption approached in his ship somewhat too near with a view of ascertaining the causes, he was overwhelmed by the dust and ashes, or, as some think, killed by his slave whom he had besought, when fainting from the heat, to hasten his death." His nephew, Pliny the younger, tells us that his works were composed in the following order (Epp. iii. 5). One book, *De Jaculatione Equestri*, written while he was still holding a cavalry command in Germany. Two volumes, *De Vita Pomponi Secundi*, the life of a friend. Twenty books of *Wars with Germany*, in which he collected all the wars that Rome had waged with the Germans. "He began it when on service in Germany, urged thereunto by a dream; there stood by him while he slept the ghost of Drusus Nero, who, after winning the most important victories in Germany, died there. Drusus commended his memory to him and prayed him to rescue him from oblivion." Three books of *Studiosi*, divided into six volumes on account of their size, in which he depicts the perfect orator from his cradle onwards. Eight books, *Dubii Sermonis*, written in the later years of Nero. Thirty-one books, *A Fine Aufidii Bassi*, a continuation of the *History* of Aufidius Bassus. Thirty-seven books of *Natural History*, "a work diffuse and learned and not less varied than is Nature herself." The two books used by Tacitus are the *Account of the Wars with Germany*, which, as we have seen, he probably employed in the composition of the account of the revolt of Civilis, and the thirty-one books in continuation of the *History* of Aufidius Bassus, which he probably used throughout his *Histories*. He twice refers to it as an authority, once directly (iii. 28) when discussing who was responsible for the burning and sack of Cremona, and again indirectly (ii. 101) where, dwelling on the causes which led to Caecina's treachery, he mentions that the writers of history, who when the Flavian House was in power composed memoirs of this war, set it down to a desire of peace and to patriotism—a view which Tacitus himself does not share. That Pliny was among the writers here referred to seems to follow from the fact that in his *History* he describes Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and that he wrote as a friend of all three (N. H. Præf. 20). Pliny (Epp. v. 8, 5) claims for this work of his uncle, and adopted father, the merit of the utmost scrupulosity; and that it possessed this merit we may well believe. To this work Tacitus must have been indebted for a good deal of his information; that he used it, however, merely as raw material, recasting its form, and imparting to it even a wholly different spirit, is certain from what we know of the two writers. Pliny wrote more or less as a partisan of the Flavian House; Tacitus had no such sympathies. That Pliny rather than Cluvius was the author whom Plutarch, Tacitus, and Suetonius

consulted in common, and that it is from his narrative that the many identical features in their accounts are derived, has been maintained by many recent critics.

(c) Vipstanus Messalla M. He was a friend of Tacitus in his youth, and both in the *Dialogue* (c. 15) and in the *Histories* (iii. 9) is greatly praised by him. In the last passage he speaks of him "as a man of high descent" (in the *Dialogue*, c. 27, *maiores tui* probably refers to Valerius Messalla), "himself distinguished, the only man who brought to this war (between Vitellius and Vespasian) good principles." In that war he was tribune of the seventh legion (Claudiana), a legion which formed part of the Moesian army, and joined Antonius Primus in Northern Italy. As commander of this legion he took an active part in the campaign which followed, in the second battle of Bedriacum, and in the storming of Cremona. It is for these events that he is cited as an authority by Tacitus (iii. 25, 28). But it is most likely that our author was also indebted to him for the details relating to the advance of the Flavian army towards Rome as well as for the operations which went on in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. That he accompanied the victorious army to Rome is clear from the mention of him in iv. 42, where it is recorded that he gained great fame by pleading the cause of his brother, Aquilius Regulus, before the Senate.

(d) We have also mentioned as writers whose works covered part of this period the following—(1) Fabius Rusticus, referred to more than once as an authority in the later books of the *Annals* (xiii. 20, xiv. 2, xv. 61). As he lived to 108 or 109 A.D. he may have given some account of the events of 69 and the following years, but no mention is made of him in the *Histories*. Nor is there any reference to (2) Suetonius Paulinus as a writer, though he is often mentioned as a general. He, too, is said to have composed military memoirs, and it is possible, of course, that Tacitus borrowed from him. Pliny in his *Natural History* quotes (3) M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus (the celebrated governor of Syria, i. 10, who was mainly responsible for raising Vespasian to the throne) as an authority for many facts bearing on geography and natural history in the East. What was the exact character of the work from which these quotations are made we do not know, nor does Tacitus anywhere refer to him as one of his authorities. That, however, he was not unacquainted with his writings is clear from the mention in Dial. 37 of another book of his—a collection which he made of speeches delivered in Republican times—which he published together with three volumes of his own letters. To Mucianus Tacitus may have owed some of the facts stated with regard to the geography of Palestine and the topography of Jerusalem.

Besides these purely literary sources of information there were others of a documentary rather than a literary character to which Tacitus had access, and which he largely employed at any rate in the composition

of the *Annals*. Such were — (1) the *acta senatus*, *acta patrum*, or *commentarii senatus*. The dry particulars of debates in the Senate which occur in Book IV come most likely from this source. (2) The *acta populi*, called also simply *acta*, or *acta publica*, *acta diurna urbis*, *diurna actorum scriptura*, and *diurna Populi Romani*. This was a sort of gazette or newspaper, published, as its name implies, daily, in which was recorded whatever was supposed to be of most public interest. It would seem as if Tacitus used these two sources less in the *Histories* than in the *Annals*, partly because he could here more rely on the fuller details of personal recollection, partly because in the confusion of the year '69 it may well have been that they were published with less care than in more tranquil times. (3) The *commentarii principum*, the private journals of the *princeps*, handed down to his successors. Tacitus notices (iv. 40) that a demand was made on the accession of Vespasian that the *commentarii* of his predecessors should be submitted to the Senate in order that it might be known who had played the part of informers. The demand, however, was deferred, and ultimately apparently not complied with. In any case these would furnish material for history only just so far as the *princeps* chose to make them known. (4) *Edicta in populum*. These were public property and so could be consulted. Tacitus refers (ii. 62) to an edict of Vitellius, (iii. 73) to certain *edicta* (manifestoes) of the consul Quinctius Atticus, and (iv. 49) to an edict of Piso, proconsul of Africa. There were also *senatus consulta* and *tabulae publicae* which our author could consult.

§ 4. It remains finally to investigate the different sources from which Tacitus derived his strange account of the origin and early history of the Jewish race. That he was unacquainted both with the Old Testament and with the work of Josephus is obvious on the face of his narrative itself. His ignorance of the Old Testament is sufficiently explained by the difficulties which the Septuagint translation would necessarily present to a foreigner, perhaps also by the contempt felt by a cultivated Roman for the sacred literature of a despised and detested race. Josephus's *Antiquities* appeared so little before the *Histories* that it is not surprising if they had not had time to find their way into the hands of our author. Tacitus's account of the origin of the Jewish race seems to be based on a collection of myths, not always consistent with one another, themselves originating in some fanciful derivation of the names Judaei and Hierosolyma. The supposed connection of the Jews with Saturn no doubt rests mainly on their known reverence for the Sabbath, which among the Romans was regarded as Saturn's day. Justin has been found to be an authority for the story which connects them with Damascus and Assyria. In his account of their expulsion from Egypt under King Bocchoris, Tacitus follows Lysimachus, a Greek writer of the second century before Christ, while his account of Moses and the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness seems to be derived from the writings of Manetho, the Egyptian priest, who wrote in the reign of

Ptolemy Philadelphus. Our author may have supplemented Manetho's narrative from Justin and Diodorus. The account of the Mosaic legislation represents in part the current reports circulated among the Romans to the discredit of the Jews, in part it corresponds to observances actually enjoined in the law. The view taken of Jewish worship represents that which was current in Rome when Tacitus wrote. On the whole the unfavourable impression which Tacitus has formed of the people, their religion, their customs, accords with the bitter feeling which their long-continued resistance and fierce fanaticism had aroused in their Roman antagonists, and the prevailing dislike which their ever-increasing pride and isolation had bred in the ancient world. Judaism had grown harder and more exclusive as the days of the fall of Jerusalem drew near, and when their religious centre was overthrown the people were still regarded with suspicion and dislike.

Looking then to the general character of the materials which Tacitus used in the composition of the *Histories*, it is observable that for every event and scene he describes he had first-hand authorities; that his own recollections must have covered a good deal of what he had to tell; that when these failed it was easy for him to consult in most cases those who were present and had taken a part in the doings with respect to which he wished for information; that when he has to rely on the accounts of previous writers, these writers were themselves generally men of affairs competent to give a trustworthy narrative of the events they describe. The materials being thus abundant and thus excellent on which he could draw, the failure, if failure existed, must be traced to defects inherent in Tacitus himself, to want of diligence or want of impartiality. That he was wanting in diligence few have asserted or can believe; his work shows throughout unmistakable signs of a careful and trustworthy investigator. With respect to the details of military campaigns we could indeed sometimes wish for more fulness and precision—though even here, we think, he is more to be relied on than some modern critics will allow; but this inexactness in describing military operations was a defect which he shares with almost all other writers of Roman history, a defect due probably to that rhetorical training which almost all Roman historians received. That Tacitus wished and tried to be impartial he most solemnly assures us; that he was so we cannot entirely admit. A partisan of the Senate and of the senatorial point of view he probably does somewhat more than justice to Galba, less than justice to Otho and even to Vitellius. His detestation of Domitian and of his tyranny has also led him to depict in unduly unfavourable colours the whole history of the rise of the Flavian House. Yet we cannot say that, in the *Histories* at any rate, he has greatly misjudged. His judgments are, if anything, somewhat hard and stern; yet the times of which he wrote were certainly such as to call for and to justify such judgments.

IV. OF THE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCES IN 69 A.D., AND OF THE PARTS WHICH THEY PLAYED IN THE EVENTS OF THAT YEAR

[*Note*.—For those parts of this chapter which are not derived directly from Tacitus, the author is mainly indebted to Professor Mommsen's volumes on the *Provinces of the Roman Empire*.]

In the events of 69 A.D. the Provinces played an important, in some respects the leading, part. It was the rising of Vindex in Gaul which hurled Nero from the throne and eventually placed Galba on it. Otho owed his elevation not a little to the jealousy felt by the city soldiery against the provincial armies by which Galba was supported. The rising of the German troops directed at first against the predominance of Spaniards and Gauls turned after the downfall of Galba into a struggle of the greatest and most famous of the provincial armies against the forces of the capital. But the divulging of the secret "that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome" had already brought fresh competitors into the field. The Pannonian legions, together with those of Dalmatia and Moesia, had been anxious to try at once their prowess on the fields of North Italy against the soldiers of Germany, and it was only Otho's impatience and precipitancy which had prevented more than a small fraction of them from doing so. The chance which Otho had denied them they obtained under Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus. Helped by Caecina's treachery and the leaderless condition of the German troops they proved themselves in the second battle of Bedriacum more than a match for their antagonists. The work which they had begun was completed by the Syrian troops. The struggle in and around Rome which followed may be regarded as one of the oft-repeated struggles between East and West; but the incapacity of Vitellius, the superior numbers, the superior generalship, perhaps also the presence in their midst of the recently disbanded praetorian guards, gave almost for the first time in history the victory to the forces of the East. In the West later on it looked for a moment almost as if the Gauls under Civilis, abetted by the Germans across the Rhine, might succeed in shaking off the yoke of Rome, and establishing for themselves an empire of their own across the Alps. But the majority of the Gauls preferred at heart to keep the Romans rather than to take the Germans for their masters; and as soon as Rome had decided who should be the ruler she chose herself to obey, Vespasian had no difficulty in restoring his authority over the revolted districts; and "the Empire of the Gauls" collapsed before the first vigorous measure taken against it, almost without a struggle.

I. SPAIN

Spain, the earliest of Rome's distant possessions but almost the last to be finally conquered, was organised by Augustus himself in the years

26 and 25 B.C. He divided it into three provinces—Tarraconensis or Hispania Citerior, Baetica or Hispania Ulterior, and Lusitania. The two last had formed originally one province, but were separated either at this date or by Tiberius.

(1) Tarraconensis was at once the largest in extent and the most important of the three. It comprised not only the whole of the north-east district and the route to Italy, but also the warlike and disturbed cantons of the North and North-West, which it had cost Augustus several campaigns to subdue, and which long remained a source of danger and anxiety to successive governors. To overawe this region a permanent force of two or even three legions was considered necessary. In the year 68 A.D., when Galba was proclaimed emperor, the force quartered in the province consisted of the 6th and the 10th legions. Of these the 6th accompanied the newly-accepted emperor on his march to Rome; but as we have no mention of the 10th, it seems reasonable to conclude that this legion was then left behind, and it only quitted Spain when called out at length to assist in the suppression of the revolt of Civilis (iv. 68, v. 20). Galba seems to have hesitated to take it with him lest he should denude the country entirely of troops, and so leave it exposed to the attacks of the warlike mountain tribes (even at that day very imperfectly schooled to bear the Roman yoke). The apprehensions entertained on this score are further evidenced by the fact that Vitellius after the battle of Bedriacum despatched at once the 1st Adjutrix to increase the garrison of the country, and that in Vespasian's time it was still thought necessary to keep up a force of three full legions in the Peninsula. The capital of the province had been originally Carthago Nova, but Augustus transferred it to Tarraco or Colonia Tarraconensis, situated on the sea-coast a little north of the Ebro. His reason for making the change was partly to bring the capital nearer to Rome, but still more in order to shift his base of operations nearer to the tribes of the North and North-West from whom danger was chiefly to be apprehended. The great road which was at the same time made through Spain, to which was given the name of the Via Augusta, connected Tarraco with Italy and the North on one side, on the other it ran along the sea-coast, passing through the towns with which this was studded, to the mouth of the river Jucar a little south of Valentia; at this point it turned sharply inland, crossed the Baetis at the Arch of Augustus, from which the roads through Baetica were measured, and then followed the course of this river till it reached the Atlantic Ocean at Gades. By it, continuing as it did the great coast road through Southern Gaul, Rome was brought into direct communication with the Atlantic Ocean. In the Tarraconensis other roads were made for military purposes in the direction of the North-West, and it was by their means, together with the standing military camps which were established at Astorga and elsewhere, that the tribes of Asturia and Callaecia were gradually

reduced to real subjection. Throughout this district the Spanish cantonal unions were, except in name, dissolved and a number of towns received instead the rights of Roman colonies. Chief among these were the thriving commercial towns of the sea-coast, Tarraco itself, Dertosa at the mouth of the Ebro, Barcino, north of that river, and Valentia and Ilici farther south; in the interior Caesaraugusta (Saragossa) in the Ebro valley was the only town which received this distinction. From these centres Roman customs and the Roman language spread gradually throughout the province; and though the province of Hispania Citerior did not become as completely Romanised as the more southern districts, the native language had by this time almost disappeared except among the mountains and among the tribes of the North and North-West.

(2) Baetica or Hispania Ulterior, originally kept by Augustus in his own hands, was by him speedily given back to the Senate. It counted as a senatorial province of the second class, one governed, that is, by an ex-praetor rather than a consular. Its capital was Corduba, situated on the river Baetis. It was a peaceful and prosperous region, one of the *inermes provinciae* of which Tacitus speaks. Only quite a small force was stationed in it at Italica near Hispalis (Seville), intended to keep off the pirates who, swarming from North Africa, infested its coasts. The district had been long and thoroughly Romanised. In its southern district a number of full Roman colonies and Latin colonies had been already established by Augustus. To the first class belonged Hispalis and Corduba; to the second Italica, Gades, and Carteia. Their numbers were increased and their population was added to by Otho (i. 78). Before 69 A.D. this province had already contributed some important names to Latin literature—Porcius Latro, the master of Ovid and a poet of some eminence; Annaeus Seneca, father of the philosopher; and Lucan the poet, grandson of Annaeus, all came from Corduba. From this district, too, came Pomponius Mela, a native of Tingentera, and Columella of Gades, the first renowned for his work on geography, the second for his work on agriculture.

But the two most distinguished names which Spain gave to Latin literature, Martial from Bilbilis, Quintilian from Calagurris on the Ebro, though they were both living in 69 A.D., belong to a later date, the age of Domitian. Yet by this time not only had the Latin language become the prevailing language of the country, but Roman law and the Roman religion were universally adopted, and the Roman municipal system had taken the place of the earlier cantonal organisation.

(3) Lusitania corresponded to what is now Portugal, together with part of Northern Estremadura and Salamanca. Its capital was Emerita Augusta (Merida) on the Anas, and it counted as a Caesarian province of the second rank. Suetonius, *Otho* 3, states that Otho was only *quaestorius* when appointed governor. This district seems to have lagged behind the other two provinces in prosperity and cultivation, and was accounted

by the Romans a remote and dismal country. Otho complains of his enforced residence there as banishment. Yet there were a number of Roman and Latin colonies—Olisipo (Lisbon), Pax Julia (Beja), and the capital Emerita Augusta (Merida), being the chief—established in this district, and here as elsewhere the Latin language had taken the place of the earlier Spanish dialects.

In the events of 69 A.D. Spain plays an important part. Galba, when invited by Vindex to place himself at the head of the revolt against Nero, had been already at the head of the province of *Tarracensis* for eight years. He had governed it with sternness, but justly and uprightly, and had tried even to limit the cruelties which Nero had ordered or encouraged. So when the fact became known that Vindex had invited him to place himself at the head of the insurrectionary movement and to assume the purple, Romans and provincials alike flocked to his standard and joined in proclaiming him emperor. The most energetic of those who thus supported him was Lucius Salvius Otho, governor of the neighbouring province of *Lusitania*. Otho supplied him with the necessary appliances for keeping up the splendour of a court. After a brief period of uncertainty and hesitation, a hesitation caused by the news of the ill-success of Vindex's rising, Galba, seeing it was too late to retire, determined to make the venture, and when the tidings of Nero's death reached him, set out, at the head of the 10th legion and accompanied by Otho, for Rome. At Narbo he was met by a deputation from the Senate, and received at their hands what he had previously declined when offered him by the officials of his province and the provincials alone—the title of emperor. After the departure of Galba and Otho, Cluvius Rufus became the governor of the *Tarraconensis*. He is described by Tacitus as an eloquent writer, but a man of peace, unskilled in the arts of war. As soon as Otho ascended the throne Spain at once gave in its adherence to him, and Cluvius Rufus was praised for the promptitude with which he had acted. A few days later, however, a second message reached Rome to the effect that the Spaniards had changed their mind, and that Vitellius and not Otho was now their favourite (i. 76). Otho attempted to regain their goodwill by bestowing privileges and benefits on the different states. If Spain was won over by these measures and wished to support him she soon lost her opportunity. The battle of *Bedriacum* sealed Otho's fate, and after it she had no other choice than to throw in her lot with the other western states and declare for Vitellius. This was made all the easier for her because Otho, naturally enough distrusting the 6th legion which Galba had taken with him, had promptly sent it back to its old quarters, and it had taken no part in the campaign which was fought out on the fields of Northern Italy. It looked for a moment after *Bedriacum* as if the loyalty of Spain to Vitellius was to be put to a severe test. Luceius Albinus, governor of *Mauretania*, a devoted follower of Otho, threatened for

awhile its southern coast. Cluvius despatched for the defence of the threatened district the newly-returned 6th legion from his own province of Tarraconensis. Albinus, however, alienated his troops by setting up claims, or being supposed to set up claims, to the position of an independent potentate. His most trusted subordinates were seized and put to death by their own troops, and Albinus was himself slain shortly afterwards. Soon after this, as Vitellius was advancing through Gaul, Cluvius Rufus left his own province and hastened to meet him at Lyons. The new emperor retained him among his retinue, and took him with him to Rome, allowing him to govern from a distance the province of which he did not deprive him. Perhaps Vitellius, though he had refused to listen to the charges brought against him by the freedman Hilarius, may have thought there was sufficient in them to make it safer to remove Cluvius from a country where he had succeeded in winning not a little popularity and goodwill. Spain, which had given one emperor to Rome, might wish to try if she could not give a second. So Cluvius, while Vitellius reigned, governed Spain from the capital. Meanwhile the 1st legion (*Adjutrix*) was sent off into Spain, partly to replace the 4th legion (*Macedonica*) which had now been regularly incorporated in the army of Germany, partly that it might unlearn in a more quiet district the lessons of turbulence which it had been taught in the midst of the Civil War in Italy. Neither the legions nor the people of Spain took any direct or active part in the conflict between Vitellius and Vespasian. When Vitellius found himself threatened by the advance of the Pannonian and Moesian legions he sent to Spain for reinforcements; but the country after the removal of Cluvius Rufus was without a governor, and none of the legates of the legions cared to put themselves forward in Vitellius's behalf (ii. 86). Their sympathies were probably already more with Antonius Primus and the Flavians, from whom they had received letters inviting their co-operation. So immediately after Antonius's victory at Bedriacum and the surrender of Valens, Spain, following the lead of the 1st legion (*Adjutrix*), declared unhesitatingly for Vespasian (iii. 44). We hear after this of the country only once again, when two out of its three legions were summoned away to enable Cerialis to make head against the revolt of Civilis (iv. 68, v. 14).

2. THE TWO MAURETANIAS

The two western provinces of Northern Africa were closely associated with the province of Baetica, being related to it, as Mommsen says, something in the same way as Noricum to Pannonia or Raetia to Upper Germany. This district had been a comparatively late acquisition of the Romans. During Caesar's wars in Africa it was still occupied by independent princes—the eastern portion by Juba I., a descendant of Masinissa, who sided with the Pompeians; the western district by Bogud and Bocchus, who took the side of Caesar. At the conclusion

of the war the victorious Caesar added to the dominions of his allies the kingdom of Juba, creating Cirta, however, into a free Roman town. By Augustus the kingdoms both of Bogud and of Bocchus were handed over to Juba II (son of Juba I.), who had been brought up in Rome and had married Salene, or Cleopatra, daughter of Antony and the Egyptian queen (Ann. iv. 5). Juba was succeeded about 23 A.D. by his son Ptolemaeus. In the year 40 A.D. Caius summoned this unfortunate prince to Rome, had him executed, and took over his dominions into imperial administration. Two years later the Gaetulians rose in revolt, but were soon reduced to subjection by Suetonius Paulinus, Otho's well-known general, who was the first Roman to cross the chain of the Atlas. The annexed district Caius (or Claudius, according to Dio) constituted into two provinces, both Caesarian, both governed by a procurator, the eastern being known by the name of *Mauretania Caesariensis*, the western as *Mauretania Tingitana*. Of the first the capital was Iol or Caesarea; of the second Tingis, situated just outside the Straits of Gibraltar. The two districts were somewhat separated from one another, there being no road connecting the two, so communication had to be kept up along the inhospitable coast by sea. It was while making the voyage from Tingis to Caesarea that the above-mentioned procurator, Luceius Albinus, was killed (H. ii. 59). The general physical characteristics of the two provinces are the same; each consists of a double mountain range, the northern one closely bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, while the southern one slopes away into the great Sahara, and of a deep depression between them. This depression consists of desert and salt lakes, interspersed with fertile oases and rich river valleys. In the eastern district there grew up a considerable number of Roman towns and colonies; in the western hardly any. In neither district did the Romans keep any permanent force of their own, but the native militia consisted, according to Tacitus (ii. 58), of nineteen cohorts and five *alae*, computed by Mommsen to amount to fifteen thousand men. The Moorish cavalry often served at a distance from home among the widespread armies of the Roman empire.

The forces of the Mauretaniae were not of a kind to exercise any decisive influence on the fortunes of the war (i. 11). Except for Albinus's futile effort to create a diversion in favour of the Othonian cause we hear nothing of them. They kept their Spanish neighbours in a state of disquietude, and that was all.

3. GAUL

Gaul and Spain are described by Antonius Primus as "*validissimam terrarum partem*" (iii. 53); and Josephus writing in the time of Vespasian says, "In Gaul the sources of wealth are at home and flood the earth with their abundance." Cerialis (iv. 74) describes its soil as most productive, and contrasts it with the swamps and deserts of Germany. Thriving towns were scattered everywhere throughout its

teeming provinces, and there was probably no part of the Empire which was so civilised and so well off. Its inhabitants had, however, in the midst of this material wealth and civilisation lost their former reputation for courage, and Tacitus speaks in the most contemptuous terms of its native levies (ii. 69): "*reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus.*" Only one legion was quartered in Gaul at Lugdunum, and besides this a single cohort of Roman citizens and an ala of horse. But the legions of the Rhine were not far off; and if their primary duty was to protect the frontier against the Germans, they were scarcely less necessary in order to act as a check on the fickle population of the Gallic provinces.

Gaul like Spain owed its organisation to Augustus. He divided the whole country into four provinces. The first of them, *Gallia Narbonensis*, was an extension of the old *Provincia* possessed by Rome before the time of Caesar's conquests. It included the coast-land and the whole of Southern Gaul as far as the Alps—Provence and Savoy. Its capital was *Narbo*, situated on the Mediterranean considerably west of Marseilles, indeed not very far from the Spanish frontier. The next province had Lugdunum for its capital and was called from that fact *Lugdunensis*; its population was predominantly Celtic. It embraced, roughly speaking, all the country from the valley of the Loire to that of the Seine, Normandy and Brittany being included in it. The third province went by the old name of *Aquitania*. It nowhere reached down to the Mediterranean, but embraced besides the district south of the Garonne the country almost as far north as the left bank of the Loire. It had for its capital *Burdigala* or Bordeaux, and its population was prevaillingly, though not exclusively, Iberian. *Belgica*, the fourth and northern province, embraced all the country north and east of the Seine; its population was mainly German; its capital was *Augusta Treverorum* (or Trèves), situated not far from its north-eastern frontier. The three last provinces were sometimes contrasted with the first by the collective name of *Gallia Comata*. *Gallia Narbonensis* was a senatorial province, the three others were *Caesarian*.

These four provinces differed from one another not only in the predominant character of their population but also in their internal organisation, the contrast being, however, most marked between the first and the other three. In *Gallia Narbonensis*, as in Spain, there existed a large number of Roman and Latin colonies, founded some of them by Julius Caesar, some by Augustus, some by later emperors. *Narbo*, founded originally by C. Gracchus but enlarged by Caesar, *Forum Julii*, and *Arelate* near the mouth of the Rhone, received full rights of Roman citizenship. *Nemausus* and its territory, *Ruscino*, *Avennio*, *Aquae Sextiae*, and *Apta*, acquired all of them Latin rights. Indeed the people of this part of Gaul became to all intents and purposes Roman, capable, if they quitted their own homes and left a representative

behind them, of pushing their fortunes and rising to any position in the Roman state. Throughout the district the old cantonal organisation entirely disappeared and its place was taken by a municipal organisation, the different townships having a considerable stretch of neighbouring territory assigned to them. Latin became here the universally spoken language; Roman law everywhere prevailed. The native civilisation entirely disappeared; Roman civilisation took its place. But, though the Latinising of the southern province was thus complete, Gaul took no part in Latin literature comparable to that taken by Spain. It produced, indeed, some orators of note and its schools of rhetoric were famous, but it contributed no single writer of genius to Latin literature.

The three other provinces were far less completely Latinised. With the exception of Lugdunum (Lyons), no Roman or Latin colonies were originally established among them. The country was organised on a tribal or cantonal, not on a municipal, basis. The country districts did not belong to the town, but the town was the capital of the canton or tribe, frequently taking its name from the tribe of which it was the capital. It was the tribe or canton, not the town, which sent representatives to the national diet which the Romans caused to assemble at Lyons, and it was the canton and not the town which furnished the area for local government, which assessed and raised its own contribution to imperial expenditure, and had the right within certain limits of managing its own local affairs. In these provinces justice was also administered in accordance with local custom rather than Roman law. Again, though proceedings before the magistrates had to be conducted in Latin, the Roman officials not caring to acquire the Celtic language, the native language was employed in the ordinary concerns of everyday life; in some parts it continued to be predominant, and everywhere traces of it long remained. The native religion, too, the religion of the Druids, which under Roman influences almost disappeared from the South, continued to retain its hold on the northern districts and remained throughout a force actively opposed to Rome. The ranks of the Druid priesthood were largely recruited from Britain, and it is probable that the conquest of Britain under Claudius was undertaken in order to meet the Druidical opposition in its remote and chosen home. Economically, too, the condition of the people remained to a great extent unchanged as before the Roman conquest. Just as in Caesar's time the great nobles had a large population dependent on them, standing towards them in a relation of slavery or semi-slavery, the result often of debt, so was it in Tacitus's time still among the Treveri (iv. 69, 70). Nor were the occupations of the North and South less distinct. While in the southern province the Romans had largely introduced the culture of the vine, which also to some extent prevailed in Aquitania, agriculture was the principal industry of the central and eastern provinces, the tending of flocks and herds the

chief business of the North and West. It was at a much later date than that which we have now reached that the cultivation of the vine spread to the banks of the Moselle.

The capital of the three northern provinces was Lugdunum or Lyons, situated at the junction of the Rhone and Saône. This was the place at which the emperor if he visited Gaul usually resided; to it converged all the roads by which the country was traversed. Here was stationed the small force which was considered sufficient to keep the whole country in subjection; here was erected the altar to the genius of Rome and the emperor, at which sacrifices were yearly offered and games celebrated, which formed the Roman hearth of the whole country; here, above all, met the diet of the three Gauls in yearly consultation. This diet consisted of sixty-four members, one representative from each of the sixty-four cantons or tribes into which the country was divided. What its exact powers and functions were we have no precise information, but it seems to have had some power of assessing or distributing taxes in all three provinces; it received statements of grievances and forwarded them to the Roman authorities; lastly, it exercised a certain superintendence over local affairs. Lugdunum, as the Roman centre of the whole country, occupied a position apart. It was founded direct from Rome, and its original inhabitants were mainly full Roman citizens. It was itself a Roman colony free from taxation, but sending no representative to the diet of the Gauls, since it counted as Roman rather than Gallic. In eager rivalry with it was the town of Vienna planted on the other side of the Rhone. This, situated just within the confines of the province, had had Roman or Latin rights conferred on it by Caius. The acquisition of such a distinction had only increased its rivalry with Lyons; and when Valens visited Lyons in 69 A.D. the enmity of the two places had reached such a point that either city was prepared to go any length to effect the ruin of its competitor (H. i. 65). Outside Lyons and the limits of the province very few Gallic states had even by this date received Roman or even Latin rights. Ara Ubiorum, or Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne), and Augusta Treverorum (Trèves) had been made indeed Latin colonies, but this bestowal of such rights on states was of comparatively rare occurrence, though the acquisition of them by individuals was extremely frequent. Augustus, moreover, had passed a decree excluding Gauls, even if they had received Latin rights, from eligibility to office, and consequently from eligibility to the Senate. Claudius had, however, done away with these restrictions and had thus opened a political career at Rome to all those Gauls, who for military service, or for any other cause, once acquired Roman or Latin rights (Ann. xi. 23-25). Galba seems to have gone a step farther and conferred the franchise wholesale on the members of those tribes who had most prominently supported the cause of Vindex (H. i. 8). Such seems to have been the position of affairs with respect to the franchise in Gaul at the

beginning of 69 A.D. In respect of loyalty the eastern cantons situated in the neighbourhood of the great Roman camps were more favourable to the Roman cause than the western, where a spirit of opposition still survived, a spirit fermented not a little by the religious zeal of the Druids. Aquitania also attained to a larger degree of Roman culture than did the more remote and more warlike Belgica.

The movement which drove Nero from the imperial throne and placed Galba upon it in his stead originated in Gaul. Julius Vindex, the author of it, boasted of being through his mother a descendant of Julius Caesar. In the latter part of Nero's reign he was governor apparently of the Caesarian province of Aquitania. The heavy taxation under which the country groaned led him in desperation to rise against the Roman authority, and having invited the chiefs of the neighbouring armies to join the insurrection, he summoned the nation to arms. The call, however, was most imperfectly obeyed, and he found himself with an inferior force confronted by the legions of Germany with Verginius Rufus at their head. Verginius, it is stated, was willing to have treated with him, but the soldiers under his command refused to hear of any parley and attacked with the utmost vigour the forces which Vindex had brought into the field. These forces fell an easy prey to the trained veterans of the German army, and the ease with which they were conquered brought the Gauls generally into contempt. Vindex, seeing his army dispersed, in desperation slew himself. The victors thereupon offered the crown to their own commander, but Verginius had either the prudence or the patriotism to refuse the offered prize, though only, it would seem, after some hesitation. Meanwhile Galba in Spain was persuaded or forced into accepting the position which Verginius had left vacant, and was accepted by the Senate and the people as the best choice open to them under the circumstances.

Galba, when he ascended the throne, proved himself not unmindful of those to whom in the first instance his success might seem to have been due. He granted the boon of Roman citizenship to those cantons and individuals who had shown themselves most energetic in support of the cause of Vindex, and further remitted to them a fourth part of their tribute. These concessions served only to embitter still more the feelings of the German armies and of those tribes of the North-East who had generally sided with them (i. 53). The fact that in some instances Galba deprived these latter of part of their territory to enrich with it the partisans of Vindex added further fuel to the flame. The soldiers now began to talk of Gaul as a conquered country, and to reckon up the wealth they would acquire by its plunder and devastation. The sunny southern lands into which they had strayed to meet the forces of Vindex seemed to them infinitely preferable to the cold and cheerless districts in which hitherto their lot had been cast. They grew restless and discontented, dreaming of golden harvests which awaited them, and of the enjoyment of ease and comfort to which they

had been long strangers. Their recent easy victory and the junction of the two armies served at the same time to inspire them with an overwhelming sense of their own strength and prowess. Galba they despised, partly because they saw in him only the successor of Vindex, partly because he was the representative of the Spanish army which was greatly their inferior.

It was at the prompting of such feelings as these that the two armies of the Rhine shortly after the first of January joined in proclaiming Vitellius, commander of the Lower army, emperor. On his proclamation the tribes of Eastern Gaul, the Lingones and Treveri, declared at once in his favour—outstripping even the soldiers themselves in their zeal and enthusiasm. On the other hand the march of Valens through Gaul with forty thousand soldiers of the army of Lower Germany at his back was the march of a conqueror through a conquered country. At every stage, indeed, the people hastened to make their peace with him and with his disorderly soldiery, but they made it only at the cost of large bribes and plentiful supplies of provisions. Vienna, though a Roman or a Latin colony, narrowly escaped destruction, and had to beg its safety from the troops and their officers. The soldiers considered that they were now reaping the fruits of their victory over Vindex, and Valens made use of their feelings to enrich and to gratify himself. At Lyons the army was joined by the 1st legion and the ala Tauriana stationed there, and a single cohort of Roman citizens was left to guard a country which felt at least as much aversion to Vitellius as to Otho, though it feared him more. Caecina's march took him less directly through Gaul, but his treatment of the Helvetii proves that he and his soldiers were not inclined to regard the provincials with any greater favour or leniency than were their comrades of the Lower army (i. 63-66, 67-69).

In the actual conflict between Vitellius and Otho Gaul threw itself heartily neither on the one side nor the other. The descent of Otho's troops on the district of the Maritime Alps was intended, no doubt, to have the effect of raising Southern Gaul in his cause, and Valens found it necessary to detach a part of his troops to guard against such a danger. But no native rising took place, and the expedition from this point of view proved a complete failure. When Vitellius started southward he carried with him the majority of the troops destined to guard the German frontier. Their place had to be supplied by levies hastily raised in Gaul itself (ii. 57). As he advanced through Gaul the news met him that his soldiers had been successful at Bedriacum, and that his rival Otho had put himself to death. Vitellius even on receipt of the news did not venture to send back to their quarters the troops that accompanied him; they were bent on sharing with those who had gone before the prizes of war and the enjoyments of Italy, and had no mind to return to their northern homes. So they continued to advance by land while Vitellius himself floated idly and luxuriously

down the stream of the Arar. At Lyons he first established the parade of a court, being enabled to do so by the munificence of Julius Blaesus, ruler of the Lugdunensis, who furnished him with the means. At Lyons too he was met by Valens and Caecina and the other chiefs of the victorious army, and here in their presence he conferred on his little son the name of Germanicus, a sign of the source from which he drew his power. Gaul had no better cause to love the soldiers of Vitellius than she had previously had for loving those of Valens and Caecina. Rapine and insult remained still the order of the day. The rising of Mariccus which took place at this time is an index of the state of popular feeling in the Gallic provinces. Mariccus, a humble member of the humble tribe of the Boii, themselves dependants of the more powerful Haedui, gave himself out as a god and the saviour of his country. His call to arms was obeyed by his own countrymen and by some of the villages of the Haedui, but the nobles held aloof, and assisted by some cohorts which Vitellius placed at their disposal easily dispersed the fanatical rabble, as Tacitus describes them. Mariccus paid the penalty for his patriotism by the death of a slave. When Vitellius arrived in Italy he thought it more prudent as well as more economical to dismiss to their own homes the majority of the Gallic auxiliaries who had flocked to the standards of Valens during his march through the country. The sudden disbanding of so large a body of troops must have added to the elements of disturbance already existing in the country, and helped materially to pave the way for that wide-spread rising of the Gauls in which the revolt of Civilis culminated. The hostility which the march of Vitellius and his armies had excited in the country is shown later on by the reception accorded to Valens when as a fugitive he attempted to land on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis. Valerius Paulinus, procurator of the province, stationed at Colonia Forojuliensis, had, directly the advance of the Flavians into Italy had been heard of, at once bound over the inhabitants of that part of the world to allegiance to Vespasian. When Valens attempted to land, Paulinus gathered hastily together some of the troops recently disbanded by Vitellius, as well as some civilians. By them Valens was forced to return to his ships, and driven shortly afterwards by adverse winds to the Stoechades Islands, near Marseilles, was there captured by order of Paulinus. On receipt of this news the Gauls lost no time in throwing in their lot with the fortunes of Vespasian. The subsequent history of Gaul in this year will be traced when we come to deal with the outbreak of Civilis.

4. GERMANIA INFERIOR AND SUPERIOR

The two Germanies, as they existed at this time, were something less than provinces in the ordinary sense of the term. They were frontier districts presided over by great standing camps. Originally

they had been intended by Augustus to be provinces proper embracing all the country from the Rhine to the Elbe, but the defeat of Varus had induced him to relinquish most of the district beyond the Rhine, retaining only so much of it as was necessary for the defence of the frontier. At the beginning of Tiberius's reign Germanicus had indeed been allowed to resume for a time a forward policy; but his campaigns were not wholly successful, and Tiberius had himself at last interfered to repress the movement, and Germanicus was sent off on service elsewhere. Claudius had further abandoned whatever possessions the Romans retained on the right bank of the Lower Rhine, and the northern province became restricted to the country which lay between the north-eastern frontier of Gaul and the Rhine itself. The limits thus left to it were comparatively narrow. It embraced the tribes of the Menapii, Tungri, Cugerni, Ubii, and the Batavi and Caninefates in their island. It thus extended over what is now Belgium and a small part of North-Eastern France and Western Germany. The boundary between it and the southern province was between Andernach and Remagen, near Brohl, so that Cologne and Bonn belonged to the northern, Bingen and Coblenz to the upper province. The civil capital of the northern province was Cologne (*Colonia Agrippinensis*), called after Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero. Its earlier name had been *Ara Ubiorum*, and it had been, perhaps, designed to occupy the same position in relation to a Germanic federation which *Lugdunum* held with reference to the Gauls. The plan, however, was, as a consequence of the defeat of Varus, never carried out, and had been by this time entirely abandoned. The military capital was *Vetera Castra*, lower down the Rhine near Xanthén. This spot was selected as military centre for two reasons: it occupied the first high ground rising from the level plain through which the Rhine runs in its lower course, and it was situated exactly opposite the valley of the Lippe, which furnishes the most convenient access to the interior of Northern Germany. Two legions were permanently encamped here, a third at *Novesium* (Neuss), a fourth at *Bonna* (Bonn). The four legions comprising the Lower army at this time were the 1st (*Germanica*) with its headquarters at Bonn, the 5th (*Macedonica*) and the 15th *Primigenia* belonging to *Vetera*, and the 16th *Primigenia* to *Novesium*. These legions would seem to have been mainly recruited among the neighbouring tribes, whether Gallic or German.

The upper province was of greater extent than the lower. It included the following tribes—the *Rauraci* round *Bâle* in Western Switzerland, the *Triboci* in Alsace, the *Lingones* and *Sequani* round *Langres* and *Besançon* in Eastern France, the *Nemetes* in the country round *Spire* on both banks of the Rhine, and north of them the *Vangiones* south of *Mainz* in the district round *Worms*. It is further likely that the *Mattiaci* in the lower valley of the *Main* and in the district of *Wiesbaden*, and the "*Agri decumates*" in the region of

the Neckar, were also already included within the province, though the line of forts by which the district was subsequently defended was not built till Flavian times, and the Lines (or barricade of earth) connecting the frontier of the Rhine with that of the Danube, was not constructed till some time later. Only three legions belonged at this time to the army of Upper Germany. Two of them, the 4th Macedonica and the 22d, stationed at Mogontiacum or Mainz; while the other, the 21st, was at Vindonissa (Windisch) in Western Switzerland. Mogontiacum was the military capital of the upper as Vetera was of the lower province. It commanded the entrance of the valley of the Main, the second great highway leading up into the plains and forests of central Germany. As the legions of Lower, so the legions of Upper Germany were recruited mainly from the neighbouring tribes, and their auxiliary forces were also drawn from the same districts. It was this which gave to them their particularly dangerous and unstable character. When the legions which accompanied Vitellius and had made him emperor marched into Rome they seemed to the Romans little else than barbarians, marked out as such by their foreign tongue, their dress of skins, their huge stature, their shaggy hair, and enormous weapons (ii. 88). The incapacity they showed to withstand the deadly climate of Rome points also to their northern origin. After proclaiming Vitellius emperor the great majority of the soldiers of both armies accompanied either his two lieutenants or the emperor himself into Italy. There many of them were allowed to enrol themselves in the praetorian guard, and availed themselves of the privilege. Undaunted by Caecina's treachery they remained faithful to the emperor they had chosen, and though left without a general fought in his interests with stubborn valour the second battle of Bedriacum. The same valour they displayed at that time they displayed again before the gates and in the streets of Rome. Their final defence of the praetorian camp cost their foes many a brave soldier, and at the last "they were more deserted by their emperor than deserted him." At length the bones of most of them lay whitening on the plains of Italy or in the streets of Rome, while in the frontier camps there remained only their names and hastily-raised recruits to take their place. It is scarcely wonderful if under these circumstances the Germans regarded it as a favourable opportunity to try conclusions with their ancient adversary, and the Gauls were tempted to assert their liberty and to seek to gain redress for the manifold wrongs they had suffered lately at the hands of the neighbouring armies. The armies and their commanders had sown the wind, and were to reap the whirlwind.

5. BRITAIN

Britain was at this time almost the latest of Rome's conquests. From the days of Julius Caesar to those of Claudius it had remained

practically unmolested, the Romans contenting themselves with keeping up a connection with the royal house which ruled in Camulodunum. But the Druids of Britain continued to be a source of disaffection to the Celtic tribes of North-Western France, and Claudius consequently resolved upon the conquest of the distant island. Aulus Plautius was in the year 43 A.D. despatched at the head of four legions to effect its subjugation. In a single campaign he succeeded in over-running the country as far as the Thames, and was then joined by Claudius himself. The two together annexed in spite of the resistance of Caractacus the whole southern and eastern district up to the Humber. Trade and colonisation followed speedily on the heels of conquest ; Roman merchants penetrated everywhere, and within the next four years the Roman colonies of Camulodunum (Colchester), intended as the capital of the country, Londinium (London), Verulamium (St. Albans), and Aquae Salis (Bath) were already founded. The four legions which had been employed in the conquest of the country remained as its permanent garrison, and were sufficient to retain what had been already won and to make fresh acquisitions as opportunity arose. Wales, however, both north and south, remained unsubdued, and to guard against danger from this quarter the camps of three out of the four legions were established in its immediate neighbourhood—that of the 14th at Viroconium (Wroxeter), in the valley of the Severn near Shrewsbury ; that of the 2nd at Isca (Caerleon), in the valley of the Usk ; that of the 20th at Deva (Chester), in the valley of the Dee. Eight years before our present date a great crisis had occurred. Suetonius Paulinus, appointed governor by Nero, had resolved on conquering North Wales and rooting out the Druids from their stronghold in the island of Anglesey. He had taken with him the majority of the Roman troops quartered in Britain, and after severe fighting had succeeded at last in effecting his object. But the Britons, headed by Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni in Norfolk, who had suffered grievous wrong at the hands of Nero, seized the opportunity of the absence of the legions in this remote corner of the kingdom to rise in concerted revolt, and determined to rid themselves of a tyranny which seemed to them no longer tolerable. Camulodunum was besieged and taken, and all the Romans in it put to the sword. The same fate befel those in London and St. Albans. Petilius Cerialis, the general who took so prominent a part afterwards in the suppression of the revolt of Civilis, hastening up from Lincolnshire to the rescue of Camulodunum with the 9th legion, was defeated and lost all his infantry. Paulinus himself narrowly escaped a similar fate. As he hurried back from Wales he was encountered by the whole body of the insurgents. The valour and steadiness of the 14th legion and of their Batavian auxiliaries secured the victory for the Romans against great odds, and enabled them to retain their hold of a country which had almost passed out of their grasp. Queen Boadicea in despair killed herself by taking poison. The Romans did not after the suppression of the rebellion push forward

their conquests either to the North or West. Wales and the district north of the Humber remained still outside the limits of their dominions. Paulinus was recalled shortly after the uprising, and his two successors, Petronius Turpilianus and Trebellius Maximus, were neither of them men of much energy or enterprise. The Roman force in the island was further weakened by the recall in 68 A.D. of the 14th legion, together with its Batavian auxiliaries. Nero summoned them to Italy to take part in the war which he was planning against the East. Trebellius Maximus was still in command when the Civil War broke out. Tacitus describes him (Ag. 16) as "slothful and with no experience of camp life, one who excused himself from either exercising discipline over his troops or attacking the enemy on the plea of the Civil War." Trebellius's difficulties were further added to by the turbulence of one of his subordinates, Caelius, legate of the 20th legion. Caelius accused him of ruining the province by his avarice and want of energy (H. i. 60). Trebellius retorted on Caelius that he was undermining discipline by his unruly conduct. Matters had gone almost to the length of an armed quarrel between the two when a deputation arrived from the German army inviting the forces of Britain to throw themselves into the cause of Vitellius. To this invitation the legions seem to have listened, and Trebellius, fearing personal violence from his mutinous troops, fled for refuge to Vitellius. In his absence Britain was ruled by the legates of the legions (H. i. 60). Vitellius after a time sent Vettius Bolanus to take over the command which Trebellius's flight had left vacant (H. ii. 65); but Bolanus, though he managed to secure the goodwill of his soldiers, showed little more energy than his predecessor, and neither extended the Roman dominions in the island nor took any active part in the Civil War. When Vitellius at a later date, frightened by the gathering clouds in the East, summoned assistance from Britain, Bolanus hesitated, but seems so far to have listened to his request that detachments of the three British legions—the 2d, 9th, and 20th—are mentioned as present at Bedriacum. Their place in Britain was taken by the 14th, whom Vitellius thought it safer to send back after the first battle of Bedriacum; but their Batavian auxiliaries refused to accompany them and remained behind in Gaul (ii. 66). In the midst of the Civil War a revolt occurred in Britain itself, though it did not attain very formidable proportions. It was headed by Venutius, husband of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes (in Yorkshire). Cartismandua had been for a long while the faithful friend of the Romans, and had surrendered to them Caractacus, the patriot king, who had for many years headed the opposition to their advance in Southern Britain (Ann. xii. 33-36). At last she had outraged the sentiment of her people by an adulterous connection with her charioteer Velllocatus. Her subjects rose in revolt against her, and pressed her so hard that she had to seek assistance from Rome (H. iii. 45). The war lingered on during the last months of 69 and the whole of 70 A.D., but was not sufficiently

serious to hinder the despatch of the recently-returned 14th legion to the support of Cerialis on the Rhine (iv. 68, 79).

We must now return to the provinces in the more immediate neighbourhood of Italy itself.

6. AFRICA

The province of Africa first passed into the possession of the Romans on the fall of Carthage at the close of the third Punic war. As originally constituted the province was very small, the greater part of the Carthaginian possessions being ceded to Masinissa, king of Numidia, and incorporated in his dominions. The reorganisation of the province was due to Julius Caesar. He refounded Carthage which soon, as a consequence of its position, became one of the most thriving cities of the Empire, and annexed to the province of Africa most of the Numidian kingdom of Juba I., who had taken a leading part in the Civil War against him. Within the province of Africa was included also the district of Tripolis to the East. Augustus at the division of the provinces handed it over to the Senate, and it became from that time onwards, along with Asia, the most important of all the senatorial commands. Julius first and then Augustus adopted the policy of founding Roman colonies within its borders, the two most considerable of these being Utica, the earliest, and Carthage. Other cities with Latin or Italian rights were soon added, till at last such Roman, Latin, and Italian municipalities largely took the place of the earlier Phoenician towns with which the country had been thickly studded. At the same time the Latin language supplanted the Phoenician and the original Berber tongue, and the whole district became by degrees thoroughly Latinised. Caius introduced two important modifications in its government. In the first place he definitely separated off from it the two Mauretaniae, constituting them two distinct procuratorial commands; in the second place he appointed an imperial legate to command the legion and the auxiliary forces, by which the frontier was protected, side by side with the senatorial proconsul. That which gave to Africa and its governor their interest in the eyes of the *princeps* was the important place the province held in relation to the corn-supply of Rome. One-third of the whole yearly supply of the city came from this district, which was renowned alike for its fertility and for the large slave-worked farms on which the corn was raised.

At the time of Nero's fall Clodius Macer was in command of the forces in Africa either as proconsul or *legatus Caesaris*. Incited by Crispinilla, one of Nero's creatures, he formed the design of seizing on the corn supply and so forcing the city into submission to himself. Meanwhile within the province he established himself as a petty tyrant, but he was very unpopular with the provincials, whom he had treated with cruelty and subjected to all kinds of extortion, so Galba had no difficulty in pro-

curing his removal. The news of his death reached Rome shortly before Galba's arrival in the city (i. 7, 73). On Otho's accession Africa, at the instigation of Crescens, a freedman of Nero, welcomed the proclamation of the new emperor and held high feast in his honour (i. 76). Otho in gratitude granted it, along with Cappadocia, a new code of laws (i. 78). Vipstanus Apronianus was at this time proconsul, but he had only civil not military authority. There was stationed in the country a single legion (the 3d Augusta), and certain cohorts which Macer had enrolled and which he had, perhaps, invested with the form of a legion; inscriptions in Africa testify at least to the existence of a legio Macriana. These latter at the time of Macer's overthrow were disbanded by Galba but recalled by Vitellius, to whom both troops and provincials were alike favourable, as he had been liked and popular during his administration of the province. Valerius Festus, imperial procurator, legate of the legion, and commander of the troops, himself a relation of Vitellius, played after the battle of Bedriacum a double part. Openly he supported the cause of Vitellius; in secret he carried on communications with Vespasian (ii. 98). At a later date, when fortune had declared for the Flavians, he hesitated no more. He first tried to corrupt L. Piso, who had succeeded Vipstanus Apronianus as proconsul, and to induce him to declare himself openly for Vitellius. This Piso refused to do, though the zeal of the Africans in the cause of Vitellius was notorious. When this attempt failed a centurion was despatched from Rome by Mucianus to kill him, and treacherously incited the people to proclaim Piso himself emperor. Piso, warned by an earlier messenger of what was intended, kept himself shut up in his house, refused to accept the acclamations of the populace, and gave orders for the execution of the centurion who had been sent to murder him. Festus, however, was not to be balked; he despatched Carthaginian and Moorish auxiliaries into the palace charged with Piso's murder. These, guided by Baebius Massa, afterwards a celebrated informer under Domitian, succeeded in discovering and slaying the unfortunate proconsul. Festus, who had waited the event at Adrumetum, hastened at once to the legion, put to death any of the officers hostile to himself or friendly to Piso, and succeeded in this way in overawing the troops. Then he employed them in repressing one of those border quarrels so frequent at all times in Africa. A war had sprung up between the people of Oea, in the eastern part of the province, and Leptis Major. The former, to compensate for their own want of strength, had called in the nomad tribe of Garamantes to their assistance. The Garamantes had joined them nothing loth, and had amassed considerable booty at the expense of the people of Leptis. Most of this Festus and his troops managed to recover. More important, however, was the fact that his action had gained the province for Vespasian and had saved Rome from any chance of being starved under its new rulers (iv. 48-50).

7. SICILY

Sicily was the oldest of the transmarine possessions of Rome, the first of her provinces. It came into her possession as the result of the first Punic war. In old days Rome had derived much of her corn supply from this fertile island, but after the acquisition of Africa and Egypt the corn, which used to be obtained from Sicily, was obtained more cheaply from them, and the island lost much of the importance it had previously had. Though it still continued to be ruled by a senatorial governor it became to all intents and purposes a part of Italy, and apparently not one of the more important or thriving parts. It is scarcely mentioned by Tacitus in the *Annals*, and not once in the *Histories*.

8. SARDINIA AND CORSICA

These two islands were next to Sicily the earliest acquired foreign possessions of Rome. She took them from Carthage in the interval between the first and the second Punic wars at a time when Carthage was occupied by a revolt of her subjects in Africa. The unjust seizure of the islands was one of the causes which helped most directly to bring about the second Punic war. The islands thus unjustly acquired did not prove much of a blessing to Rome. The low-lying coast lands were unhealthy; the mountains teemed with brigands, whom it was difficult to reduce to and keep in order. At the partition of the provinces Augustus had originally assigned the two islands to the Senate, but in consequence of the prevalence of brigandage Tiberius had himself since taken them over, and they were governed till the time of Nero by the emperor. Nero had given them back to the Senate, but the officer in charge was still styled procurator. At the commencement of the war between Otho and Vitellius the presence of Otho's fleet in their neighbourhood had at first secured the islands for the Othonians (ii. 16). But Pacarius, the procurator, out of hostility to Otho determined that Corsica at any rate should throw in its lot with the cause of Vitellius. He had murdered those who had the good sense to oppose his designs, and forced the islanders to swear allegiance to the chief of his choice. But when he proceeded further to drill them and to attempt to make them submit to military discipline the unruly natives repented of their weakness in giving way to him; they bided their time, caught him unprotected and off his guard, murdered him, and carried off his head as a trophy to Otho. Yet the acquisition or loss of the islands did not, as Tacitus says, affect very much the main issue of the war; and as Vitellius and Vespasian successively conquered on the plains of Italy, the islands of the neighbouring sea passed along with Italy itself into the hands of the conquerors (ii. 16).

9. ALPES MARITIMAE, RAETIA, VINDELICIA, AND NORICUM

Four small provinces encircled Italy on the west and north—the Alpes Maritimae, Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum. They were all finally subdued by Augustus, and all owed their organisation to him; all exhibit the same general characteristics. They were all minor provinces, governed by procurators directly appointed by the emperor. Each of them was garrisoned not by Roman troops but by cohorts and *alae* of the allies, supported by a native militia. Augustus's object in thus organising them was to keep the great military commands at a distance from Italy and to encircle that country by a cordon of minor states from which no immediate danger would have to be apprehended, but which yet should be sufficiently near to the great armies of the frontier to make a revolt dangerous and unlikely. Thus Raetia was kept in check by the camp at Vindonissa, Vindelicia and Noricum by the standing camps in Pannonia.

The Alpes Maritimae was constituted a province by Augustus in 14 B.C., at which time he was engaged in organising the whole Alpine frontier of Italy. It was governed by a procurator, and was protected by forces of the allies raised among its native Ligurian population. It covered the greater part of what is now called the Western Riviera, but also followed the line of the Alps inland for a considerable distance. Tacitus, who probably knew it personally since his father-in-law had a house in the district, speaks of it as a prosperous country—the fields full of crops, the houses standing open (ii. 12). The thriving town of Albintimilium, the capital, was sacked by the Othonians at the beginning of the campaign against Vitellius. In the sack the mother of Agricola lost her life, and much of Agricola's patrimony was plundered (Ag. 7). The raid, however, into this defenceless district did not influence the main issue of the war, nor was the Othonian fleet able even to effect a serious diversion by threatening the coasts of the Narbonensis. The Vitellians were then too strong in Gaul, Otho's fleet too weak in troops for the Vitellians to feel the line of their advance even threatened. For a moment later on the district once more appears on the scene. Fabius Valens, flying before the forces of Vespasian, sought and found with Marius Maturus, procurator of the Alpes Maritimae, a safe though a temporary shelter. On his venturing, however, to attempt a landing on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis he was captured at the Stoechades Insulae by Valerius Paulinus, procurator at Forum Julii, and carried off in triumph to the Flavian leaders (iii. 42, 43).

Three small districts of nominally independent tribes, known by the names of the Alpes Graiae, Cottiae, and Penninae, separate the Alpes Maritimae from the neighbouring province of Raetia. This, though far more important than the tiny district of the Alpes Maritimae, yet resembled it in its main features—that is to say, it was an imperial

province governed by a procurator, had no standing army quartered in it, but was protected by its own native troops and militia. The legion stationed at Vindonissa served to keep it in check, and it had at the time of its original conquest been deprived by the Romans of a considerable proportion of its inhabitants. It was conquered in 16 and 15 B.C. by Drusus and Tiberius, the adopted sons of Augustus, and owed its organisation as a province to the first emperor. It embraced within its limits Eastern Switzerland and the western portion of the Tyrol, the northern slopes of the more easterly chain of the central Alps. In the period before us it played an early part in the Civil War. It joined Vitellius immediately on hearing of his proclamation, and when Caecina was advancing into Italy and proposed to attack the Helvetii on his way, he appealed to the native levies of Raetia to aid him in his enterprise by falling on the rear of the enemy while he attacked them in front. The Raeti listened only too readily to his commands, and were not a little instrumental in procuring for him the easy victory which he obtained (i. 67). At a later time when Antonius Primus, Vespasian's general, was advancing at the head of the Illyrian forces into Italy, Raetia under its procurator, Porcius Septimius, faithful to Vitellius, threatened his right flank. The neighbouring province of Noricum was, however, favourable to the Flavianist cause, and its militia, together with an ala Auriana despatched by Antonius to its assistance, was sufficient to hold in check the forces of the Raetian governor (iii. 5). Still the fact that the Vitellians kept the command of Raetia was an important element in the situation, since it made easy the forwarding of reinforcements from Germany into Italy (iii. 8, 14).

Vindelicia, embracing the country north and east of the Lake of Constance as far as the Upper Danube, was annexed to the Empire just at the same time with Raetia, and also received its organisation from Augustus, 14 B.C. It perhaps at this time formed a part or district of Raetia; at any rate it nowhere appears as taking independent action. The Romans seem to have valued it chiefly as providing a neutral territory between themselves and the tribes of Germany. Its capital and only important town was Augusta Vindelicorum (now Augsburg). This Tacitus praises in the *Germany* as a prosperous and thriving town, situated in the midst of a fertile and well-tilled district. But the prosperity of the city would seem to have dated rather from the reign of Domitian than from the period we are now considering.

The last of the Italian frontier provinces was Noricum, lying between Raetia and Vindelicia on the west, and Pannonia on the east, bounded on the north by the Danube and on the south partly by Northern Italy, partly by Dalmatia. It embraces a good deal of what is now German Austria. This region, which yielded to the Romans almost without a struggle, received its organisation like Raetia and Vindelicia from Augustus. It differed, however, in its subsequent development considerably from them. It was far more accessible than

they were from Italy, the Eastern Alps presenting no such barrier to intercourse as that furnished by the Western Alps. The result was that this whole district was early and completely Latinised. Roman merchants everywhere traversed it; Roman towns grew up in its midst. At a later date it counted practically as a part of Italy, and was reckoned such in the arrangements for the levy. Its sympathies in the war of 69 A.D. were just the opposite to those of Raetia. For Vitellius it had no liking; it threw itself heartily into the cause of Vespasian as soon as his generals appeared on the scene. Its troops were used as a set-off to those of Raetia at the time of Antonius's advance (iii. 5); at a later date Sextilius Felix at the head of the Norican militia making his way through Raetia contributed an important element towards the final suppression of the revolt of Civilis (iv. 70). Nor is there any difficulty in explaining the divergence of view between the two districts. As Tacitus says, these smaller provinces took their colour from the legions with which they were most closely associated; the Pannonian army dominated Noricum as naturally as the German armies controlled Raetia.

10. THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES AND THRACE

The three provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia were included under the name *Illyricum* in the wider use of that term (H. i. 76). All three provinces, closely associated with one another, received their organisation from Augustus along with the other frontier provinces of Italy; they all joined in the great Pannonian revolt which marked the years 7 and 8 A.D. Between them they included all that part of the Balkan Peninsula which lies north of Macedonia and Thrace, together with all the district south of the Danube which lay to the east of Noricum, *i.e.* the greater part of the Balkan States and of Eastern Austria.

(1) Dalmatia had been indeed long subject to Rome before the time of Augustus, but little progress had been made in civilising it or even in repressing the piracy with which the upper part of the Adriatic was infested. It was not till after the close of the Dalmatian insurrection in 9 A.D. that the task of subjugating the country and reducing it to order was undertaken in good earnest. Hitherto the towns along the east coast of the Adriatic had been Greek towns, such as Epidamnus and Apollonia, but Augustus now founded a number of colonies with Latin rights, Epidaurum (Ragusa), Naronae, Salonae, Iader. Colonists, mainly dispossessed proprietors in Italy, were also sent there to strengthen the Italian element, and gradually the whole coast-line adopted the Latin language and became Latinised. Inland the Latinising did not extend very far—the natural configuration of the country, so mountainous and difficult of access, prevented that—but the whole of the coast had become before the third century a thriving Latin district. In 69 A.D. the process was going on, but was not completed. Salonae was already a prosperous place, and Burnum and Delminium,

the standing camps of the legions, were centres from which Roman influences were gradually spreading.

In the events of this year Dalmatia does not play as leading a part as Pannonia or even as Moesia. Its governor was Pompeius Silvanus, an old and unenterprising man (ii. 86). He had under him two legions, the 11th (Claudia) and the famous 14th, the latter having been sent there apparently after Nero's death (ii. 11). These, perhaps hailing Otho as Nero's successor, had promptly declared themselves for him (i. 76), and detachments of them two thousand strong were sent on to join Otho at Brixellum and actually took part in the battle of Bedriacum. After this battle the 14th did not return to Dalmatia but was by Vitellius sent back into Britain, so that there would seem to have been only a single legion in the country when Vespasian's emissaries came to raise the district. This, the 11th, following the lead of the Pannonian and Moesian legions, rallied to the standard of Antonius, and seems to have been not a little instrumental in winning over to the same cause the fleet stationed at Ravenna, which was largely manned by native Dalmatians. The desertion of the fleet from Vitellius was one of the turning points in the war. A little later we find six thousand native Dalmatians accompanying the 11th legion on its advance into Italy (iii. 50), and filling up the vacancies which occurred in Vespasian's fleet in consequence of many of the sailors being drafted off into the legions. At a still later date the 11th, which seems not meanwhile to have returned to Dalmatia, accompanied Cerialis to meet Civilis in Gaul (iv. 68).

(2) Pannonia was a large district bounded on the west by Noricum, on the north and east by the Danube, and extending so far south as to include the valleys of the Drave and Save. Indeed the province was gradually extended northward from these southern valleys. The headquarters of the troops were originally at Siscia and Sirmium in the valley of the Save; then they were moved to Poetovio (Pettau) on the confines of Noricum in the valley of the Drave (this the headquarters of the 13th legion seems to have been the military capital of the district at this time, H. iii. 1); finally under Vespasian they were planted at Carnuntum (Petronel) and Vindobona (Vienna) on the Danube itself. The district was peopled by a portion of the same Albanian stock who inhabited Dalmatia, and offered in the first instance little opposition to the advance of the Roman arms. It joined indeed in the great insurrection of 6-9 A.D., but when subdued in the latter year did not again renew the struggle. It gradually adopted Roman customs and the Latin language from the legions stationed in its midst. Pannonia formed in the times of the Empire one of the great military and so one of the great political centres of the Roman world. "In the army of the Danube the Pannonian corps held the leading position, like the Rhenish in the West; and the Dalmatian and Moesian forces attached themselves to them and were subordinate

to them in the same way as the legions of Spain and Britain were subordinate to those of the Rhine" (Mommson). The legions forming the army of Pannonia at this time were the 13th and the 7th Galbiana. They espoused at once the cause of Otho (i. 76) and sent forward detachments to join him at Brixellum (ii. 11); they seem to have come up soon enough to take a part in the battle of Bedriacum (ii. 86). After the battle the 7th were dismissed to their winter quarters, but the 13th were retained for a time in Italy to assist in the construction of amphitheatres at Cremona and Bononia (ii. 67). It was with these legions that the movement in Europe for setting Vespasian on the throne originated. Antonius Primus, the prime author of it, succeeded in first winning over to the cause his own legion, the 7th, and the 13th shortly afterwards joined him. Both legions smarted under their recent defeat at Bedriacum, and the 13th resented their employment on the works at Cremona and Bononia. A conference of leaders was held shortly afterwards at Poetovio, and it was then decided that an immediate advance should be made into Italy. T. Ampius Flavianus, the consular commander of the district, offered no opposition, and Antonius Primus taking with him the cavalry and cohorts of the allies commenced his march at once (iii. 6). At Patavium the two legions came up with him (iii. 7) (news of a preliminary victory in a skirmish having already reached them) and advanced with him to Verona. Both took part in the second fight at Bedriacum and in the subsequent siege and sack of Cremona, and the 7th especially distinguished itself. Both legions accompanied Antonius and Mucianus in their march to Rome, and shared in the fighting in and around the capital. The 7th, however, regarded with jealousy by Mucianus on account of its devotion to Antonius, was in the course of the winter sent back to its quarters in Pannonia (iv. 39). The 13th seems to have gone back some little time later.

(3) The province of Moesia was occupied by Augustus in order to keep in check the barbarous and predatory tribes that lay beyond the Danube. The district itself, the *Ripa Thraciae*, as it was called, belonged to tribes not of the Albanian but of the Thracian stock. It was bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by Pannonia, on the east by the Euxine; from Thrace, Macedon, and Illyria, it was separated by the ranges of Haemus and Scardus. It comprised what is now Servia and Bulgaria. The Romans had done at this time little to civilise the country, and it was rather a district commanded and controlled by standing camps than a province. Like Pannonia and Dalmatia, the emperor kept the control of it directly in his own hands. The country had been conquered without any very great difficulty, but the restlessness and predatory habits of the tribes on the other side of the Danube, the Rhoxolani, Jazyges, Daci, and Getae, made the defence of the frontier a task of difficulty, and necessitated the keeping up of a large force for the purpose. Three legions

at present occupied the district, the 3d Gallica lately brought thither from Syria, the 7th Claudia, and the 8th Augusta. Its ruler was M. Aponius. The Moesian legions, like the Pannonian, early accepted Otho as emperor (i. 76). Almost immediately after his accession they were called upon to repel an invasion of the tribes living on the other side of the Danube (i. 79). This they were able to effect without any great loss on their own part; the liberality with which on this occasion Otho rewarded their services tended to confirm them in hearty loyalty to him. They readily obeyed Otho's summons to join him in the plains of the Po, and advanced as far as Aquileia on their march into Italy. Unfortunately for him the impatience of Otho did not give them time to reach Bedriacum, and hearing of the ruin of the cause they had adopted they returned from Aquileia into their winter quarters (ii. 85). Before returning home they broke into and plundered their military chest. The fear of punishment for this offence made them the more eager to espouse the cause of Vespasian, and even before the Pannonian and Dalmatian forces had moved they had already sworn allegiance to his cause. The 3d, recently arrived from Syria, took the lead, as was natural, in thus acting. When Antonius marched into Italy they hastened at once to join him (iii. 9, 10), and took their part in the fighting which followed, in the battle of Bedriacum, and in the sack of Cremona. With Antonius they marched on to Rome. From Rome the 3d legion was sent back into Syria by Mucianus, who feared them as the ardent supporters of Arrius Varus (iv. 39); the 7th seems to have returned to its quarters in Moesia, while the 8th was sent off to support Domitian and Cerialis in Gaul (iv. 68). While the legions were absent in Italy, the exposed district was threatened by the Dacians, who had already captured the minor forts by which the bank of the Danube was defended, and were preparing to attack the camps of the legions when Mucianus ordered up the 6th legion and succeeded with its help in effectually checking them (iii. 46).

(4) Thrace was closely connected with Moesia. Augustus placed the country under the government of Rhoemetalses of the royal house of the Odrysae; Rhoemetalses in return stood by the Romans in the years of the Pannonian revolt (6-9 A.D.), though the Thracians generally joined the insurgents. In spite of many uprisings and disturbances the country was allowed to remain under its native princes till the year 46 A.D., when Claudius reduced it to a regular province. Like Macedonia and Achaia it was by Claudius handed over to the Senate, since it did not reckon as a frontier district, nor was any standing army kept within it. Though the interior remained practically unsubdued, and the task of civilising the population went on in these districts but slowly, there were thriving cities, chiefly of Greek origin, scattered along the coast; and the population being brave and warlike furnished a large number of recruits to the Roman army, the names of Thracians being found in inscriptions in all parts of the Empire.

II. MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA

The two Greek provinces of Macedonia and Achaia play a very subordinate part in the *Histories*. Both had no army, both were ruled by senatorial governors. In both Rome left untouched as far as possible the earlier Greek organisation which prevailed when she conquered them; she made no serious attempt to introduce the Latin language or Roman customs among them. Macedonia was no longer as important as it had been under the Republic. With the formation of the provinces of Pannonia and Moesia its governor was relieved of all care for the protection of the frontier. Achaia was in the year 27 B.C. taken from it and made a separate administrative district, and the neighbouring tribes to the north which had given trouble under the Republic were now finally subdued. That which gave Macedonia such importance as it still retained was its position on the main road between east and west. Its port, Dyrrhachium, was the usual port of disembarkation for travellers bound eastward, while the Via Egnatia which traversed the whole country formed the most ordinary route of communication between Rome and her Eastern possessions. Along this road lay the most important colonies which the country possessed. Dyrrhachium itself had a considerable trade; Thessalonica, the capital of the country, reckoned almost as one of the great cities of the Empire; Philippi, the centre of the gold-mining district, was a place of wealth and consideration. The only considerable town not on the Egnatian road was Stobi, situated at the junction of the Erigon and Axios. Economically the country seems to have languished under the Empire, but its people furnished many recruits to the Roman army and more particularly to the imperial guard.

Achaia, which included Thessaly and the afterwards separated district of Epirus, was like Macedonia an unarmed and a senatorial province. For a while, indeed, Tiberius, at the request of the inhabitants, had taken over both provinces into his own hands; but Claudius had restored them to the Senate and with the Senate they still remained. The policy of Augustus, adopted also by his successors, was to allow the Greeks as much liberty as was compatible with the safety of the Empire and the maintenance of order within the district itself. The old Delphic Amphictyony was reconstituted under Augustus, being made to embrace within it Epirus, with its newly-founded capital Nicopolis, and Macedon, as well as the older states. Athens and Sparta were created into free cities, exempted from tribute, and allowed to manage their own affairs, elect their own magistrates, and assess their own taxes. Similar privileges were conferred on the communities of free Laconians, on Dyme and Patrae. Corinth, refounded by Julius Caesar, was made into a Roman colony, and became the capital of the whole province and the residence of the Roman proconsul. On

the mainland there were created into free cities, besides Athens, Tanagra, Thespieae, Plataea, Delphi, Abae, Elataea, and Amphissa ; all these had within certain limits the right of self-government, of managing their own affairs, imposing their own fiscal burdens and electing their own magistrates. The non-free towns were allowed to meet in common diet at Argos, to elect a Helladarch, and to provide for the religious concerns of the union ; only their resolutions had to be approved by the Roman proconsul. But in spite of lenient treatment by the emperor and the privileges thus conferred upon it the province did not thrive. It had suffered grievously in the times of the civil wars, the three decisive battles having then been fought within its borders. Its population faded away, industry declined, its cities decayed, and the free cities were often unable to maintain even decent order or to keep themselves free from debt. The land retained indeed, in virtue of its past glories, a certain intellectual pre-eminence, and cultivated Romans continued to visit it for the memories which were associated with it, but it had ceased to be the mother of statesmen or of soldiers ; it contributed practically nothing to the Roman levy, and was no longer of any account from a military or a political point of view. It is not surprising, then, that it took no part in the events of 69 A.D. For a moment indeed it was alarmed by the appearance on its coasts of a pretended Nero (ii. 8) ; but the impostor was quickly killed, the panic passed away, and the land settled down again into a condition of expectancy, waiting to see to which of the combatants it would pass as a prey.

12. ASIA MINOR

Asia Minor was divided at this time into the following provinces—Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pamphylia, and Lycia.

(1) Of these Asia was at once the most ancient and the most important. It passed to the Romans by bequest from Attalus, king of Pergamus. It was the richest district of Asia Minor, including almost all the fruitful valleys which open on to the Aegean Sea ; it was bounded by Bithynia on the north, by Lycia on the south, the Rhyndacus which runs into the Propontis, and Mount Olympus forming the boundary in the one case, and a small stream called the Calbis in the other. Galatia was its neighbour to the east, the boundary between the two being so drawn as to give to Asia the whole of the river valleys which run westward and a considerable part of the Phrygian highlands. It thus comprised nearly all Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, the Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian Greek cities, as well as most of the adjacent islands and the Cyclades. The most flourishing Greek cities in these times were Ephesus, the capital of the district, Tralles, Smyrna, Pergamus, the two Magnesias, Alexandria Troas, and Rhodes. Besides the towns of the sea-coast there existed a number of thriving inland towns founded also on the Greek model, such as Synnada, Apamea, Laodicea, and

Hierapolis. These all dated from a time later than Alexander's conquests, being founded for the most part by Alexander's successors, who inherited from him the policy of graecising the interior by means of these new Greek urban communities. Comparatively few cities owed their foundation to the Romans, as the work had already been done before they appeared on the scene. Pergamus and Ephesus shared between them the honour of being the capital of the province, the one being so *de jure*, the other *de facto*. Smyrna came very little behind them in importance, wealth, and population. To several other cities the title of metropolis was granted. The rivalry between the different states was very keen, leading sometimes even to civil wars; but it had at least this advantage, that it fomented local patriotism and led various individuals to endow their native states with many munificent gifts. Comparatively few of these towns were free cities, not nearly as many as in Greece proper, but they were all allowed considerable liberty in the organisation of their municipal institutions and in the choice of their city authorities. Under this order of things agriculture, trade, and commerce flourished; the roads were well kept up, and the resources which Asia contributed to the state treasury were among the most considerable that it received. Literary activity too prevailed in the different towns, though nothing of first-rate quality was produced. On the other hand Asia contributed very little to the army; its population was not warlike, and from a military point of view, except for its wealth, it did not rank high. It was ruled by a senatorial governor who ordinarily resided at Ephesus, but like other senatorial governors he had no troops at his command, and could therefore take no active part in the civil wars which raged around him.

Asia, like most of the other provinces, had a diet partly political, partly religious in character; as political it brought the grievances of the province under the attention of the authorities, as religious it provided for and centred in the worship of the emperor. The chief priest of the emperor's temple was not only the most eminent dignitary of the province, but throughout its bounds the year was designated after him. With the temple were associated festal games, held each year also in honour of the emperor. The president of these games, yearly elected, was called Asiarch, and the office was highly prized. In time the towns of the province were no longer content with a single temple of the emperor among them, but sought each of them to erect one for itself. The possession of a temple conferred distinction on the town which had it. Round these extra temples extra games and festivals grew up; but in the case of these extra temples the same individual seems to have combined the offices of chief priest and president of the games. To these chief priests fell the duty of seeing that no worship incompatible with that of the emperor were tolerated within the district over which they presided, hence they took the lead in virtue of their office in the persecution of the Christians; on the other hand,

their territorial jurisdiction perhaps furnished a pattern for that of the Christian bishop.

For the reason already given, Asia took very little part in the wars of 69 A.D. Like Achaia, it was frightened by the appearance of the pretended Nero. Like the rest of the East it early joined Vespasian's cause, bringing to it wealth and supplies, but adding little to its strength in men (ii. 81). The little we hear about it in the *Histories* contrasts somewhat curiously with the prominence which it has in the more peaceful times described in the *Annals*, when its affairs form a subject of prominent and constant debate in the Senate.

(2) Bithynia, like Asia, came to the Romans by inheritance. It was left to them by Nicomedes, its last king. Pontus was annexed to it after the conquest of Mithridates by Pompey. Bithynia and Pontus between them occupied the greater part of the southern coast of the Euxine. Bithynia, when the Romans took it over, was far less civilised and Hellenised than was Asia. It was also a less rich and prosperous district. Under Roman administration the country greatly advanced. Its chief towns—Nicaea, Nicomedia, Prusa, Juliopolis—grew to wealth and importance, and it produced some important writers, the most noteworthy being Dio, the philosopher of Prusa, Arrianus of Nicomedia, Dio Cassius of Nicaea. Pontus was a wilder and less civilised district than Bithynia proper. Its chief towns were Amasia, Amisus, and Sinope; the last, a town of considerable importance, made a Roman colony by Julius Caesar. Besides these a number of cities were founded in the interior, but they did not greatly thrive. Trapezus, the station of the Roman fleet on the Black Sea, was not in Pontus proper but beyond its borders in Cappadocian Pontus, but the fact that the fleet was stationed there made it a place of importance. It was the presence of the fleet at Trapezus which kept the whole coast in order; accordingly, when the ships were withdrawn by Mucianus to accompany him on his expedition into Italy, Anicetus, a freedman of Polemo, who under Nero had ruled the kingdom of Western Pontus, seized the opportunity to raise the natives of the Pontic coast and to make a raid on Trapezus itself. The insurrection had, however, only a brief success. As soon as Vespasian heard of it he despatched Viridius Geminus, a tried soldier, to suppress it, who succeeded without much difficulty in chastising the unruly tribes and capturing Anicetus, the author of the outbreak (iii. 47, 48). Bithynia and Pontus were at this time ruled by a senatorial governor, but were shortly after taken over by the emperor in exchange for the less important district of Pamphylia and Lycia.

(3) Cappadocia still ranked as an unarmed province, *i.e.* it had no permanent force of troops stationed within it (ii. 81). It had been made a province only in the year 17 A.D. under Tiberius (Ann. ii. 42, 56) on the death of its king, Archelaus. Being on the borders of the Empire the emperor kept it in his own hands; it was governed by an imperial procurator. It embraced a very wide extent of country, reach-

ing from the confines of Pontus on the north to those of Cilicia (which now belonged to the province of Syria) on the south. From the latter country it was separated by the ranges of Taurus and Amanus. On the east it was separated by the Euphrates from Armenia, which was still independēnt. Tiberius, when he took over the province, proposed to use its resources in order to diminish by one-half the tax on sales, yet it seems to have been on the whole a poor district (though far more thriving under Roman rule than it has ever been since), and contained only two towns of importance, Caesarea (or Mazaca), the capital, and Tyana. In the war, like the rest of Asia Minor, it threw its weight on the side of Vespasian (ii. 81), but its adhesion was of less importance than it would have been afterwards when it had obtained from Vespasian a permanent garrison of two legions.

(4) The province of Galatia was formed out of the earlier Galatian kingdom by Augustus, 25 B.C., after the death of its king Amyntas, successor of Deiotarus. The province consisted of two parts—Galatia proper, on the two sides of the Halys, with a Celtic population divided into three tribes of Tectosages, Tolistoboi, and Trocmi, who centred round the three towns of Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavia; and secondly, the wide-lying district of Lycaonia to the south and east, which extended to the confines of Cilicia and Pamphylia. This latter district, inhabited not by a Celtic but by an Asiatic race, had been annexed to his dominions by Amyntas, whom Antony had employed to repress the brigandage and piracy which was rife in that part of the world. Augustus in constituting his new province retained the existing arrangement, merely handing over to Pamphylia such parts of the coast district as could not be conveniently governed from Galatia. The further to repress the brigandage and piracy from which the district suffered he established in Lycaonia a number of colonies of Roman veterans—Antioch and Cremna in Pisidia, Parlais in Southern Lycaonia, Iconium, added to afterwards by Claudius, a place of considerable trade, and farther east Comana. The region, though poor and always apt to be disturbed, attained by means of these settlements a fair measure of order and prosperity. Galba placed the province of Galatia and its neighbour Pamphylia under a single governor, Calpurnius Asprenas (ii. 9). It was by his energy that the pretended Nero was suppressed and captured. Galatia had no regular army quartered in it, but its inhabitants and those of Lycaonia were accounted far braver than the neighbouring Greeks and Asiatics (Cic. ad Att. vi. 5, 3), and were largely drawn upon for recruits by the Roman commanders.

(5) The coast regions of Lycia and Pamphylia, which since Claudius's time had been united under a single command, though their formation into a province had a considerable effect in suppressing piracy, were not in themselves important. They were at this time an imperial province and ruled by a procurator. The chief towns were—in Lycia, Myra; in Pamphylia, Perga, Attalia, and Aspendus. The western

part of Cilicia was at this time included in Pamphylia, while its eastern and more fruitful portion was annexed to Syria.

Besides the provinces of Asia Minor there were interposed between them and the Parthian empire certain more or less dependent kingdoms. This was in accordance with the general policy of Rome, which always sought to interpose between herself and any formidable neighbour a buffer in the shape of a semi-dependent state. The first of these was Armenia. Armenia at this time was governed by Tiridates. Tiridates was the nominee of the Parthian king Vologaesius, but according to an agreement concluded by the Roman general Corbulo in 66 A.D. he had received his crown from Nero's hands. Practically, however, Armenia counted as part of the Parthian, not the Roman dominions, and as such took no part in the wars of the period.

Sophene being the south-western district of Armenia, lying along the upper Euphrates, formed at this time part of the dominions of King Sohaemus. He threw in his lot with Vespasian as soon as he had been proclaimed emperor by the legions of Syria (ii. 81), and is mentioned also (v. 1) as furnishing troops for the Judaic war.

Thirdly, there was the kingdom of Commagene lying still farther south. It was a strip of land bounded on the west by Mount Amanus, north by the Taurus range, east by the Euphrates, south by the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Its king, Antiochus, the last survivor of the Seleucids, and the richest, according to Tacitus, of the subject kings, brought like Sohaemus early help to Vespasian, and was in this way instrumental in securing for him the throne (ii. 81).

13. CYPRUS, CRETE, AND CYRENE

Closely connected with Asia Minor, though not locally, yet in the character of their population, were the two outlying provinces of Cyprus and of Crete and Cyrene. They were both senatorial provinces; both had a population mainly Greek, but with a certain admixture of barbarians; both had a large Jewish settlement established in their midst. Neither counted for much in the Civil War. Cyprus was visited by Titus, attracted thither by the fame of the shrine of the Paphian Venus, on his return voyage from Europe to the East. The people of Cyrene are merely mentioned as bringing to justice their proconsul, Antonius Flamma, in the early days of Vespasian's reign (iv. 45). The island of Crete, which formed a single province along with Cyrene, was even less important at this time than the former district. Mentioned incidentally once or twice in the *Annals*, it is passed over altogether in the *Histories*, except that Tacitus alludes to it (v. 2) as the supposed birthplace of the Jewish race.

14. SYRIA

The province of Syria was the most important of the Roman commands in the East, ranked indeed first in importance of all the

commands in the Roman world. Naturally it was a command the disposal of which the emperor kept in his own hands. It was more important than the two commands in Germany in this way, that while the military force with which the commanders were entrusted was the same, four legions in each case, the two commands in Germany, besides acting to some extent as a check on one another, were almost exclusively military, as the civil district attached to each was comparatively small and unimportant, whereas in Syria the control of a rich and important province was combined with the military command. The Syrian command further resembled the German commands in this, that in both cases the governors were responsible for the defence of the frontier and for the control of an important district within it. The legions in the two Germanies maintained, on the one hand, the frontier against the Germans, and on the other, were actually though not nominally entrusted with the preservation of order throughout the Gauls; so the Syrian legions were at once responsible for the defence of the Euphrates frontier against the Parthians, and also kept in such order as they could the turbulent province in which their headquarters were situated. There was, however, one difference between the German forces and the Syrian, that the German forces were mainly gathered in great military camps, *Vetera* for the lower, *Mogontiacum* for the upper province, while the Syrian legions, though they had detachments along the frontier and along the borders of the eastern desert, had their headquarters and were permanently stationed in the towns of Syria itself, above all at Antioch, which, like Alexandria, required the presence of a military force to keep it in anything like order. This fact acted most detrimentally on the discipline and morals of the Syrian troops, and an energetic general like Corbulo had first to accustom his soldiers, corrupted by their town life, to habits of order and discipline, before he ventured to lead them against the enemy.

The great mass of the population by which Syria was occupied belonged to the same Semitic stock as the Jews, but before the Romans entered the country this native population had been already largely Hellenised. The land had come within the wide extent of Alexander's dominions, and after his death his successors, the Seleucidae, had set themselves in earnest to impart Greek civilisation to the native population. Everywhere throughout the country they had founded towns on the Greek model, or had reorganised in accordance with Greek ideas towns already existing. Alike to their new foundations and to the previously-existing Syrian cities they had given Greek names, though in the latter case the old Syrian names often subsisted side by side with the newer Greek appellation. Even the famous towns of the Syrian coast received like the rest a Greek organisation. But though Greek political institutions were thus made everywhere to prevail, the Syrian tongue remained the common language of the country and the Syrian gods remained, at least among the common people, the popular

deities. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the Syrians produced little of excellence in literature (though some of their orators were famous), and were looked upon rather as a corrupting force than an ennobling element in the Roman world.

The seat of government and the chief headquarters of the troops was at Antioch on the Orontes, near the north-west extremity of the province. Antioch owed its foundation to one of the Seleucid princes, Seleucus Nicanor. After the Roman occupation of the country it had prospered so much that it now reckoned as the third greatest city of the Empire, coming only after Rome itself and Alexandria. It was a city of great extent and of much natural beauty; its suburb Daphne, after which it was sometimes named Epidaphnes, was reckoned the finest park and pleasure-ground in the world. It possessed an abundant and beautiful water-supply such as no other ancient city could boast. Its chief street was four and a half miles long, with a covered colonnade on either side and a broad carriage-way in the middle. Its public buildings were unusually fine and stately, and the whole environs of the city were filled with the villas of rich merchants and well-to-do professional men. It was not indeed like Alexandria, a great centre of trade itself, not being well situated for the purpose, but those who had made their wealth in trade elsewhere flocked to Antioch to spend in its pleasures the wealth they had amassed. Its population, partly Greek, partly native Syrian, partly Jewish, partly Roman, was industrious and quick-witted, but pleasure-loving, satirical, turbulent, and vicious in no ordinary degree. The Romans regarded it as the most debased and the most demoralising population in the whole Empire, and they were probably not mistaken.

The province generally was rich in agricultural resources, rich too in manufactures. The soil, then everywhere well irrigated and carefully cultivated, brought forth in abundance fruits of all kinds—vines, olives, and wheat. All these things the country exported. Among its manufactures were linen, purple, silk, and glass. The Syrian merchants who dealt in these goods frequented every coast of the Mediterranean and established themselves in separate quarters at Ostia and Puteoli; when they had made their fortunes they constantly returned home. It was their presence which made Antioch the home of luxury and elegance which it had at this time become. Next to Antioch, Apamea, higher up the Orontes, was the chief seat of Syrian wealth, and an even greater seat of Syrian trade. The merchants of Apamea outdid those of Antioch itself in energy and enterprise. Other important cities were Tripolis, Berytus, Anthemusias, Bambyce, Epiphaneia. Syria, besides producing manufactures of its own, still continued to be the emporium for the goods of Lower Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. These came to the Syrian ports in caravans across the desert, and the transmission of these foreign wares, while it tended to keep up the standard of the native products, added not a little to the wealth of the country. As

has been already stated, the eastern and fertile portion of Cilicia was on the formation of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia incorporated with Syria for administrative purposes, and increased the resources of the province. The eastern frontier of the province was, as far as possible, defended against the incursions of the Bedouin tribes by the establishment of a chain of forts and the creation of a series of more or less independent kingdoms, Chalcis and Iturea on the north, the kingdom of the Nabateans on the south. The latter was at this time a thriving state under the rule of Malchus, son of the Aretas mentioned in St. Paul's Epistles. Its capital was Petra, and its dominions extended as far as Damascus on the north, and embraced the upper part of the Arabian peninsula on the south. It grew rich by means of the considerable caravan trade which passed through its borders.

Syria played a great and even a decisive part in the events recorded in the *Histories*. The four legions by which at this time the country was occupied were the 3d Gallica, the 4th Scythica, the 6th Ferrata, and the 12th Fulminatrix. Of these legions, however, the 3d was apparently quite early in the year moved into Moesia, and there took the lead in proclaiming Vespasian emperor (ii. 85). The commander of the legions and governor of the province was Marcus Licinius Crassus Mucianus, a member of the great house of the Crassi Liciniani. He had in early youth striven to rise by cultivating the friendships of the great (H. i. 10). He had even counted Messalina among his patrons. Claudius had become jealous of him, and banished him to the depths of Asia. Under Nero he had been permitted to return to Rome, and had risen apace. He had been consul in 66 A.D., and the next year had been appointed to the command of Syria. Tacitus describes him as a mixed character, one with respect to whom it was difficult to say whether his virtues or his vices predominated.

In the proclamation of Galba and of Otho as emperors Mucianus seems to have acquiesced, and had formally given in his adhesion to Otho (i. 76); but when Vitellius proved the victor at Bedriacum neither his own inclination nor the eagerness of his soldiers allowed him to remain quiescent (ii. 6). The East could not brook that the armies of the West should have the pre-eminence unchallenged, and force their nominee on the Roman world. He held through Titus communications with Vespasian, at that time in command in Judaea. Unable at last to resist any longer the impetuosity of his troops, he takes the decisive step and openly calls on Vespasian to undertake the responsibilities of Empire (ii. 76). The two had met at Berytus. Returning thence to his province he entered the theatre at Antioch and announced to the assembled people that the soldiers of Judaea had taken the lead in proclaiming their commander emperor. The whole province, including the subject kings, took fire at once and threw themselves heartily into the cause.

In the division of functions it was agreed that while Vespasian himself repaired to Alexandria, there to seize the corn-supply of Rome and if necessary starve the capital into submission, to Mucianus should be entrusted the task of leading the advance into Italy (ii. 81). He at once set himself to raise troops, to find money, to negotiate with the neighbouring nations for the safety of the frontiers. The fleet was soon moved from the Euxine to meet him at Byzantium, and he himself began his march towards Italy. In the actual attack on Italy he was anticipated by the fiery haste of Antonius Primus and of the Pannonian and Moesian legions. The battle of Bedriacum had already been fought and won before he appeared on the plains of Italy, detained as he was for a time by the necessity of suppressing the Dacian invasion of Moesia (iii. 46). When he arrived he had to encounter the jealousy of Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, who could ill endure that he should wrest from them the fruits of a victory which they considered due to their own exertions. But arrived in Rome his presence soon availed to silence the murmurs which had been heard before (iv. 11); all the reality of power passed naturally into his hands, and he remained practical ruler of the Empire till the appearance of Vespasian in the capital.

15. JUDAEA

Judaea at this time can scarcely be spoken of as a Roman province since it had been for some time, and was still, in a condition of active revolt. After the death of Herod Agrippa I. in 44 A.D. his dominions were transferred once again to a Roman procurator. First Herod, king of Chalcis, and then Agrippa II were, however, appointed to assist the procurators by taking the control of all religious matters. The first procurator appointed was Crispus Fadus; then came Tiberius Alexander; after him Felix, and then Festus. Under Gessius Florus, Festus's successor, the insurrection began. Gessius Florus is said to have fermented it by cruelty in order to avoid impeachment for his extortion and misgovernment. Whether this is true or not, there were certainly plenty of elements of disturbance present in the land to promote an outbreak. The Zealots, or assassins as the Romans called them, infested the mountains and carried on a guerilla warfare with their Roman oppressors. In the towns, particularly in Caesarea, the Greek and Jewish populations were bitterly opposed, and in turn pillaged and waged war on one another. In Jerusalem itself the Zealots overpowered the more moderate party and were bent on forcing on the war.

The actual war began in 66 A.D. by the massacre of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem; almost at the same time the Jewish population in Caesarea and in most of the towns of the sea-coast was put to the sword by the Greeks. In their turn the Jews in other places took vengeance on their oppressors. Caius Ces-

tius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria, had under these circumstances to be called in to stay the insurrection. He succeeded in capturing Joppa, when the whole body of citizens was put to death, and in September appeared before Jerusalem itself. But he could not take the capital, was forced to raise the siege, and had even to purchase a hasty retreat by the sacrifice of his baggage and his rear-guard. The Roman government, at last alarmed, sent Titus Flavius Vespasianus to undertake the command of the war. Vespasian had already seen considerable service; he had served in Germany and Britain, and had been proconsul of Africa. He retained still many of the virtues of the Sabine yeoman class, from which he sprang. He had not liked, and had not pretended to like, Nero's singing. That emperor, perhaps because he wanted a capable general, perhaps out of revenge, had chosen him to conduct the difficult and troublesome Jewish war. He was given three legions to carry it on—the 10th Fretensis, which formed a part of the old army of Syria; the 5th Macedonica, which had been brought up from the West, from Moesia, in 63 A.D. to take part in the Parthian war then raging; and the 15th Apollinaris, summoned at the same time from Pannonia. Besides these he had the usual force of auxiliary troops, and contingents furnished by four client kings—the kings of Commagene, Emessa, Nabatea, and Agrippa, who was sovereign of a part of Palestine. His total force amounted to fifty thousand men in all (M. P. R. E. ii. 210, 211). In the spring of 67 A.D. this army was brought together at Ptolemais and advanced into Palestine. Vespasian employed the whole of his first campaign in bringing into his power the fortresses of the small district of Galilee and of the coast as far as Ascalon, forty-five days being spent in the reduction of the little town of Jotapata alone. During the winter of 67-68 one legion lay at Scythopolis on the southern borders of Galilee, the two others in Caesarea.

In the second year, *i.e.* in the earlier part of 68 A.D., Vespasian reduced the Transjordanic territory, particularly the two important towns of Gadara and Gerasa, and then took up his position at Emmaus and Jericho. Starting from this base he successively occupied Idumaea on the south, and Samaria on the north, so that by the summer of 68 A.D. Jerusalem was surrounded on every side. The siege of the city itself was just beginning when news reached him of Nero's death and Galba's proclamation as emperor, and Vespasian thereupon broke up the siege, waiting for further orders. Before these orders arrived the good season of the year had come to an end, and nothing more could be attempted till the following spring. When the spring came Galba was already overthrown, and Vespasian and his soldiers waited alike to see what would be the issue of the contest between Otho and Vitellius. The soldiers indeed had a mind at once to proclaim their leader emperor; but the policy of Mucianus and Vespasian prevailed against their eagerness, and delay was for the present resolved upon. When the battle of Bedriacum settled the matter in Vitellius's favour Vespasian for

a while hesitated, doubtful whether he had at his command forces sufficient to meet the renowned armies of Germany (ii. 74, 75). A speech of Mucianus, delivered at Berytus, where he had gone to meet him, at last decided him. Immediately after their parting he returned to Caesarea, and then his soldiers meeting him informally proclaimed him emperor. Within two days all Syria had sworn allegiance to him, Egypt had already joined him, and Sohaemus, prince of Emessa, Antiochus, king of Commagene, and Agrippa II (having made good his escape from Rome), had given in their adhesion to him. At a council of war held at Berytus it was settled that Titus should remain behind to conduct affairs in Judaea, that Mucianus should undertake the advance on Italy, while Vespasian himself repaired to Egypt, where in the person of its praefect, Tiberius Alexander, he was already possessed of a staunch ally. The story of the Judaic war is left incomplete in that part of the *Histories* which has come down to us, though in the beginning of Book V we have an invaluable fragment upon it. During the year 69 A.D. nothing was accomplished, only the conquests already made good were retained and the position of the army in front of Jerusalem not abandoned (v. 10). At the beginning of the year 70 A.D. Titus, with a force considerably increased beyond that which his father had commanded, commenced the siege. He had the three legions which had served under his father—the 5th, 10th, and 15th, and received in addition the 12th from Syria and portions of the 22d and the 3d Germanica from Alexandria (v. 1). After a number of skirmishes, not always favourable to the Romans, the defenders were at last driven within the walls. The Romans settled not to starve out the city, but to take it by storm. Titus's ambition for military glory and his eagerness to get back to the pleasures of Rome were believed to have contributed to this determination. The natural strength of the place, and the formidable character of the fortifications, made the task of storming it one of no ordinary difficulty. From the north alone could the enterprise be attempted with any chance of success, and here a triple wall had been erected. With desperate energy each wall was defended; but the faction fights within the city when John of Giscala, Simon, and Eleazar had entrenched themselves at different points made the task of the assailants easier. The walls were gradually stormed; then the Temple fell; last of all Mount Zion was captured. In the course of the struggle the Temple and almost the whole city were consumed in the flames, and the Romans resolved that it should not be rebuilt. At the close of the war Roman policy towards the Jews completely altered. Hitherto they had been treated with tolerance, at any rate in the East, had been allowed much liberty, and had had the almost complete control of their own religious affairs; alike in Palestine and in the cities throughout the East they had been permitted to form themselves into self-governing communities. Now, not only were they forbidden to rebuild the Temple

or to reinhabit Jerusalem, but the temple of Onias, near Heliopolis, not far from Memphis, the great Jewish sanctuary in Egypt, was shut up, divested of its votive offerings, and the worship of Jehovah in it interdicted (M.P.R.E. ii. 217). Caesarea was converted into a Roman colony, a new Greek colony was founded at Samaria under the name of Flavia Neapolis, while security for the future good order of the land was taken by the establishment on the desolate site of Jerusalem of a camp for a legion and its contingent of auxiliaries, to which was given the name of Aelia Capitolina.

16. EGYPT

Egypt occupied at this time a place unique and singular in the Roman world. It was regarded as the most important of all the provinces under imperial administration. The importance attached to it is seen in the fact that the emperor kept the administration of it permanently in his own hands, forbidding senators even to enter it without express permission, while he ruled it through a Roman knight whom he appointed directly himself. Further proof of its unique position may be gathered from this, that when Vespasian had resolved on attempting to seize the throne, he chose the occupation of Egypt as his own share in the enterprise, leaving to subordinates even the invasion of Italy itself. What gave to Egypt this unique importance was partly its own almost unassailable position, partly the share contributed by it to the corn-supply of Rome, one third of the whole quantity required being derived from it, partly the very considerable contribution it made to the imperial exchequer.

Besides appointing its knightly prefect the emperor filled up directly himself several other of the more important posts in the administration. The country outside the towns was divided into thirty-six districts or *nomes* (*νομοί*), usually named after some god whose temple was the centre of the district. These land-districts were quite destitute of autonomy; administration, taxation, justice, were all placed in the hands of imperial officials. Nor was the case much otherwise with the cities; they too had no common council elected by themselves, no elective magistrates; they were ruled by officers appointed by the emperor. There was in consequence of this arrangement no common diet for Egypt, composed of representatives from the various districts and states, such as was to be found in many provinces of the Empire. The emperor himself ruled throughout the land, by means of the representatives whom he had himself appointed. The revenues throughout the province went direct into the imperial exchequer, and reached a very large amount—twenty million bushels of wheat (derived, however, in part from the extensive imperial domain-lands) besides a considerable, though unascertainable, sum of money.

The Hellenes under the rule of the Ptolemies had been placed in

an exceptionally favoured position as compared with the native Egyptians. They had been less heavily taxed, less subject to personal maltreatment and indignity; they alone might serve in the higher branches of the army; they alone were eligible for municipal office. Under Roman rule they retained most of their privileges. A native Egyptian could not attain to Roman citizenship, a Greek by entering the army could, while the highest offices were restricted to Roman knights; a Greek after he had obtained the citizenship was sometimes appointed to the higher posts, and the lower offices were almost entirely filled by them, principally by Greeks from Alexandria, to the complete exclusion of the native Egyptians. Even from the auxiliary forces the native Egyptians were as a rule excluded, and those were recruited consequently almost solely from the Greeks. The only service on which native Egyptians were employed was the manning of the fleet, a purpose for which slaves were still largely used in the time of Augustus. The chief, if not the sole, occupation of the natives was the cultivation of the soil. This at the time we are considering was carried to a high state of perfection. The fertility of the soil in Egypt mainly depends on the yearly overflow of the Nile. In Roman times the inundation was artificially extended by means of waterworks, canals, ditches, and reservoirs, so that while before the Roman occupation a rise of only eight cubits produced a failure in the harvest, and a full harvest required a rise of fourteen cubits, in Roman times eight cubits sufficed to secure a sufficient, twelve a bountiful, crop. The crops raised were chiefly wheat, vegetables, vines, and the date-palm. The wheat harvest principally went to Rome and formed, as we have already said, almost the most important item in its corn-supply, the yield from Africa alone being equal or superior. The taxes on the population who farmed the land were, as they are alas! still, exceedingly heavy, and left, after they were paid, a very narrow margin for the people's support. While agriculture formed the staple industry of the country districts and of the native population, trade and manufactures were carried on in the towns particularly by the Greek inhabitants of Alexandria. The chief articles of manufacture were linen (Egyptian linen had long been famous throughout the world), glass, paper, and other products of the papyrus plant. Besides its native industries Egypt was the great emporium for all the products of the East, and the passage of such goods through the country brought wealth also to its inhabitants. The granite and porphyry so largely used in the later buildings of imperial Rome came mainly from the quarries of Egypt, but the full development of this trade belongs to a later date. The foreign trade of Egypt extended to the east not only all along the Red Sea, as far south as Zanzibar on the African coast, but even to the ports of India. The chief Egyptian ports on the Red Sea were Berenice and Myos Hormos in the central district, and farther north Arsinoe or Cleopatris, and Clysma. From Myos Hormos goods were often taken overland to Coptos on the

Nile, and thence carried down the river to Alexandria. To the west Egyptian ships conveyed corn to Ostia, but the Egyptian merchants had in Italy no permanent factories like their Syrian rivals.

The capital of the whole country and second city in the Empire was Alexandria. It was inhabited mainly by Greeks and by Jews. Its free population amounted at the end of the rule of the Lagidae to 300,000; under the Roman Empire it reached a still higher total. Its situation, less beautiful than that of Antioch, was far more favourable for commerce, and its actual commerce was far greater. The population of the town was quick-witted and turbulent—as quick-witted as that of Antioch and more turbulent. Constant feuds raged between the Greeks and the Jews, of whom there was also a large colony in the city, feuds which not unfrequently broke out into actual street-wars. One of the most remarkable features in Alexandria was the great literary society which congregated there, having its centre in the Museum. This society produced indeed not much first-rate original work, but an infinite amount of laborious learning, systematisation, and research. It organised, analysed, and reproduced the earlier original literature of Greece, and added to it not a little in the way of physical science and of ingenious speculation.

The force which controlled the country in 69 A.D. consisted of two legions, the 22^d Deiotariana and the 3^d Cyrenaica. Its prefect was Tiberius Alexander, himself a Jew by descent. He had previously been procurator of Judaea. He seems to have accepted without scruple the accession of Galba, nor did he move against Otho when he ascended the throne (i. 76). As soon, however, as Vespasian became a candidate for the Empire he threw himself heartily into his cause, and it was at Alexandria that Vespasian was first proclaimed emperor on 1st July. That was counted as the birthday of the new reign (ii. 79). Vespasian, as we have already seen, selected Alexandria as the scene of his own operations in the events which followed. His object was (iii. 48) to hold it and also Africa, and so, possessed of both the main corn-supplies, to starve the city into submission. At Alexandria he received the news of the victory of Bedriacum or Cremona. There he remained during the winter, and through the spring and summer of 70, until the Etesian winds were over; there he performed those strange miracles which seem among the best attested of cures wrought by the mere effect of faith in the recipients of them. Apparently after his departure from Alexandria some of the army stationed there was despatched to reinforce Titus, who was just preparing for his final effort in the Judaic war (v. 1).

V. ON THE CHARACTERS OF GALBA, OTHO, AND VITELLIUS

Tacitus's skill as an analyst of character is great and is admitted. On none of his portraits does he seem to have expended more pains

than on those of the three emperors who succeeded one another within the space of a few months; and their characters were such as to furnish in many respects an excellent foil one to the other. To some extent we are able to check the sketches he has left for us, for in the case of all three we have the parallel lives of Suetonius, compiled, it would seem, from independent sources, different from those of which Tacitus has mainly made use, and for the first two we have the elaborate studies of Plutarch as well. Plutarch, it is true, seems in the main to have followed the same authorities which Tacitus employed, but he has in many respects supplemented Tacitus's account, and represents a point of view somewhat different from his.

Lucius Sulpicius Servius Galba (for such seems to have been his name in full) was in many respects a typical Roman aristocrat. He came of a distinguished family both on his father's and his mother's side, and is said to have been himself not a little proud of his ancestry, putting up in his hall after he became emperor a pedigree which traced back on his father's side his descent to Jove, on his mother's to Pasiphae, wife of Minos. The Sulpician house from which he was sprung had indeed contributed many distinguished names to the service of the Roman state. One of his ancestors had conducted with success the first Macedonian war, another had distinguished himself, partly indeed for his cruelty, in Spain; his great-grandfather had been one of Caesar's most capable and active officers in Gaul, but had ultimately joined the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius against him; his grandfather had been renowned as a learned lawyer, while his father had gained the consulship and acquired wealth and fame as a pleader. His mother's family was even more distinguished. His mother, Mummia Achaica by name, was the grand-daughter of Caius Lutatius Catulus, the last great *princeps senatus*, the most respected of all names under the late Republic; her great-grandfather was Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth. It was no doubt in part this distinguished descent which led Vindex to single out Galba for the dangerous distinction of Nero's proposed successor, and which led the Senate on Nero's death to acquiesce in the choice made by this comparatively obscure provincial rebel. Nor had Galba's own previous career been unworthy of the great ancestry from which he was sprung. There is a story told, though with considerable variations in detail, that in his early youth either Augustus or Tiberius had predicted of him that he was destined one day to enjoy a brief taste of empire. (See Tac. Ann. vi. 20; Jos. Ant. xviii. 6; Dio, lvii. 19; Suet. Galb. 4.). He devoted himself at first to the service of Livia, with whom he was connected through his father's second marriage, and gained through her influence his earliest advance in public life. After holding the praetorship before the legal age, and distinguishing himself in it by introducing to the Roman public the novel spectacle of elephants performing on the tight rope, he was appointed governor of Aquitania, an office which he held for a

year. In 33 A.D. he was advanced to the consulship, succeeding in that office curiously enough L. Domitius, the father of the emperor Nero, and himself succeeded in it by Salvius Otho, father of Otho the future emperor. By Caius he was selected to succeed Lentulus Gaetulicus as commander in Upper Germany, 40 A.D., and managed by well-timed severity to re-establish discipline which had been relaxed by the ambitious leniency of his scheming predecessor (Ann. vi. 30). The incursions too of the German tribes into the province, which under Gaetulicus's lax rule had become habitual, he sternly restrained, and so approved himself and his army to the young emperor that he and his soldiers were singled out by him for signal marks of favour and special rewards. On the news of Caius's assassination reaching his province he was urged by many of his friends to seize the throne, and earned the goodwill of Claudius by refusing to do so. He accompanied that emperor on his expedition into Britain (Claudius deferring the expedition for ten days to give Galba time to recover from a passing ailment), and was afterwards appointed proconsul of Africa. This post again he filled with firmness and distinction, restoring, as before in Germany, that discipline to the army which it so sorely needed, and re-establishing in the province that internal peace and external security, to give it which he had by an extraordinary choice been selected for the command. On his return to Rome honours were heaped upon him; he received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and was made a member of the decemviral college, of the sodales Titii, and the Augustales. After this for a time he retired from public life and lived on in seclusion to the middle of Nero's reign. At that time, in the year 60 A.D., he was selected by the emperor to fill the post of governor of the Tarracensis. In his new province he exhibited at first the same qualities of sternness, integrity, vigilance, and activity which had characterised his earlier commands; but warned at length that his energetic administration was exciting the jealousy of Nero he sank into apparent apathy and sloth, anxious to avoid by these means a fate which otherwise too surely awaited him.

The movement which carried Galba to the throne originated in no sense with Galba himself; his was scarcely the mind to conceive in his old age so vast and so venturous a project; in all the events which followed he was largely the victim of circumstances, guided rather by the course of affairs than guiding it. The first impulse came from his neighbour on the other side of the Pyrenees, Caius Julius Vindex. Vindex, anxious to deliver his country from the oppressive load of taxation under which it groaned, and well aware that he had no chance of making a successful rising, unless he could enlist some great Roman name in his cause, made overtures to Galba, apparently as one only among several leading provincial governors whom he had solicited. Galba at first turned a deaf ear to his proposals; but presently warned that Nero had got scent of the treasonable correspondence, and led to believe that his own

death had been resolved upon, he determined to throw in his lot with a movement which, if not successful, would necessarily entail his ruin. He allowed himself to be proclaimed not indeed emperor, but legate of the people and the senate of Rome. He had no difficulty in persuading the 6th legion and the population of the *Tarraconensis* to espouse a cause which, in the provinces at any rate, the tyranny of Nero inevitably made popular. He raised troops, convened a senate of the leading men of the province, and instituted for himself a body-guard of youths of equestrian rank (*Suet. Life*, c. 10). When, however, the insurrection in Gaul had proved entirely abortive, the army which Vindex had collected had been shattered and destroyed by the legions of Germany, and Vindex had confessed the failure of his enterprise by his own suicide, Galba shrank from the risk he had incurred and would fain again have returned to that condition of careless ease and security which the steps he had already taken had made for him impossible. The action meanwhile of others elsewhere had earned for him an impunity and success which his own want of firmness and resource had by no means merited. Verginius in Gaul had refused to receive the crown which the impetuosity of his victorious soldiers had again and again tried to force upon him, and had insisted on leaving to the Senate and people of Rome the choice of who Nero's successor should be. In Rome itself Nymphidius Sabinus, co-praefect of the praetorian guard, had by the promise of an unheard-of donative from Galba stolen away from Nero the hearts of his chosen soldiery. The work which the promises of Nymphidius had begun was finished by Nero's own pusillanimity, and the praetorians took part in the execution of a tyrant whom they had long ceased to respect and now no longer feared. The news of Nero's desertion by his soldiers, of his flight, and subsequently of his death, and of the patriotic self-renunciation of Verginius, restored to Galba the confidence which had at the crisis of his fate forsaken him. As soon as messengers arrived notifying the fact that he had been proclaimed on Nero's death emperor by Senate and people, he at once assumed the title and set out towards Rome to take possession in actual presence of the now-vacant throne.

Arrived in Rome he proved a grievous disappointment to every class and order in the community. The very soldiers he had brought with him from Spain, already disgusted by the long march they had been forced to make, resented his untimely attempts to maintain the ancient discipline, had had their hearts stolen away from him on the march by the courtly manners and friendly open ways of Salvius Otho, and secretly murmured that they to whom he owed everything had received no adequate recognition or reward. The exasperation of the praetorians, however, was much greater and more deeply rooted. Nymphidius, after being mainly responsible for Nero's overthrow, had, when he found himself supplanted in the command of the guard by Laco, and his services but scantily recognised, determined to attempt

to secure for himself the power which, if transferred to Galba, would bring him little profit or advancement. The praetorians, however, refused to listen to his blandishments, closed the gates of their camp against him, and when he tried to force his way in set upon him with their swords and murdered him. These were services for which they naturally enough expected to be requited. Instead, not only was there no mention of making good the magnificent promises held out to them by Nymphidius, but even the more moderate donative paid to the city troops when Claudius and Nero had been successively raised by their consent to the throne, was in the present instance refused them; and a saying of Galba which they looked upon as a reproach levelled at themselves was bruited about among them to the effect "that the emperor chose his soldiers and did not buy them." Nor was this all, perhaps it was not even the worst. They recognised that one who had been set upon the throne by legionary troops, and held his office in virtue of a vote of the Senate, would inevitably regard them with far other eyes than those with which emperors who had been raised to power directly by their will looked at them; while Galba's dismissal of some of the centurions who had been intimate with, or had been promoted by Nymphidius, spread alarm amongst all, each considering that his turn might come next. In such a condition of feeling it scarcely needed the bribery of Salvius Otho to stir them to revolt.

Nor were the population of Rome much better disposed to the new emperor than the soldiery. The lower people had genuinely loved Nero. They suffered little from his crimes and vices; his youth, his good looks, his affability, his love of the games, of pomp, display, and magnificence, had all commended him to them. In his place they found a feeble, gouty old man, hardly known to them by sight, whose niggardliness soon passed almost into a by-word and a proverb, and who did not care to conceal his contempt for those games and shows which long use had made almost a necessary part of their daily life. He had surrounded himself too with favourites who would not allow him to call his soul his own, of whom fame spoke and spoke justly as of ill repute. Vinius, Laco, and Icelus would have sufficed to ruin by their vices even a popular emperor; to Galba they soon left scarcely a chance. Nor had his entry into the city been such as to raise him in the people's affection and esteem. The perhaps necessary executions of Cingonius Varro, of Fonteius Capito, of Clodius Macer, had filled men's minds with a certain horror, and when Galba ordered his cavalry to charge into the unarmed *classarii*, and had insisted afterwards on decimating them, the people shuddered at the bloody spectacle. Even the Senate and the upper classes the emperor had managed in some degree to alienate. The execution without trial of Petronius Turpilianus, by rank a consular, an unarmed and defenceless old man, had given great and just offence. Galba's subservience to his three favourites, his schoolmasters, as they scoffingly called them,

deprived the nobles of the influence to which they considered they were entitled, while his failure to consult them even in the choice of his successor, however much they might approve the justice and the motives of his choice, was gall and wormwood to them. They wished at least to have the semblance of power even if they had lost its substance.

And so when Galba fell he fell with scarcely a friend to defend him or even to mourn him. He whom, before he had been emperor, all would have pronounced fit for the post had, when the opportunity came to him, been tried and found wanting. No doubt it was his very virtues which had in part helped to ruin him,—his sternness, his old-fashioned views of discipline, his carefulness, his integrity. But virtues alone, or at any rate virtues of the kind which Galba possessed, do not fit a man for high place; there needs besides a certain width of mind, a certain largeness of view, a certain genial sympathy, a power of rising to the opportunities which high estate furnishes; in all these qualities Galba, in common with most of his order at Rome, was singularly deficient, and because he was deficient in them his career reckons among the many sad failures which history records.

Tacitus's account of Otho has been attacked from two sides. On the one hand, it has been contended that in the sketch of the closing scene of his life Tacitus has been too favourable to him, and has invested it with a halo of glory to which it is not really entitled, since Otho had, after the defeat at Bedriacum, practically to take the choice between putting an end to his own life or being captured by the enemy; on the other, it has been maintained that Tacitus, sympathising with the senatorial point of view and following in the main authorities who wrote from a senatorial standpoint, has done something less than justice to Otho himself, over-rating his crimes and errors and under-stating or slurring over the difficulties which in consequence of the treachery and ill-will of the senatorial leaders surrounded his whole career. I shall indicate certain reasons which incline me to adopt this latter view.

Marcus Salvius Otho was in almost every respect a complete contrast to his predecessor Galba. Unlike Galba he belonged not to any one of the great Roman houses, but to the provincial nobility of Etruria. His mother was sprung from no very distinguished stock, being the daughter of a Roman knight. His grandfather was a favourite with Livia Augusta, and rose into note in that way. His father, a brave and capable officer, served faithfully first Tiberius and then Claudius, the latter of whom was so pleased with his conduct that he honoured him with the compliment that the utmost he could wish was that his children might not be unworthy of him. The young Otho himself was unfortunately brought up not in the camp but in the court; he was in quite early youth a favourite of Nero, and was believed to have shared in the worst excesses of that emperor. It is certain that it was at his house that Nero met Poppaea Sabina, who had deserted

her husband to become Otho's wife ; she was willing to forsake Otho in turn in order to become the consort of Nero ; but we may well accept Tacitus's later and more charitable version of the story, according to which Otho did not consent to the arrangement, and was sent off by Nero to the governorship of Lusitania in order to remove from his path a troublesome rival. Certain it is that Otho retained his affection for the worthless Poppaea even to the end. In Lusitania, according to all the accounts, he ruled with diligence and uprightness, and managed to win the affections of the people whom he governed ; something of his father's spirit would seem here to have descended upon him. There is little doubt that he returned to Rome in Galba's train in the hope and with the expectation of being adopted as his successor, and that it was the disappointment of seeing Piso preferred before him that led him immediately to enter on the conspiracy which proved so fatal to Galba. Yet there can also be but little doubt that Otho had already perceived the inherent weakness of Galba's position, and had made preparation in advance, by ingratiating himself with the soldiery on the march, and with the praetorians as soon as he arrived in Rome, for taking advantage of any opportunity which might hereafter arise. The opportunity came soon enough in the ever-growing discontent of the praetorians with Galba, a discontent brought to a head by Galba's refusal to grant them a donative at the time of Piso's adoption. For the murders of Galba and Piso, it was the soldiers rather than Otho who were primarily responsible, though he seems to have acquiesced readily enough in the deeds when done. After his accession to the throne Tacitus speaks as if Otho's character had gone on steadily deteriorating ("*quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur,*" ii. 37), and he had given more and more unequivocal signs, as time went on, of an intention to follow in the footsteps of Nero. Yet there is little in Otho's own acts, as Tacitus has himself recorded them, to warrant such a contention. Otho's reported joy (i. 44) when the news of Piso's death was brought him may well have been an invention of his enemies, and Tacitus gives it only as a report. Even if it was not so, we fear that the code of Roman morality in Otho's time would not in another have blamed such exultation very severely, and very few pretenders to a throne have been found to grieve over the removal of a rival. The two next recorded acts of Otho are distinctly in his favour—his treatment of Marius Celsus and his dealing with the question of furloughs in the army. Celsus refused to deny his loyalty to Galba, boasted of it, and represented it to Otho as a claim deserving recognition. Otho allowed the justice of the claim, admitted Celsus into the circle of his intimate friends, and chose him one of the leaders for the war now impending against Vitellius. The plan by which he paid out of his own purse a fixed yearly compensation to the centurions, in place of the blackmail which they had previously exacted from the soldiers as the price of their yearly leave of absence, is allowed by

Tacitus to have worked well, and was adopted by Vitellius as soon as he ascended the throne. It became afterwards a settled rule of the service. Tacitus indeed finds great fault with him for leaving to the praetorians the choice of their own commanders. Such a course was, no doubt, opposed to all the traditions of Roman discipline, but it provided at any rate the soldiers with commanders whom they could trust, and one at least of whom remained faithful to Otho till his latest breath. With the execution of Tigellinus, the worst probably of all Nero's creatures, which was Otho's next public act, Tacitus could in accordance with his own principles find no direct fault; he might have admitted that Otho in ordering it showed nerve in which Galba had failed; and in Otho, who counted himself as one of Nero's *entourage*, it required more nerve than it would have required in Galba. If in the case of Calvia Crispinilla, whom public opinion also marked out for vengeance, he showed less firmness, this may be excused by the consideration that she had now a powerful husband to defend her, and Otho, even more than his successors, may have felt that his position was not sufficiently established to allow him to incur needlessly powerful enmities; and, after all, Crispinilla's crimes were not, so far as we know, of a kind to put her at all on a level with Tigellinus. She was hated by the populace because she was supposed to have attempted in Nero's interests to starve them by cutting off the African corn-supplies (i. 73). The next charge which Tacitus has to bring against Otho is that of undue haste in the allotment of offices, and of precipitancy in restoring to dignity and position, either in their own person or in that of their descendants, not only those who had unjustly suffered under previous emperors but also those who had been punished for real crimes. Such want of caution on the emperor's part is indeed to be regretted; yet it does not look at any rate like an undue treading in Nero's steps, and Tacitus does not deny that the reparation made was in many cases just and desirable. Respecting Tacitus's next ground of complaint against Otho it is difficult to speak with certainty. Tacitus says that he bestowed with ill-considered profusion gifts and privileges to the allies and the provinces. Spain, on which most of these favours were bestowed, was at the moment wavering between his cause and that of his opponent; it need scarcely surprise us, therefore, if he did his best to win it over to his allegiance; and after all who was the loser by what Spain gained? Such acts as this are the almost necessary devices of one who finds himself still insecurely seated on his throne. If they do as little harm as Otho's seem to have done to his country or to individuals, we readily forgive them. The notion that he was willing to take the name of "Nero Otho" to win the favour of the lowest populace we might, perhaps, dismiss as a fabrication of his enemies, did not Cluvius Rufus also seem to attest it. Yet even here we have no proof that Otho ever carried his supposed intention into effect. The next recorded episode, that of the outbreak of the prae-

torians, which originated with the cohort stationed at Ostia, throws a flood of light on the suspicions with which the soldiers regarded the relation of the senators to the emperor of their choice. Otho seems to have acted well on the occasion, doing what he could, alike to allay the panic of the senators and the unreasoning fury of the soldiery, and the speech which Tacitus puts into his mouth was one which no commander need have been ashamed to make. He acknowledges the personal loyalty of the praetorians to himself, and warns them that they must not allow it to carry them to lengths, which would endanger their cause and his, by arraying the great name of the Senate in opposition to it. That, moreover, he did not consider the suspicions of the troops as to the disloyalty of the senators towards himself wholly groundless, may be gathered from the care which he takes to carry the main bulk of the Senate with him when he sets out for the seat of war. That he should have insisted on doing this Tacitus professes to consider a harsh measure; yet it was under all the circumstances scarcely more than a measure of ordinary precaution. Taking a review, then, of all these facts we shall, I think, conclude that while Otho's antecedents had no doubt been bad, and there was much in his earlier career to excuse and to justify alarm, and admitting also that he had gained his throne by means not creditable to him, means which to a large extent placed him at the mercy of the praetorians to whom he was indebted for it, yet his actual conduct on the throne was not such as to deserve the censure which Tacitus heaps upon it, and that the historian, in the view he has taken of that conduct, represents not the verdict of impartial history but that of a clique influenced alike by fear and by dislike.


And as in Book I. Tacitus has exaggerated the blame which can fairly be laid at Otho's door, so in Book II he has minimised the difficulties thrown in his way by the lukewarmness and bad faith of the senatorial leaders who accompanied him to the war. No doubt the campaign was greatly mismanaged; it seems almost a pity that, if he was not himself going to take a more active part in the direction of the war and the control of affairs, he ever quitted Rome, though perhaps the soldiers would hardly have been induced to leave the city without him; his election to remain at Brixellum while the issue was being fought out at Bedriacum was, as Tacitus remarks, fatal to the spirit and *morale* of his troops; his determination to fight at once instead of waiting for the arrival of the Pannonian and Moesian legions, in the teeth too of the advice of Paulinus, the ablest of his generals, seems little short of madness. But the troops, at any rate, were profoundly convinced that there was treachery from the very first on the part of the generals. Paulinus's refusal to follow up his advantage after the battle of ad Castoris was universally condemned and looks very like an act of bad faith; the necessity which Otho found himself under of superseding his original generals by his brother Titianus, just

before the battle, points to the little confidence those generals commanded either with him or with his troops; while the precipitancy with which he forced on the final battle is at least as explicable on the hypothesis that he wished to forestall the treachery of those about him, as on the view adopted by Tacitus and Plutarch, that he was driven to hurry it on by incapacity to bear the strain of suspense. Of the object with which the battle was undertaken I shall speak in the next section. The readiness with which, after the battle, the generals, not excluding Otho's own brother Titianus, came to terms with the enemy is proof that their hearts were at most only half in the cause which they had undertaken, and that they were ready to throw it over as soon as a decent excuse for doing so presented itself. In Mommsen's view, however, that Otho had no chance, after the defeat at Bedriacum, of continuing the war, and that he committed suicide only when driven to it by necessity, I am unable to concur. Otho had with him at Brixellum a not inconsiderable force entirely devoted to his cause; certainly not more than a portion of the Illyrican legions had reached the scene of action when the battle was fought, and the Moesian forces were still in reserve. The path of escape was yet open to Otho, and he would have had no special difficulty in making his way to join the forces, which were hastening to his rescue. Vespasian and the East had not declared against him, nor was there any special reason to think that they would do so. What motive prompted his death—whether it was a genuine love of his country, a genuine desire to spare fresh bloodshed, such as he claims for himself in the speech which Tacitus puts into his mouth; whether it was mere weariness of life; or whether again he felt that he had thrust himself into a position which he was unequal to support, is a problem which will always have to remain unsolved. Of the profound impression which his death produced on the Roman world, cancelling in many minds the memories of his earlier life, there can be no doubt, and Martial only gives a somewhat exaggerated expression to a widely-spread sentiment when he says (vi. 32)—

“Cum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
 Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho,
 Damnavit multo statūrum sanguine Martem,
 Et fodit certa pectora nuda manu.
 Sit Cato dum vivit sane vel Caesare maior,
 Dum moritur numquid maior Othone fuit?”

Tacitus's study of the character of Vitellius is far less elaborate than those of Galba and Otho, and Plutarch has not thought him worthy of a separate study. Indeed his character was far less interesting than that of either of his predecessors. In Galba we have the tragedy of a man elevated in old age to a position to which he was not equal, and failing just because he was unequal to it. In Otho, if I read his character aright, we have that of a man trying with

the help of supreme power to shake himself free of the evil influences of the past, and voluntarily quitting life when he found the force of circumstances too strong for him. Vitellius's case is that of a man who, raised almost against his will, certainly without any active efforts on his own part, to supreme power, made use of it merely to indulge to the full his sordid vices of sottishness and gluttony. He came, it must be confessed, of a bad stock. The court antiquarians seem to have tried to invent a pedigree for him when he was emperor, but the first Vitellius of whom history has anything to record was his grandfather Publius Vitellius of Nuceria, who rose to be a Roman knight and a procurator under Augustus. This man had four distinguished sons—Aulus, Quintus, Publius, Lucius. Aulus died in his consulship; Quintus became a senator but was removed from that body by Tiberius; Publius, the friend and companion of Germanicus, prosecuted after his death his supposed murderer, Cn. Piso—afterwards, having been believed to be mixed up in the conspiracy of Sejanus, and placed in safe keeping by Tiberius with his brother, he died while in confinement. Lucius, the youngest, the father of the future emperor, rose to be consul and distinguished himself in Syria, where he succeeded in winning over Artabanus, the Parthian king, to do homage for his throne to the emperor Tiberius; but after his return to Rome his character changed for the worse, and he did not shrink from ingratiating himself with successive emperors—Caius, Claudius, and Nero—by the basest and lowest arts of villany and flattery. He was thrice consul and Claudius's colleague in the censorship. Vitellius himself, this man's son, was brought up amid the luxury and the tainted atmosphere of the court. His boyhood he spent with Tiberius at Capreae; with Claudius he became a favourite by playing with him at dice; Nero he flattered for his singing and won his heart in that way. By such arts he rose to the consulship. The one honourable episode in his career was his administration of the province of Africa, where he gained the love of the people by uprightness and affability. He is reported to have owed his command in Lower Germany to Galba's contemptuously selecting him for it as one from whom he would have little to fear. When he accepted it, his fortunes are said to have reached so low an ebb that he had to leave his wife and children in a hired lodging in Rome, having let his own house, and to pawn his mother's earrings to meet the expenses of the journey. Arrived in Germany it seems to have been far enough from his own thoughts to enter on any conspiracy; he was goaded into it by the urgency of others, by the exhortations of Valens and Caecina, and by the impetuosity of the soldiers themselves. With the soldiers he was, in spite of his defects, undoubtedly a favourite. A certain jovial good-nature, which often accompanies an easy self-indulgent nature like his, made him generally popular, nor was he above descending to lower arts to conciliate goodwill. In the war which was fought in his name he himself bore so



small a part that it throws but little light on his character, but when success was assured the character of the man showed itself, and he sank into the mere vulgar glutton. The sums which he is said to have squandered on the pleasures of the table, during his brief tenure of power, are so prodigious that they would be incredible, did they not come to us backed by the testimony of independent witnesses who had ceased to have any motive for falsifying the truth. Yet Vitellius amidst all his gluttony and debauchery was not at first cruel. He proceeded to extremity against very few of the Othonian leaders (ii. 60); he confiscated but little property; he respected the wills even of those who had fallen in battle against him at Bedriacum; he spared Otho's own brother Titianus. The death of Dolabella was, perhaps, rather wrung from him than deliberately planned by him (ii. 63, 64). His conduct in Rome itself, though it found critics enough, does not, except that it was disgraced by debauchery, seem to have been wanting in good-humour and kindness. If he sought popularity in the theatre and circus he was doing, after all, only that which his predecessors had also done (ii. 91). At a later date, indeed, under the influence of fear his character seems to have altered; as treachery thickened around him he grew suspicious, and suspicion and fear, as is so often the case, bred cruelty. His treatment of Junius Blaesus was mean and unjustifiable. Blaesus had been his benefactor, supplying him with the means of fitting out a court as he passed through Gallia Lugdunensis on his way into Italy. In return for this he had him poisoned, listening to the mere empty suspicions whispered into his ear by his brother Lucius, and the most worthless of his courtiers (iii. 38, 39). In the closing scenes of his reign the conduct of Vitellius was wanting alike in dignity, energy, and courage. Had he possessed either of the last two qualities, the task of defending Italy and Rome even after the defeat of Bedriacum was by no means an impossible one. The passes of the Apennines could have been made good and held against the invader; his soldiers were still, if he would only have allowed them to be so, devoted to his person and his cause, and had strength and vigour enough left to render them formidable opponents. The desperate stand, when all seemed lost, which they made in Rome itself, is a proof of what they could have done had they only been decently led. But Vitellius threw away chance after chance. In the first instance, while there was yet time to have amended matters, he refused to recognise or to divulge the facts (iii. 54); when he had at last organised an army he declined to accompany it himself; induced, at last, to join it by the pressure of the soldiers, he stays with it only for a little time and then returns to Rome. His desertion sealed the fate of the troops he had left behind; feeling themselves forsaken, unled, desperate, they yielded, though with obvious reluctance, and passed over to the enemy. At Rome Vitellius himself would fain have retired from the conflict and left the city and the empire to be taken possession of without a struggle

by the victors. His friends and his soldiers prevented this, and compelled him to remain in a position which he recognised himself as unequal to defend. His subsequent half-hearted attempt at abdication served only to dishearten and exasperate his adherents without conciliating his opponents. And so, in the end, he fell, deserted and despised by all, retaining to the last the indecision which made even his half attempts at flight unavailing, and constituted him the half-unwilling cause of a bloodshed in the streets of Rome, which was at least as unnecessary as it was deplorable. A worse man might easily have done less harm; a better and a bolder one would at least have added dignity and heroism to a struggle which, even in his hands, might have proved in the end equally unavailing.

VI. THE FIRST AND SECOND BATTLES OF BEDRIACUM

The forces which met in April 69 A.D. on the plains near Cremona, just north of the Po, gathered from four different directions. The troops both of Otho and Vitellius came in two separate divisions. Otho's most considerable and reliable army consisted of detachments of the legions in Pannonia and Dalmatia, who advanced from the north-east over the passes of the Julian Alps by way of Aquileia and Mantua. The legions quartered in these districts were the 7th Galbiana, lately raised by Galba in his province in Spain, the 11th and 13th, both consisting of veteran troops, and the 14th, which was considered at this time the leading regiment in the Roman service, having recently greatly distinguished itself in Britain. Unfortunately Tacitus's account does not make clear how much of these forces had reached the scene of action before the battle took place; that the whole of them had not come up is clearly implied, since the 14th avow after the battle that only a part of them had been engaged; but, as the legions advanced separately, this does not settle the point for the rest, and it is hard to make out whether more than the two thousand picked men from each regiment sent on in advance, together with certain auxiliary cohorts and squadrons of horse, had already reached Bedriacum before the battle was fought and lost. The other part of Otho's forces advanced from the south, coming by the Flaminian road from the city under the command of Otho himself. This army, again, consisted of two parts. The first was composed of five praetorian cohorts, each one thousand strong, and some squadrons of horse; the 1st legion (*Adjutrix*), lately enrolled from the sailors of the fleet; and lastly of two thousand gladiators, a brave but undisciplined crew. All these forces acted as an advanced guard; they were led by Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna, and their special object was to seize and secure the banks of the Po. Behind them came the second division, the main body under Otho himself, who was accompanied by a picked body-guard. This main body included the remaining praetorian cohorts, four in number, some veterans

from the praetorians who had apparently volunteered to re-enlist, and an immense number, so Tacitus describes them, of volunteers from the fleet (H. ii. 11).

Vitellius's forces also consisted of two divisions. The first of them was the army of Caecina, drawn mainly from the forces of, Upper Germany—the backbone of the whole being the 21st legion, previously stationed at Vindonissa—which had advanced into Italy by way of Switzerland and the Great St. Bernard. It had been increased by the adhesion to it of the ala Siliana which, revolting to Vitellius so soon as the troops had begun their march southward, had placed him at once in possession of the whole plain of Northern Italy, including the four strong cities of Mediolanum, Vercellae, Eporedia, and Novaria (i. 70). To assist them in holding these and generally in maintaining the district north of the Po, Caecina, while himself still encamped north of the Alps, had sent on in advance a considerable body of Gauls, Lusitanians, Britons, and Germans, together with a squadron of auxiliary horse. As soon as the spring came, he followed them himself, as quickly as he could, with his main army, crossing, while the snow was still deep, the pass of the Great St. Bernard, which, starting from the Rhone valley near Martigny, brought him down to Aosta in the plain of Lombardy. The other division, a larger force under the command of Valens, advanced more leisurely, making its way through Gaul. Valens was at the head of forty thousand men, drawn mainly from the legions of Lower Germany. The 5th legion held in his army the same commanding position which the 21st held in that of Caecina. As Valens advanced through Gaul, he was joined by troops of native auxiliaries who flocked to him from all the tribes which lay around his line of march. Of them, however, Tacitus himself makes but little account. In addition to them he took away with him from Lyons the 1st legion (Italica), stationed there as the permanent garrison of the place, and a squadron of horse, the ala Tauriana. These two together made an important reinforcement to the division under his command. Valens advanced by way of the Graian Alps, the most frequented at this time of all the passes into Italy, over which Pompey had made a military road. Arrived in Lombardy he pitched his camp at Ticinum, being apparently at this time in no great hurry to effect a junction with his colleague (i. 66).

The first slight advantage was won by the army of Caecina. As his vanguard advanced towards the Po it succeeded in surprising and capturing a cohort of Pannonians near Cremona, and one hundred cavalry and a thousand *classici* farther west near Ticinum, between that place and Placentia. Some of the Batavian auxiliaries even made good the passage of the Po at this point, spreading no small consternation among their opponents who thought that the whole of Caecina's army was upon them (ii. 17). Spurius was at that time holding Placentia, south of the Po, for Otho. His troops, on receipt of the news that the enemy had

crossed the river, clamoured to be led against them. Spurrinna, unable to resist their importunities, was forced to put himself at their head and to quit his base at Placentia, though whether he advanced on the north or the south side of the Po is not from Tacitus's account quite clear, probably on the latter. As evening drew near and his soldiers found themselves out of sight of the river, and under the necessity of fortifying a camp lest they should be surprised by the enemy, their courage failed them, and they allowed themselves to be led back by Spurrinna within the shelter of their fortifications. A short time after this Caecina with his main army actually crossed the Po, apparently at the point where his vanguard had already effected a passage, and proceeded at once to lay siege to Placentia. He and his troops had, however, under-rated the courage of the praetorians, at least when fighting behind walls. The attack on the first day was rudely repelled; and though the Germans spent the next night in making more elaborate preparations for the assault, it fared scarcely better with them on the second day than it had on the first; and Caecina at the close of it was under the necessity of raising the siege, recrossing the Po, and retiring once more on Cremona, which had been already occupied by him. Annius Gallus, who at the head of the 1st legion (*Adjutrix*) was on his way to relieve Placentia, hearing, while still on his march, of Caecina's retreat and the direction which that retreat had taken, himself also crosses the Po and takes up a position at *Bedriacum*, east of Cremona, on the *Postumian* road between it and Mantua. At *Bedriacum*, Annius Gallus seems to have been joined by the two other commanders-in-chief, Marius Celsus and Suetonius Paulinus, though at the head of what forces Tacitus has unfortunately omitted to state. It would seem, however, that detachments at any rate of the Pannonian and Dalmatian legions must already have come up; in addition there were some of the cohorts of praetorians, and a considerable force of cavalry. Gallus at this point became incapacitated by a fall from his horse, and Marius Celsus and Paulinus divided between them the supreme command, the latter taking the infantry, the former the cavalry. At the same time Marcus Macer succeeded in throwing a body of gladiators across the Po nearer to Cremona, and dislodging a picket of the enemy.

The first engagement was brought on by the anxiety of Caecina to recover his lost laurels. Repulsed at Placentia and worsted besides in several encounters of no great importance, he thought that his prestige would vanish, and that he would be entirely eclipsed by Valens in the eyes of the army, unless he could do something before the arrival of the latter to regain his repute as a commander. Himself entrenched before Cremona, he threw forward a part of his auxiliary cavalry to a place called "*ad Castoris*," some wooded ground lying twelve miles from Cremona on the road to *Bedriacum* and Mantua. Here he hoped that his cavalry might be concealed, and that the enemy advancing incautiously might fall into the ambushade which he had thus laid for them. The

Othonian leaders, however, were not thus to be caught napping. Informed of his designs they determined to counter-work them and to catch Caecina himself in the trap which he had laid for them. The disposition which they made of their troops was as follows. On the left, *i.e.* on the river side of the Postumian road, was stationed a detachment of the 13th legion, being part of that force of the Pannonian army which had been sent on in advance. With this there stood four cohorts of auxiliaries and five hundred cavalry belonging probably to the same force. The causeway itself was occupied by three cohorts of praetorians, each one thousand strong,¹ drawn up in deep files; while on the right of the road, the side exposed to the flank attack of the enemy, were the 1st legion (*Adjutrix*), two auxiliary cohorts and five hundred more cavalry; behind and in reserve were a thousand more picked horsemen. The total force can hardly have fallen much short of fifteen thousand men. The order of the battle which followed, though not very clearly described by Tacitus, would seem to have been of the following kind. The cavalry on the right wing advanced first, and it was they who would seem to have drawn out the Vitellians from their ambushade. As they retired the Vitellians followed them; but as the latter advanced they found their way barred by the two legions, which as they moved forward seem to have closed in towards the causeway in front of the praetorians who now acted merely as a reserve. The auxiliary forces which had been stationed with the legions on the wings continued their advance and threatened the enemy on either flank. At the same time the reserve of cavalry stationed originally behind the praetorians, dividing into two bodies, made their way round either flank of their own force, and passing the enemy took them in the rear, thus getting in between them and their camp. The Vitellians, hard beset on all sides, were in imminent danger; and it was only the cautious, perhaps even the treacherous, delay of Paulinus which gave them time to seek refuge in some woody ground in their rear, where they were comparatively safe from the attack of the cavalry. When Otho's infantry at last advanced the line of the enemy was at once broken and driven in flight, a flight so precipitate that the supports sent forward from the camp by Caecina were quite unable to stay it, and themselves had to take part in a movement they were powerless to resist. The general belief on both sides was that had Paulinus pressed on at once instead of indulging in over-cautious or treacherous delays, the enemy's camp would undoubtedly have fallen into his hands and their whole force been scattered or annihilated.

Immediately after the battle Valens with his fresh troops came up from Ticinum to Caecina's support. His army was considerably more numerous than that of his colleague, and the combined forces of both armies cannot have fallen much short of one hundred thousand men. Both armies when united entrenched themselves in a fortified camp just outside the walls of Cremona.

At this point the Othonian leaders held a council of war. It is not clear from Tacitus's account whether Otho himself was present at the council or no, though his language on the whole implies that he was there. Plutarch, however, expressly states that he came up from Brixellum for the council, and only retired when immediate action had been decided on. In the council opinions were divided. The three competent generals, Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus (prevented by a fall from his horse from being present in person), were all for delay. Otho himself, his brother Titianus, and Proculus, the commander of the praetorian guard, advocated immediate action. There is no doubt that the former opinion was the wise one, and that strategically Otho and his colleagues were wrong; at the same time it was not unnatural that they should have dreaded the opportunities for treachery which delay would bring with it and the chance that the army might thus be betrayed by its own generals. The resolution which allowed Otho, instead of appearing in person at the head of his troops, to wait the issue of events at Brixellum probably carried with it all the evil consequences which Tacitus attributes to it. There is one fatal omission in the narrative of Tacitus which prevents us from judging how far the decision of Otho and his friends amounted to downright foolhardiness: our historian nowhere tells us the number of troops who had already arrived on the scene, and who were therefore in a position to take part in the battle. That the Moesian legions had not come up he expressly states; that only a part of the 14th was present he enables us to infer with certainty; but whether the remaining Dalmatian legion and the two Pannonian legions were present in whole or in part he leaves doubtful. On the whole, it seems more probable that only part of them had arrived. But even if we suppose that the whole of them had come up, and accept his statement that the recruits from the *classici* amounted to a very large number (though he seems inclined to make them do double duty in different passages), the forces of the Othonians must still have been in number greatly inferior to their opponents.

While the Othonians were holding council, the Vitellians waited on in their camp outside the walls of Cremona and busied themselves with the construction of a bridge over the Po, which would give them access to the southern bank. During the construction of the bridge a skirmish occurred between some of Otho's gladiators and the Germans on the northern bank. The object of contention was a small island in the middle of the river nearly opposite the mouth of the Adda, which would be a valuable acquisition to whichever side could succeed in occupying it. The skirmish ended in a victory for the Germans, whose skill in swimming enabled them to outstrip the enemy and to meet them at an advantage as they attempted to land from their unsteady vessels. The gladiators avenged themselves by laying all the blame of their defeat on their commander Macer, whom they almost murdered

in consequence. Otho thought it necessary to supersede him, and appointed to his command Flavius Sabinus, the consul designate. The mutinous conduct of the troops did much to damp the ardour of the Othonian generals, and made them more inclined to the treachery which many of them were already meditating.

As soon as an advance was determined on, the Othonian leaders at once quitted Bedriacum and pitched their camp four miles west of it on the road to Cremona. From this point onwards the details of the operations as recorded by Tacitus are so difficult of credit that Mommsen considers the historian has altogether misconceived the scope and object of the different manoeuvres which he describes. Tacitus says that Otho's army set out from their camp with the intention of making good their way to the junction of the Adda and the Po, four or five miles to the west of Cremona and of the enemy's position outside its walls. As such a movement would have exposed them, as it actually did, to all the dangers of a flank attack from an enemy who were themselves strongly entrenched, Mommsen holds that the Othonian leaders could not have been guilty of such folly, but must have intended in the first place to establish themselves on the road from Brescia to Cremona so as to intercept reinforcements coming from the north, though ultimately they may have desired to outflank the enemy's position by occupying a point beyond it. It must be remembered, however, that it might well have seemed to the Othonian leaders that, should the enemy succeed in constructing their bridge on which they were engaged, the whole right bank of the Po would then be at their command, and that to secure a position beyond, *i.e.* to the west of them, would be necessary, were anything effectual to be done in the way of stopping their march on Rome, as the route over the Maritime Alps and through Etruria would then be open to them. However this may be, there seems no reason to doubt that the Othonians did advance too close to the enemy's position and did expose themselves to the dangers of that flank attack which rightly seemed to Tacitus so very formidable. That they did this in the teeth of the advice of their best generals is likely enough; that they actually did it seems almost beyond question. Whatever the motives which influenced them they set out, as Tacitus says, equipped for a war rather than a battle, with the expectation, it would seem, that they were going to make a long stay in front of Cremona. The Postumian road along which they marched, carried on a raised causeway through the damp fields which then as now fringed either bank of the river, made them at once a better mark for the enemy and compelled them to advance on a narrow front. The long distance too which the Othonians had to march, some sixteen miles at least before reaching the enemy, was further sorely against them. When they arrived within sight of the enemy they were already exhausted, while these latter were able to remain at their ease within their fortifications and prepare themselves at their leisure

for the battle. When the leading columns of the Othonians came opposite or nearly opposite the camp before Cremona, Valens, while the legions were deploying into position, despatched a body of Batavian horse to encounter them. These horsemen were, however, driven back by the bravery of the Pannonian cavalry, and were only prevented from forcing their way into the camp of the Vitellians and spreading confusion there by the steadiness of the 1st legion (Italica), who drove them off with drawn swords and forced them once again to turn upon the enemy. After this partial success the efforts of the Othonians were for a time paralysed owing to a rumour which got abroad to the effect that Vitellius's army had deserted him. Many of the Othonians in consequence threw away their arms and attempted to fraternise with the enemy. Being rudely repulsed they had to take once more to fighting, but took to it with the less will because of the recent disappointment and the suspicions which their conduct had given rise to among their fellows. When the fighting began there was not, owing to the broken and encumbered nature of the ground, much in the way of a regular battle. The two armies engaged one another in small bodies here and there just as they found opportunity. Only between the 1st legion (Classica Adjutrix) on Otho's side and the 21st on the side of Vitellius was there anything in the nature of a formal engagement. The 1st legion, victorious at first, was ultimately defeated, though not till it had inflicted serious losses on its antagonists. On the raised causeway there was also a sharp conflict, though who took part in it is not stated, the combatants there fighting as in the sight of either army and as if the whole issue of the contest depended on them. Caecina had not been present at the commencement of the fight, but was hastily summoned from supervising the construction of the bridge when the leading columns of the enemy's force made their appearance. The final issue of the battle seems to have been determined by a flank attack from some Batavian horse under the command of Alfenius Varus. These, after disposing of a band of gladiators who had attempted to effect a landing on the northern bank, charged the flank of the enemy; and as when this happened the centre had already been broken by its opponents, the whole Othonian force was soon in full retreat making for the camp four miles this side of Bedriacum. It was a long and dreary way, and many in the course of it fell victims to the rage of their pursuers, no quarter being given in civil wars. The generals fled even faster than the soldiers, and Paulinus and Proculus seem never to have drawn rein till, giving a wide berth to the camp, they reached Bedriacum itself. Less fortunate were some of their colleagues. Vedius Aquila, legate of the 13th legion, was almost torn in pieces by the angry troops; while Titianus, and Celsus were only saved by the skill and authority of Annius Gallus. The troops either rightly or wrongly set down their defeat to the half-heartedness of their leaders or their downright treachery, and perhaps they were not altogether mistaken. The

soldiers themselves, if we are to accept the text of Tacitus as it stands, were only in part broken in spirit. The praetorians (though Plutarch says that in the actual battle they had behaved the worst of all the troops, running away before they had even crossed swords with the enemy), were specially truculent, and professed their readiness to wait for the Moesian troops and renew the contest under more favourable auspices and more trustworthy leaders.

The Vitellians, however, if such were their mood, gave them but little time to concert the measures necessary to give expression to it. They continued the pursuit to within a mile of the Othonian camp, and at that point halted and spent the night in the open, sufficiently protected by their arms and their victory. The next morning the zeal of the Othonians had cooled down; an embassy was sent to arrange terms of peace; and when after a little while a favourable reply was received and Caecina rode up in person to the enemy's fortifications, these were at once thrown open, conquerors and conquered rushed into one another's arms, and the war was virtually over.

A proposal was indeed made, if we are to accept the authority of Tacitus and Plutarch and the general belief of the Roman world, in the camp at Brixellum to renew the contest, and the soldiers who formed Otho's retinue and the advanced guard of the Moesian army who had now joined him clamoured for immediate action. To all such entreaties, however, Otho, either inspired by the patriotic motives with which Tacitus credits him, or seeing that further resistance was hopeless, as Mommsen argues, and certainly in either case weary of life, turned a deaf ear, and took away all possible pretext for further fighting by ending his life with his own hand.

The first battle of Bedriacum was fought in the middle of April (the 19th) 69 A.D.; the second occurred before the end of October in the same year. The exact date is not ascertained; but when Caecina set out for the scene of action he was already consul, and he entered on his consulship only on the 1st of September; the news of his treachery had reached Rome before 31st October, and he was deposed from office on that day. The battle, therefore, must have been fought late in October. When Vespasian after Otho's death proclaimed himself at the beginning of July Vitellius's competitor for the throne, two of the armies which declared in his favour were those of Pannonia (including Dalmatia) and of Moesia. Part of the Pannonian legions had actually fought in the first battle, and the Moesian legions were on their way to join Otho and had already reached Aquileia when the news of his death reached them. It was only natural that forces thus committed should array themselves on the side of the new claimant for the throne, and should be eager to distinguish themselves in his service. The zeal, too, of some of them was whetted by the execution after the first battle of Bedriacum of some of their centurions (ii. 60), while the

13th had a private grievance of their own, having been told off by Vitellius to build amphitheatres at Cremona and Bononia. After the proclamation of Vespasian a council of war was held at Pettau in the valley of the Drave, the headquarters of the 13th legion, to decide on their course of action. In this Antonius Primus pleaded earnestly for prompt measures, an immediate advance. He undertook if he were allowed only the cavalry and the light-armed forces to make his way into Italy, and open a road for the legions who might follow at their ease. To this plan the soldiers rather than the leaders gave their assent, and Antonius set out on his hazardous march, taking with him as his colleague Arrius Varus, the leading centurion apparently of the 7th legion. Before starting Antonius sent orders to the Moesian legions to join him as quickly as possible, and took measures for the defence of the frontier by incorporating in his force some of the Sarmatian chiefs and cavalry, by whom its tranquillity might be threatened. At the same time some cavalry and some native Norican militia were told off to hold the valley of the Inn, and to guard the right flank against Porcius Septimius, the procurator of Raetia, a staunch adherent of Vitellius.

The Alps in this eastern portion are not difficult to cross, and a good military road led over them connecting Pannonia with Italy. Advancing along this road Antonius and Arrius Varus speedily found themselves at Aquileia, and were received by it and by the neighbouring towns and villages with open arms. The first brush between them and the enemy occurred after they had reached Patavium or Padua. Here news was brought them that a picket of the enemy were encamped at no great distance at a place called Forum Alieni, where they were holding a bridge over the Adige or one of the other tributaries of the Po. This picket Antonius's cavalry succeeded in surprising without difficulty; some were cut down on the spot, some escaped, some deserted. On receipt of the news of this first success the 7th (Galbiana), Antonius's own legion, and the 13th at once hurried up and overtook the advance-guard before they had quitted Patavium. Here a short halt was made, during which Antonius took the judicious step of having the images of Galba replaced in Patavium and the neighbouring towns, that he might procure for his enterprise, as it were, the sanction of that still revered name. At Patavium it was resolved that Verona should be their next point of attack, as the open fields in its neighbourhood were favourable for the operations of cavalry in which their strength mainly consisted, and the wealth and strength of Verona itself would contribute, if they succeeded in capturing it, not a little to their cause. Nor did Verona itself offer any resistance, but together with the neighbouring village of Vicetia (Caecina's birthplace, as they noted) passed without a struggle into their hands. The possession of Verona enabled them to intercept any reinforcements who might be coming to Vitellius by way of Raetia and the Julian Alps, and was thus of great strategical importance to them (iii. 1-8).

Meanwhile Caecina had fortified his camp in the neighbourhood of Hostilia just north of the Po, having his rear covered by that river, his flanks protected by the marshes of the Tartarus, a branch of the Athesis or Adige. His forces, consisting of the 4th, the 5th, the 15th, 16th, and 22d legions, together with drafts of the three legions of Britain, were so superior in number to the enemy that it was believed, and believed with good reason, that had he advanced against Antonius at once he might either have annihilated his army or driven it in headlong flight from Italy. As it was, the thought of treachery stayed his hand and gave the enemy time to concentrate. While he was still hesitating the 7th (Claudiana) came up from Moesia, but Caecina still preferred to parley, not to fight. The delay allowed the two other Moesian legions, the 3d and the 8th, to join Antonius, who then felt himself sufficiently strong to venture to put Verona in a state of defence. While engaged in this work Antonius's own troops broke out into open mutiny against their nominal commanders. The 7th (Galbiana) all but murdered Tampius Flavianus, the governor of Pannonia, from whose province they came; while Aponius Saturninus, the legate of Moesia, was only just rescued from the fury of the Moesian legions. Antonius succeeded in quelling both disturbances, but Roman opinion credited him with having secretly fermented them as a means of ridding himself of his legal superiors who might prove themselves hereafter inconvenient rivals. As a matter of fact both legates sought safety in retirement and relieved Antonius and the army of their presence (iii. 9).

Meanwhile at Ravenna the fleet, with Lucilius Bassus the admiral at its head, declares for Vespasian. Bassus had already concerted measures with Caecina; and the fleet, manned mainly by Dalmatians and Pannonians, was more than ready to espouse a cause which their brothers in the legions had already adopted. Caecina as soon as he heard of the treachery of the fleet declared himself willing to follow the example set by the sailors; but the soldiers, less pliant than their general, refuse, after the first surprise, to go over with him. They cast him into chains and selected as their leaders Fabius Fabullus, legate of the 5th legion, and Cassius Longinus, praefect of the camp. They then, after breaking the bridge, retire from Hostilia in the direction of Cremona purposing to join the 1st and 21st legions, whom Caecina had sent on in advance to that place in order to garrison it.

Antonius, as soon as he was informed of this move, determined at once to set out in pursuit; he was anxious to engage the enemy before the authority of the newly-chosen leaders was established or reinforcements from the north could reach them by way of Raetia. Advancing from Verona in two days he reached Bedriacum, and came to a halt there. The next day he employed part of his forces in fortifying a camp, while with the cavalry and light-armed troops he advanced to plunder the territory of Cremona. He himself at the head of four thousand cavalry

accompanied this latter force, and took up his position eight miles from Bedriacum on the road to Cremona. Here news is brought him that the enemy are advancing, and Varus rushes off with the most energetic of the cavalry to encounter them. Successful at first he was soon driven back, and would have been completely routed had not Antonius, expecting what would happen, drawn up his forces in such a way as to check the enemy and to provide a safe retreat for the routed cavalry. For a moment it looked as if the Vitellians might carry all before them, and Antonius had to put forth all his nerve and energy to prevent the spread of a panic among his troops. Fortunately the ground helped him. A ravine lay in his rear which rendered flight difficult and forced his troops to close up their ranks and to present an unbroken front to the fast-advancing enemy. These in their turn are thrown into confusion by the unexpected obstacle; they first waver, then break, then begin to retire. The advanced guard of the legions consisted of the 21st and 1st legions, which following up the success of the cavalry had advanced as far as the fourth milestone from Cremona. At this point, however, they sadly missed a commander, and found themselves ignorant alike how to render effective support to their own men or how to check the victorious advance of the enemy. Vipstanus Messalla, at the head of the Moesian auxiliaries, threw himself impetuously on their hesitating ranks; and the Vitellians, feeling that they had Cremona near to flee unto, moved off towards it in preference to prolonging what now appeared to them to be an almost hopeless struggle. For that day at any rate Antonius had triumphed, and could wait in safety till reinforcements came up to him from Bedriacum. This they did before nightfall, and as soon as they arrived they clamoured at once to be led against the disheartened enemy. Night was indeed now near at hand, but the hope of plunder, so Tacitus believes, buoyed the weary troops up, and the expectation that the wealthy city would fall, almost without a struggle, into their hands. Their general, however, refused to lead them to a night attack on an unknown and strongly fortified town; the danger would, he urged, be too great, and they must wait for morning before undertaking so hazardous a venture. The camp followers and the freshest of the cavalry were sent back meanwhile to Bedriacum to bring up more troops and the implements necessary for a siege. Before night closed in, reconnoiterers, sent on ahead, learnt from some of the enemy whom they captured close under the walls of Cremona, that six legions, constituting the main bulk of the army which had encamped at Hostilia, having covered a distance of thirty miles that day, had just arrived and were preparing themselves for instant battle. To meet their onset it was necessary to make immediate dispositions. To the 13th was assigned the key of the position, the raised causeway of the Postumian road. Left of them, *i.e.* between them and the river, stood the 7th (Galbiana) in the open plain; beyond them the 7th (Claudiana), their front protected by an open ditch. Right of the road, *i.e.* north of it, was the 8th,

lining a field path ; beyond them stood the 3d, covered by brushwood and low trees. This was the order of the colours, but in the darkness the men of the different regiments got much mixed up. With the 3d were drawn up a detachment of praetorians ; the auxiliaries were stationed at either extremity of the line, and beyond them again the cavalry protected flanks and rear. It would have been easy for the Vitellians, as Tacitus points out, to have waited quietly within their entrenchments till the morning, and then have overwhelmed an enemy whom they would have found wearied out by a night-watch and a long fast. In place of this, having no general to guide or direct them, they exposed themselves to all the dangers of a night attack on an enemy ready drawn up and fully prepared to meet them. The exact order of their line Tacitus believes it to be impossible to ascertain, but he gives the following as resting on some authority. Their right wing, which would be to the south of the Postumian road as they advanced eastward from Cremona, was occupied by the 4th, the 5th, and the 15th ; detachments of the three British legions, the 9th, 2d, and 20th, made the centre of the line, while the 16th, the 22d, and the 13th took their position on the left. The soldiers of the 21st and the 1st (Italica) were mixed up hopelessly all along the front. The cavalry and auxiliary troops selected positions for themselves. The engagement was fought with much obstinacy, the 7th (Galbiana) on the Flavian side suffering especially. The praetorians had at last to be called up from their position on the left wing to their aid. But as they crossed the Postumian road they were nearly swept away by a huge engine the Vitellians had succeeded in stationing on it, and were only saved by the intrepidity of two soldiers who, at the cost of their own lives, succeeded in cutting the ropes with which it was worked and so rendering it useless. At last, however, the moon rose, and the light falling full on the faces of the Vitellians threw the Flavians into shadow, and so speedily gave a considerable advantage to the latter. Antonius saw his opportunity, and seized it for a final effort. Urging on his men by every motive which could appeal to them he led them against the foe, who had already begun to waver, and who were further dispirited by a rumour which got about that Mucianus was coming up with fresh reinforcements. As soon as he saw an impression had been made he assaulted the enemy with redoubled vigour ; and the wavering and practically leaderless line of the Vitellians was as a consequence quickly driven in headlong flight in the direction of Cremona. No quarter was given or asked, and the whole road was strewn with the corpses of the slain. The larger force had succumbed to the smaller, but it was the absence of generals and advisers rather than any want of courage on the part of the German troops which had caused their overthrow. Had the German army been even decently led, it would hardly have found itself the vanquished in the fight. Antonius had to thank the treachery of Caecina even more than his own skill and bravery, considerable though those were, for

the victory which had attended his arms. On the account of the siege and sack of Cremona which followed it is not necessary to dwell. In the vivid narrative which he gives of these events Tacitus is seen at his best, and to expand or to add to that narrative would only be to spoil it.

VII. THE REVOLT OF CIVILIS

The revolt of Civilis is, perhaps, the most remarkable and noteworthy of the events recorded in these books of the *Histories*. It contains a kind of prophecy of the doom that was to befall the Roman Empire, the doom of being destroyed by its own nominal defenders. But Rome in spite of its crimes, its divisions and uncertainties, had still the root of its greatness in it; its doom was not yet; and as soon as it could put forth even a part of its strength the revolt collapsed like a pack of cards, Gaul returned almost without a struggle to its allegiance, and Civilis himself at the end of a few weeks had become a hunted fugitive seeking to make peace on such terms as he could with his conquerors. The dream of an empire of the Gauls north of the Alps which should be the counterpart of the Roman Empire south of the Alps had passed hopelessly away, no more to be renewed for many generations to come. Yet it is important to notice how, even at this early date, Rome had already exercised that spell over her would-be conquerors which she so decisively exerted later on over her actual invaders. It was already a Roman empire of their own, not something different from the Roman Empire, which the Gauls and the Germans aspired to establish. They sought nothing more, but they dreamed of nothing less, than to be the inheritors of Rome's organisation, greatness, and glory. The dream was, as we shall see, not fulfilled at this time or nearly fulfilled; and when centuries later the fulfilment came it was not to the Celts that Rome's sceptre passed, but to those Teutonic races who, coming from the other side of the Rhine, furnished even now the most trustworthy and formidable element in that motley host who in the crisis of Rome's division and weakness seemed to threaten for a moment her still deeply-rooted supremacy.

The revolt of Civilis was one of those many events in history which have arisen partly out of general, partly out of personal and accidental causes. The general causes in such cases lay the train, and the personal causes are, so to speak, the spark that fires it. The general causes which brought about the revolt were the disorganisation of the empire, consequent on a disputed succession to the throne, and the demoralisation in the armies, and relaxation of discipline which the disputed succession and civil wars had produced as their natural result. Such a state of things could scarcely fail to prompt some of the neighbouring nations to try conclusions with the conquerors of the world, and the Germans seized eagerly on the opportunity offered them to pay off some of their scores against their ancient and hereditary foes. What was

peculiar in the situation and gave it for a time its supreme danger was that the legions themselves in some cases turned against Rome and preferred to fraternise with the enemy rather than retain the empire for a ruler whom they feared and disliked, since he owed his throne to the prowess of forces which they justly regarded as their rivals. The personal wrongs inflicted on Civilis by the death of his brother and his own imprisonment were but the spark which set fire to the inflammable material everywhere just then to be met with.

The Batavian country which formed the focus of the revolt was the long island which lies between the two southernmost mouths of the Rhine. The inhabitants of this island, though they counted in Roman times as Gauls, had come originally from Germany. Tacitus (*Germ.* 29) believed them to have been a branch of the Chatti. They paid no taxes nor tribute to Rome, but provided instead an unusual number of first-rate troops. Besides serving in the emperor's bodyguard they furnished no fewer than 9000 infantry and 1000 horse. The greater part of the infantry force—8000 out of the total 9000—was attached shortly before this time to the 14th legion serving then in Britain. It was mainly by their bravery and that of the legion to which they were attached that Suetonius Paulinus had won the decisive victory over the forces of Boadicea which had saved the Roman dominion in Britain (*Intro.* iv. § 5). The fame they had acquired by their signal services in this action made them one of the most distinguished corps in the Roman army. Nero towards the end of his reign had summoned them, together with the legion to which they were attached, to Rome with a view of their taking part in the expedition against the Parthians which he was then meditating. As they were advancing through Gaul they were met by the news of the revolt of Vindex and of Verginius's subsequent victory. On receipt of this news the legion and their auxiliary force parted company. The legion marched on into Italy, perhaps with the intention of helping Nero; subsequently they were despatched by Galba, who mistrusted them, into Dalmatia. The auxiliaries remained behind among the Lingones in Gaul, and it was their unwillingness at this time to follow the legion which led, at least in their own estimation, to Nero's downfall. It is to the suspicions of treachery which this refusal engendered, and the resentment which it excited in the minds of the legionary troops, that the death of Claudius Paulus and the imprisonment of Civilis himself are to be attributed. When Galba succeeded to the throne Civilis was released and returned to the troops whom he had previously commanded; but he was shortly afterwards again cast by the legionaries into chains, and only escaped punishment by the clemency or sluggishness of Vitellius (*H.* i. 59; iv. 13). After this, considering himself no longer safe in the neighbourhood of the Roman legions, he retired from the force he had led with so much distinction, and sought for a time a refuge among his own countrymen in the island. After Vitellius had been

proclaimed emperor the main body of Batavians joined the forces of Valens (i. 64), though a smaller band of them seem also to have attached themselves to Caecina. The jealousy with which they were still regarded by the legionaries at the very outset of the war all but occasioned a fresh disturbance. We next hear of the Batavian cohorts shortly before the battle of Bedriacum (H. ii. 27). Valens had proposed to despatch some of them to the defence of Gallia Narbonensis, at that time threatened by the Othonian fleet. This was objected to by the Batavians themselves, and also by the legionary troops, who considered that they would be in this way deprived of their most trustworthy supports. Matters went to such lengths that Valens himself suffered personal violence in the excitement occasioned by his proposal, and was at length compelled to seek for safety in flight and concealment. When it was known that the project had been abandoned, passions gradually cooled down, and the Batavians suffered themselves to be led along with the other troops to effect a junction with Caecina, who was at that time being hard pressed by the forces under the command of Celsus and Paulinus. In the battle of Bedriacum itself, which followed shortly after this, the Batavians found themselves arrayed on the opposite side to their ancient comrades of the 14th legion, some of whom were actually present in the battle while others were hastening up to Otho's assistance. And it was no mean part which they played in the actual fight; it was their sudden arrival on the scene which determined the issue of the conflict; for after routing a band of gladiators who had been brought across the Po by the Othonian leaders, they were able to take the enemy in the flank at the moment when they were already beginning to hesitate, and thus converted a doubtful victory into a crushing defeat (ii. 43). After the victory Vitellius, anxious to get rid of them as an unstable and dangerous power, despatched them along with their whilom comrades of the 14th legion back into Britain (ii. 66). Such ill-assorted companions did not, however, remain long at peace. At Turin the two quarrelled and fought, nor were they separated till the Batavians had suffered heavy loss, and the arrival of some praetorian cohorts on the scene had given to the legionaries an overwhelming superiority. The auxiliaries hereupon refused to accompany the legion any farther on its return march into Britain, and breaking away from it turned aside along the Rhine, intending apparently to regain their own country.

This was the position of affairs when in the early autumn of 69 A.D. Vespasian's forces under Antonius and Varus began their march into Italy. As they advanced on Rome the leaders sent letters to the Batavians inviting them to make common cause with them, and to effect a diversion in their favour by taking up arms against the scanty remnants of Vitellius's army, left behind in Germany for the defence of the frontier. And indeed these forces might almost seem to invite attack. The flower of them had marched off in the first instance with

Valens and Caecina into Italy. The great majority of those who remained had followed Vitellius when he advanced southward. Their places had been filled by recruits hastily raised among the tribes of Gaul, who had had no experience in war and had acquired no loyalty towards their officers. The auxiliary forces who supported the legions had been entirely raised from the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, and shared all the interests and passions of their fellow-countrymen. The officers were regarded by the whole army with dislike and suspicion, since the soldiers believed them secretly to favour the cause of Vespasian, while they were themselves devoted adherents of Vitellius, whom their swords and those of their comrades had been mainly instrumental in placing on the throne. Hordeonius Flaccus, whom Vitellius had left in command of the whole district, was a weak old man crippled with gout, without initiative, decision, or authority.

The outbreak originated in the island itself. Here Vitellius had ordered a fresh levy to be raised to fill up some of the gaps caused by the departure of troops for Italy. The levy was conducted harshly and cruelly, and discontent and exasperation were the natural consequences. Civilis, who had already received the Flavianist despatches, avails himself of the state of feeling to stir up insurrection among his fellow-countrymen, calling at the same time upon the Canninefates who occupied the northern part of the Batavian island, the Frisii who dwelt on the sea-coast just north of the Rhine, and the cohorts who had quitted the 14th legion and were now stationed at Mainz, to join the movement. The first blow was struck by the Canninefates and Frisii. Setting suddenly upon the scattered garrisons who held the island for the Romans, they put the majority of them to the sword. The survivors gathered at the eastern end of the island under a centurion named Aquilius, resolved to make what stand they could. Civilis at first attempted to induce them to disperse by treachery, and when his attempts were unsuccessful fell upon them at the head of a force composed of Canninefates, Frisians, and Batavians. Owing to the treachery of some of the lately raised Gallic auxiliaries the Roman forces were completely routed, and either slain or taken prisoners; the Gallic auxiliaries either stayed and joined the insurgents, or were sent back to their homes with every mark of honour and distinction. At the same time the fleet which the Romans kept to patrol the Rhine fell by the treachery of the rowers into the enemy's hands.

The Germans on receipt of the news of this victory at once offered their services to Civilis. The Gauls hesitated longer; a lengthened period of peace, prosperity, and servitude had indisposed them to revolt, and Civilis had to put forth all the arts of his eloquence before they could be moved; even then they did not flock to his standards, but an impression had been made upon them.

Up to this point Hordeonius Flaccus had remained in Mainz a passive spectator of events; he now sends orders to Munius Lupercus,

legate of the 15th legion and commander of the forces in Vetera, to take the field against the enemy. Lupercus obeys, but his troops were half-hearted, while the desertion in the battle of a Batavian cohort which accompanied them, and of the majority of their Gallic auxiliaries, left them with little spirit for fight, and they again sought shelter almost at once within the fortifications of Vetera. Tidings meanwhile of their countrymen's successes had reached the Batavian cohorts stationed at Mainz. They were already under orders to join Vitellius in Italy, but now they demanded as a price of compliance terms which no commander could grant, and when Flaccus at last refused to accede to them, using his refusal as a justification of their rebellion they marched off in the direction of their own homes. Even then Hordeonius still hesitated; at one moment he sent orders to Herennius Gallus, legate of the 1st legion and commander at Bonn, to bar their passage, promising himself to hang on their rear and hamper their advance; at the next he sent counter orders to leave them alone, and himself remained inactive in his own headquarters. Gallus on receipt of the first orders came out at the head of two thousand legionaries, a great host of nondescripts and camp followers, some countrymen, and some Gallic auxiliaries, prepared to offer battle to the insurgent troops; but the Batavians forming themselves into close columns had no difficulty in brushing aside the feeble resistance thus offered them, and speedily compelled Gallus and his undisciplined levy to seek a hasty shelter within their fortifications, leaving not a few of their comrades dead on the field of battle. Bonn passed, the insurgents making a detour to avoid Cologne, proceeded unmolested for the rest of their journey to join their victorious countrymen in the neighbourhood of Vetera.

Arrived amongst them they formed such a considerable addition to the forces under command of Civilis that he now ventured on a more pronounced step than any he had yet taken. Having made his own soldiers take an oath of allegiance to Vespasian, he called on the troops stationed in Vetera to do the same. Met by their indignant refusal and profession of undying loyalty to Vitellius, he summoned the Germans east of the Rhine to his aid, and advanced with his troops deployed along either bank of the river to the siege of Vetera. The two legates of the legions in command, Numisius Rufus and Munius Lupercus, did their best in the short time allowed them to put the camp in a position to stand a siege. They strengthened the fortifications, pulled down the private houses and other outlying buildings, which growing up in the period of peace might now afford shelter to the enemy, and attempted as far as they could to collect provisions for a siege. Unfortunately this attempt was in a great measure frustrated by the greediness and rapacity of the soldiers themselves. Vetera was regarded as the key of Lower Germany, commanding on the one side the flat country which lay to the north of it, and on the other the valley of the Lippe, up which access could be gained to the tableland

of Central Germany. The camp itself lay partly on the slope of a hill, partly on the plain, and was very insufficiently defended by fortifications, since it had scarcely entered the minds of the Romans who built it that the headquarters of the legions could be themselves attacked. The Batavians and Germans, however, comparatively unskilled in siege operations, were repelled on their first onset by the steadiness, bravery, and resource of the beleaguered troops; they then determined to convert the assault into a blockade. Hordeonius, informed of what was going on and of the danger in which the camp was placed, determined to hasten to its relief. The command of the forces he handed over to Vocola, an accomplished officer, legate of the 1st legion. Relieved of the command, Hordeonius, incapacitated by gout, floated more at his ease on a raft down the stream. On his way he sent missives to the various states of Gaul calling on them for assistance. Arrived at Bonn, the soldiers who from the first had viewed him with suspicion broke out into more open mutiny. The troops there attributed to his negligence and half-heartedness the reverse they had recently suffered at the hands of the Batavians, while all alike held him responsible for the dimensions which the insurrection had now assumed. To quiet them, Hordeonius not only read to them the despatches which had been just sent off to the different Gallic states, but directed that for the future all despatches should be read to the soldiers before being communicated to the commanding officers, a measure clearly subversive of all promptitude and of all discipline. Even these concessions failed to satisfy them, and Hordeonius feeling himself powerless agreed to hand over the direction of affairs to his subordinate Vocola. Vocola at once gave orders for an immediate advance. On his way he was joined by Herennius Gallus, who had commanded with such signal ill-success in the engagement before Bonn. The two advanced together first to Novesium (the modern Neuss) and then to Gelduba, situated about half-way between the last-named place and Vetera. Here Vocola turned aside to ravage the country of the Cugerni, a Gallic tribe in the immediate neighbourhood who had lately thrown in their lot with Civilis. In his absence the troops at Gelduba seized on Herennius, whom they chose to consider responsible for a defeat they suffered in a skirmish with the Germans, imprisoned him, and only released him when Vocola himself at last reappeared on the scene. It was the divergence of sentiment between soldiers and leaders, and the mutual distrust which this divergence produced, that constituted the real danger of the Roman situation; neither officers nor men were sure that the other party might not be in traitorous correspondence with the enemy; such suspicions rendered the officers helpless, and made possible in the soldiers insubordination and excesses such as we find no parallel to elsewhere.

Civilis meanwhile had continued to press on the siege, encouraging

at the same time the Germans from the other side of the Rhine to devastate the territories of those of the Gallic tribes in this quarter who still remained faithful to Rome. He conducted in person a marauding expedition into the territory of the Ubii, a tribe regarded by the Germans with special detestation because having been originally Germans they had accepted the yoke and the civilisation of Rome, and had even allowed an altar for the worship of the emperor, analogous to the one at Lyons, to be established in their midst. Returning from this expedition, laden with its spoils, Civilis determined to renew the attack upon the fortifications; but though the battle lasted for two days and a night, the undisciplined valour of the Germans was once more foiled by the superior skill and resource of the legionary troops, who fighting behind fortifications were able to inflict crushing loss upon the enemy with little loss to themselves. After this second failure the siege once again settled down into a blockade.

It was while matters were in this state that news reached the two armies of the second battle at Bedriacum and of the total destruction of Vitellius's army. The soldiers in the Roman armies, urged thereto by their tribunes and superior officers, grudgingly took the oath of allegiance to Vespasian, calling at the same time on Civilis to lay aside arms which he had no longer any excuse for wielding against the armies of Rome. Civilis only replied by doing his best to corrupt the Gallic ambassador, Montanus, who had been sent to carry him the news of the battle and the demands of the army; nor was he altogether unsuccessful in his attempts. He continued meanwhile to beleaguer the garrison of Vetera with the same vigour as previously, hoping now to bring the siege speedily to a favourable conclusion. On another side he sent out the most trustworthy of his forces to fall suddenly on Vocula in his camp at Gelduba. For a moment, owing mainly to the treachery of the auxiliaries, the Roman legions were in serious danger, but the timely arrival on the scene of some Basque troops spread panic among the Germans, saved the Roman troops, and converted what might have been a crushing defeat into a considerable victory. Vocula, however, failed to improve his opportunity at once, and gave to the enemy encamped around Vetera time to strengthen their position against him. When a day or two later he actually appeared, his men, as soon as they came in sight of the enemy, insisted on being at once led to battle, and were so far superior as to force the Germans to raise the siege. But Vocula a second time failed to follow up his advantage, and in place of pursuing the routed enemy contented himself with strengthening the fortifications of Vetera and with laying in provisions, as if he expected a renewal of the siege. His dilatory movements and apparent hesitation only confirmed his soldiers in the suspicions of treachery they already entertained. In order to put the camp in a position of security it was necessary that provisions should be brought up from

Novesium, where Hordeonius had for the present fixed his headquarters. This was a work of difficulty, as the Germans were now in possession of the river. The first convoy, however, got safely through, but the second was attacked by Civilis and after some resistance captured, the escort being forced to seek a refuge in Gelduba. Vocula thereupon, apprehensive apparently lest the full garrison should be straitened for want of food, marched out from Vetera not merely at the head of the troops which he had brought with him, but joined besides by detachments of the 5th and 15th legions, part of the original defenders of Vetera. He succeeded in making good his retreat to Novesium, though the scanty forces left behind in the camp complained with good reason that they were being deserted by him. Arrived at Novesium his troops did but add to the tumult already seething there. The soldiers heard that money had come from Vitellius, and clamoured at once that it should be divided amongst them. Hordeonius, not daring to refuse, distributed it as a donative from Vespasian. The soldiers after receiving it, maddened by drink and excitement, dragged Hordeonius from his bed and murdered him under cover of the darkness. Vocula avoided a similar fate only by escaping in the disguise of a slave. The soldiers, after Hordeonius's death, pretended to justify themselves by taking a fresh oath of allegiance to Vitellius, though he, as a matter of fact, had already fallen.

After this foul deed a brief period of repentance seems to have set in, all the more because Civilis still threatened them, and dissensions soon disclosed themselves among the mutineers. The legions of Upper Germany severing themselves from their colleagues of the lower province followed Vocula, who had retreated southwards, and placing themselves once more under his command and taking afresh an oath of allegiance to Vespasian were led by him to the relief of Mogontiacum, which was at this time being besieged by a motley crowd from the other side of the Rhine. On them the Roman forces fell unexpectedly and succeeded in driving them with considerable loss back into their own country. At Mogontiacum Vocula stayed for the remainder of the winter.

At this point the insurrection began to assume a wider and a more dangerous character. Gaul had remained hitherto faithful to the Romans, and the solicitations of Civilis addressed to its chiefs had fallen for the most part on deaf ears. At many points successful resistance had even been offered to the Germans. But the sight of Rome's divisions, the mutinous conduct of her troops, above all the destruction of the Capitol, accepted as portending the doom of the Empire, had produced a profound impression; and the northern tribes at any rate began now to waver. Julius Classicus, commander of a squadron of Treveran horse; Julius Tutor, another distinguished member of the same tribe; and Julius Sabinus, a Lingon chief, met

together in Cologne and debated what course under the circumstances they should advise their countrymen to adopt. They agreed that the fateful hour had arrived, and that advantage must be taken of Rome's distractions to set up a rival Gallic empire, the counterpart of Rome herself, north of the Alps. In furtherance of this design not only were messengers despatched to all the Gallic tribes to summon them to join the insurrection, but it was resolved that attempts should be made to win over the legions of the Rhine, whom the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus might seem to have committed to hopeless estrangement from their fellow-countrymen. Vocula, informed of these deliberations, had no choice but to put a bold face on the matter and to go out to meet, and if possible to counterwork, their designs. He proceeded first to Cologne, where he was joined by Tutor and Classicus at the head of the Gallic auxiliaries, and then striking northward advanced to the relief of Vetera, which was still being besieged by Civilis. On the northward march the Gallic commanders, breaking off from him, entrenched themselves in a separate camp, and from this opened up communications with the Germans on one side and with Vocula's own mutinous troops on the other. Vocula, informed of their treachery, was forced to beat a hasty retreat to Novesium. But the solicitations of the Gauls, the sense of guilt which the soldiers had incurred by their general's murder, and their unwillingness to recognise Vespasian's authority, had now done their work, and Vocula's own forces were willing to make their peace with their foes by acknowledging the Gallic Empire and by the sacrifice of their general. Vocula was by Classicus's order put to death by a deserter Longinus, and no soldier raised a weapon in his defence. The other legates, Numisius Lupus and Herennius Gallus, were cast into chains, and the whole army swore fealty to the Gallic Empire. After this astounding event, unparalleled as Tacitus says in the whole course of Roman history, envoys were despatched to Cologne and Mainz on the one side, to Vetera on the other, to carry the news of what had occurred, and to invite the troops in either quarter to join a movement which it might now seem impossible to resist. The first of these embassies was completely successful. The Agrippinenses and the soldiers in the upper provinces swore, as the troops at Novesium had already done, fealty to the Gallic Empire. In the second case the gallant defenders of the camp at Vetera, reduced at length by the extreme of hunger, bargained with Civilis that their lives should be spared on condition that they too should take the same oath of allegiance which their comrades had already sworn. On these terms they were allowed to leave Vetera with their arms and a garment apiece; the camp and all that was in it was to be given up as spoil. But Civilis found himself either unable or unwilling to stay the fury of his German followers. As the unfortunate Romans left the camp they were set upon by their ferocious enemies and massacred almost to a man. With their slaughter disappeared the last remains of the most

powerful of Rome's armies, that army which now for more than two generations had guarded the frontier of the Rhine against the hordes of Germany.

Yet the movement which had brought about such results was in spite of its apparent success from first to last really weak. Civilis had never made up his mind whether to throw himself on his German or his Gallic allies. Gaul as a whole had no heart in the cause, for she knew full well that were Rome driven from the scene the vacant sceptre would fall not to her but to her German allies and neighbours; and Rome's might was as yet unbroken and was sure, as soon as the question of the succession was settled, to reassert itself in all its former greatness.

For a brief period, however, Civilis and his allies were to be allowed to assert their authority. The legions were ordered to evacuate their ancient quarters, the camps at Mogontiacum and Vindonissa being alone retained. The 16th legion from Novesium, the 1st from Bonn, were bidden in the first place to concentrate themselves at Trèves. As soon as they began to march the full horror and absurdity of the position in which they had placed themselves seem to have been brought home to them: one squadron of horse broke away on the march, and after killing Longinus, the murderer of Vocula, took up its quarters unbidden at Mainz. The legions pursued their way to Trèves, but they arrived there resolved to return on the first favourable opportunity to their Roman allegiance. Measures were next taken against the Ubii. The Germans were anxious to effect their total destruction, since they had been selected by the Romans as the centre from which to spread Roman culture and influence throughout Germany. Policy, however, dictated milder counsels, and, Civilis throwing the weight of his influence into this scale, Cologne was saved, though forced to throw its gates open to all comers and enrol itself as a member of the German and Gallic alliance. To the same cause were also gathered most of the tribes of the North and East, but in the south Julius Sabinus, the Lingon chief, was less successful. Invading the country of the Sequani he was met by them in battle, his troops defeated, and himself forced to seek a hiding-place, from which he only emerged nine years later, to be taken to Rome and there executed.

Indeed the tide had now turned and the day of vengeance was near at hand. Six legions under the command of tried generals, Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerialis, were gathering themselves from different quarters to take part in the coming war. Three of them were advancing from Italy; the other three came, one from Britain and two from Spain. The Gauls, in view of these circumstances, held a convention of their states at Reims. In this convention the weakness of the anti-Roman party became at once apparent. In spite of the protestations of Julius Valentinus, a young Treveran noble, the majority of the diet voted for peace with Rome, and sent a formal

message to the Treveri recommending them to lay down their arms and to come to terms with the Romans while it was still possible; they were further warned that no assistance was to be looked for from the Gauls generally. Even the Treveri and the Lingones themselves were now only half-hearted in the cause; the very chiefs who had headed the insurrection seemed paralysed and incapable of concerting common measures for resistance to the foe. Civilis was away in the west of Gaul, conducting in that quarter a vain hunt after his compatriot Claudius Labeo. Classicus at home did nothing but adopt the airs of a ready-made emperor. Tutor, on whom devolved the task of defending the Rhine frontier, failed egregiously in this object. The 21st legion broke in from Vindonissa, one band of auxiliaries under the command of Sextilius Felix found its way across the Rhine from Raetia, while another troop of horse led by Julius Briganticus, Civilis's own nephew, came up from the same quarter. For a moment Tutor tried to strengthen his hastily-raised levies by enlisting in his service the legionary troops still quartered at Mainz; but as soon as these saw the well-known Roman eagles and standards they deserted their new allies and ranged themselves with their old comrades. The same course was adopted by the tribes of Alsace, whom Tutor had forced or cajoled into joining him. Left thus alone at the head of his Treveri he found himself under the necessity of beating a hasty retreat. For a moment he attempted to make a stand on the Nahe in the neighbourhood of Bingen, but his forces were defeated by the auxiliary troops under Sextilius, and he had then to fall back into his own country. Here the troops ordered up to Trèves from Novesium and Bonn took the oath of allegiance to Vespasian, and marched off into the country of the Mediomatrici (in the neighbourhood of Metz), a tribe who had remained all through faithful to Rome. In order to commit their countrymen more irretrievably to their cause Valentinus and Tutor ordered at this juncture the execution of the two legates, Herennius Gallus and Numisius Lupus, who had at the time of Vocula's murder been provisionally spared. Such was the position of affairs when Petilius Cerialis took over the command at Mogontiacum. Refusing the levies the Gauls offered him, and taking with him only the troops he had brought from Italy and those which had joined him at Mogontiacum itself, he set out at once against the headquarters of the enemy. In three days' march he reached Rigodulum, in the neighbourhood of Trèves, where Valentinus had entrenched himself in the valley and on the hills. The position was at once carried by assault, and Valentinus and many of the young Treveran nobles were captured by the Roman cavalry. The next day witnessed the advance of Cerialis into Trèves. The soldiers clamoured that the place should be destroyed; but Cerialis spared it, addressing to the vanquished a speech in which he set out the dangers which the Gauls must always lie under from their restless neighbours the Germans, and the advantages they had enjoyed under

Roman rule. The soldiers' attention was distracted by the sight of the traitor legions from Novesium, who, hiding themselves from the light of day, mutely asked for pardon. This Cerialis granted them, and brigading them with his own troops forbade his men to upbraid them with what he was pleased to style their disasters. It was to the dissensions that rent the Roman world that he attributed their previous fault.

Meanwhile Civilis, Classicus, and Tutor were collecting forces to meet him in the field. He might, Tacitus thinks, have crushed them in detail, but he preferred to wait their onset, contenting himself with merely fortifying his camp on the other side of the Moselle, which had been hitherto undefended. Civilis was for a policy of delay in order to allow time for German reinforcements to arrive, but Tutor and Classicus were for immediate action, and being the majority carried the day against him. They advanced, the Ubii and Treveri in the centre, the Batavian cohorts on the right, the Bructeri and Tencteri from across the Rhine on the left wing. Cerialis was caught napping. The camp which was on the other side of the river had been forced, the bridge had been occupied, and the enemy were making their way into the town before he was awakened from his sleep. To stay the fugitives, to recover the bridge, to regain the camp, was the work of an instant. Then he found the traitorous soldiers again hesitating, perhaps meditating a second act of treachery. Sternly he upbraids them and revives their broken spirits, and helped by the 21st legion, who had never surrendered, he drives the enemy out of his own entrenchments, pursues them, and in turn captures and destroys their camp. Allowing his soldiers no rest, he hurries them off to the rescue of the Agrippinenses, threatened by Civilis and his Batavian cohorts. He succeeded in rescuing them; but in the West reverses overtook his arms, the Roman fleet being routed and many of its ships captured by the Canninefates, while on land this same people defeated the Nervii, who had taken up arms in the Roman cause. One more effort Civilis made before he finally succumbed. Having gathered what fresh forces he could in Germany he encamped at Vetera, both as furnishing in itself a strong position and also as the scene of his former victories. Thither Cerialis followed him, his forces now doubled by the arrival of the 2d, the 6th, and the 14th legions, the first coming from Italy, the second from Spain, the third from Britain. Civilis had defended himself by flooding the low-lying ground round Vetera, a manoeuvre which rendered the Roman attack very difficult. In the first skirmish the Germans, finding an advantage in the swampy ground, had the best of it. But the next day, when the battle was renewed, a Batavian deserter showed the Roman cavalry a path by which the marsh could be circumvented, and the Germans busily engaged in front were also suddenly attacked in the rear and were compelled to seek safety by swimming the Rhine. This victory practically concluded the war. Civilis was forced to seek shelter,

first in his native island and then in the fastnesses and swamps north of the Rhine, and his capture or surrender became thus only a question of time. At this point the narrative of Tacitus, as it has come down to us, leaves him.

Various lessons were to be learnt from this interesting and dangerous rising, which looked for a moment so near being successful. Some of them the Romans themselves learnt and applied.

In the first place the movement of Civilis pointed out the direction from which danger was ultimately to be looked for to the Roman Empire, and from which its destruction was finally to come. The weakness of the Roman system consisted in the possibility that its defenders and subjects might turn against it, and without breaking up the empire might constitute themselves its masters. This it was at which Civilis aimed; something like this entered into the imagination of the Gallic leaders Tutor, Classicus, and Sabinus. But the danger was, as a matter of fact, still far remote. It was the strength rather than the weakness of Rome which the insurrection really revealed. It was successful only so long as the issue who should rule Rome was still undecided; directly this question was settled the revolt collapsed at once, and the very soldiers who in the prospect of Vespasian's rule had been driven into mutiny, murder of their officers and desertion of their country, when once he was established on the throne, recognised that further resistance was helpless, and returned shame-stricken and unquestioning to their allegiance, though they had to pay for their treachery by being subsequently disbanded.

In the second place the course of the revolt illustrates the inherent weakness of the Gauls and the extent to which Romanising influences had already taken possession of the country. The weakness of Gaul had been already shown in the revolt of Vindex. No national movement had even then been possible. The North and East then held aloof from a cause which originated in the South and West. Now the parts were reversed. It was the North and East who were this time the aggressors, and the South and West refused to make common cause with them, and gave them instead the advice to return as quickly as possible to their allegiance and not to commit themselves to a course which must eventually prove hopeless. Nor was it internal dissensions alone which thus paralysed the Gallic diet. Another and a well-grounded fear was also present to their minds—the fear that even should they succeed in stripping off the Roman yoke the only result would be that they would fall speedy victims to the Germans. Gaul had not now and had not for many generations to come the strength or the cohesion to stand alone. And between the two there was no doubt wisdom in preferring the Roman to the German yoke. The Germans were still a horde of barbarians without culture, without organisation, without political experience. From the Roman rule Gaul had already reaped many advantages. Not only had internal peace

been preserved and the frontier adequately defended, but the country had grown greatly in material wealth and prosperity; and the political career for its citizens which the wide extension of the Roman franchise within its limits had opened up, was now by the more ambitious among the nobles greatly appreciated. Gaul was rapidly learning to identify itself with Rome, and to claim the glories of its mistress as its own.

Thirdly, in two points, in consequence apparently of this revolt, the Romans remodelled their military system. Hitherto the Batavians and other corps of auxiliary troops had been allowed to be officered by their own native princes. Civilis and his brother were at the head of two Batavian corps; Classicus commanded a troop of Treveran horse, Tutor was responsible for the defence of the Rhine in the immediate neighbourhood of his own country. For the future this course was no longer followed. The officers of the auxiliary forces were selected not from their own countrymen, but from the stock from which Vespasian himself arose, from the small farmers and inhabitants of the country towns of Italy. Many rising ambitions were thus nipped in the bud and Rome was saved from the necessity of a number of little wars. Secondly the German auxiliary forces were chiefly brigaded along with the troops serving in their own country. Henceforth this was to be no longer allowed. From Vespasian's time onwards the names of German cohorts are found scattered over the length and breadth of the empire. A similar plan had been already adopted in respect of the Pannonian cohorts after the great rising in Pannonia in the later part of Augustus's reign. In both cases the adoption of the plan seems to have been a complete success. After Civilis's rising the German frontier settled down again into complete peace, and the disturbance, when disturbance there was, came only from the independent tribes settled east of the Rhine.

CORNELII TACITI HISTORiarUM

LIBER PRIMUS

CHAPTERS 1-11—INTRODUCTORY

1. Reasons for selecting this particular period. 2, 3. General characteristics of the times described. 4. State of feeling in the city. 5. Disposition of the city soldiery, and, 6, 7, of the other forces quartered in, or near, Rome. 8-11. Condition of the various provincial armies.

CHAPTERS 12-50

REIGN AND DOWNFALL OF GALBA, JANUARY 1-15, 69 A.D.
SERVIUS GALBA AND TITUS VINIUS, COSS.

12. News having been brought of a revolt of the legions in Upper Germany, Galba resolves on adopting a successor. 13. Different candidates talked about. 14. Galba sends for Piso Licinianus. 15, 16. His address to him. 17. Behaviour of Piso. 18. The adoption is proclaimed to the soldiers in the praetorian camp. 19. It is resolved that an embassy be sent to the legions of Germany. 20. Measures taken to gain funds and to secure the fidelity of the city troops. 21. Otho determines on immediate action; his motives. 22. He is influenced by his slaves, freedmen, and soothsayers. 23, 24. Previous measures taken by him to ensure the goodwill of the soldiers. 25. Two common soldiers of the bodyguard undertake to test the feeling of their comrades. 26. The mutinous spirit spreads to the legions and auxiliary forces in the city, who hold themselves in readiness for an outbreak. 27, 28. On January 15 Otho slips away from the Palatine, is met by a few soldiers at the Miliarium Aureum, and by them proclaimed emperor, and hurried off to the praetorian camp. 29, 30. On receipt of this news, Piso addresses the guard on duty at the Palace. 31. Steps are taken to test the fidelity of the other troops. 32, 33. In the Palace different courses are advocated by Titus Vinius and by Laco and Icelus. 34, 35. Galba is on the point of setting out when a false report is brought of Otho's death. 36. Reception of Otho in the praetorian camp. 37, 38. He makes a speech to the collected soldiers. 39. Piso meanwhile joins Galba; their indecision. 40. The soldiers rush down from the praetorian camp and break into the Forum. 41. Galba is thrown from his litter and killed. 42. Titus Vinius is next attacked, 43. and then Piso. 44. Joy of Otho on receiving news of Piso's death. 45. Change in public feeling; Otho attempts to moderate the vehemence of the soldiers, 46. and takes measures to conciliate them; death of Laco and of Icelus. 47. Pretended joy at Otho's accession; Piso and Vinius are buried. 48. Life and character of Piso, of Titus Vinius, 49. and of Galba. 50. Panic at Rome on the receipt of the news of the proclamation of Vitellius in Lower Germany.

CHAPTERS 51-70

HISTORY OF THE VITELLIANIST RISING IN GERMANY, AND OF THE ADVANCE
OF THE GERMAN ARMIES INTO ITALY, JANUARY 1 TO MARCH 1 .

51. Causes of disturbance in the German armies following the suppression of the revolt of Vindex. 52. In the army of Lower Germany Fabius Valens incites Vitellius to claim the throne. 53, 54. Alienus Caecina tampers with the army of Upper Germany, already in a state of ferment. 55. On January 1 the oath of allegiance is taken to Galba by the legions of Lower Germany ; but in Upper Germany the 14th and 22d legions swear allegiance to the Senate and people of Rome. 56. News of this is brought to Vitellius at Cologne, who communicates it to the officers of the army of Lower Germany. 57. Vitellius is proclaimed emperor on January 3 by the troops of both armies, and accepted by the neighbouring tribes. 58. He gratifies the soldiers by various concessions. 59. He is joined by various commanders in Gaul, 60. and also by the forces in Britain. 61. Fabius Valens is despatched with 40,000 men of the Lower army by way of Gaul and the Cottian Alps, Caecina with 30,000 men of the Upper army by way of Switzerland and the Pennine Alps, into Italy. 62. Sluggishness of the emperor and zeal of the soldiers. 63, 64. Advance of Valens through Gaul. 65, 66. While at Lyons the soldiers are excited against the people at Vienna, but at length appeased and continue their march to the Alps. 67, 68. Caecina meanwhile attacks the Helvetii and routs them ; their capital, Aventicum, surrenders. 69. Their leaders are sent to Vitellius, and obtain pardon from the soldiers. 70. Caecina is joined by the ala Siliana in Northern Italy, which wins over some of the most important towns in the valley of the Po ; he sends on in advance some auxiliary cohorts and squadrons to its support, and prepares himself to cross the Pennine Alps.

CHAPTERS 71-90

OTHO'S REIGN IN ROME, JANUARY 15 TO MARCH 14, 69 A.D. COSS. SALVIUS AND
TITIANUS OTHO, JANUARY 26 TO MARCH 1. L. VERGINIUS RUFUS AND L.
POMPEIUS VOPSICUS, FROM MARCH 1 ONWARDS

71. Otho's activity ; his leniency to Marius Celsus. 72. He puts Tigellinus to death ; career of Tigellinus. 73. He saves Calvia Crispinilla. 74, 75. Letters are interchanged between Otho and Vitellius, and an attempt is made by each unsuccessfully to tamper with the fidelity of the other's troops. 76. Distribution of the provinces and their forces between the contending parties. 77. Allotment of offices by Otho. 78. He showers favours on the provincials, and is believed to be meditating the doing honour to Nero's memory. 79. Raid of the Rhoxolani into Moesia ; they are defeated. 80, 81. A mutiny breaks out among a cohort stationed at Ostia ; they ride to Rome, force their way into the Palace and Otho's banqueting hall ; the senators fly in dismay. 82. The disturbance is at last allayed. 83, 84. Otho then addresses the troops. 85. Uneasiness still continues in the city, and still more in the Senate. 86. The alarm is intensified by reported prodigies, and by an unusual overflow of the Tiber. 87. Otho resolves on attacking Gallia Narbonensis, and selects leaders for the war. 88. He desires the senators to accompany him as a retinue. 89. The city populace begins to feel the strain of the war. 90. Otho quits Rome for the seat of war on March 14.

1. Initium mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinus consules erunt. Nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur, pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferris pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas

A.U.C.
A.D.

§ 2.

5

1. *Initium mihi operis.* The work begins with the opening of the year 69 A.D. (A.U.C. 822), that one long year as Tacitus elsewhere, Dial. 17, describes it, "atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum," the events of which fill the greater part of that portion of the *Histories* which has come down to us. Tacitus's reason for choosing the 1st of January rather than the beginning of Galba's reign for the opening of his History is probably to be found in the annalistic form to which, in the *Histories* as well as in the *Annals*, he on the whole adheres. Nero had been killed on June 9 of the previous year; Galba had been proclaimed "imperator" by his soldiers as early as April 3, and the senate had given its formal sanction to the soldiers' choice immediately after Nero's death; but the new emperor had entered the city only a few days before the 1st of January, so that by beginning his History with the opening of the year Tacitus lost but little of Galba's actual reign.

1. *Servius Galba iterum.* Galba's full name, preserved on a gladiatorial tessera, was Lucius Sulpicius Servius Galba; he had been consul before, in A.D. 33 (A.U.C. 786) in the reign of Tiberius, thirty-six years previously, when he had Lucius Sulla for his colleague, Ann. vi. 15 and 20. In Ann. vi. 20, Tacitus tells the curious story how Tiberius once addressed him in these words, "You too, Galba, some day shall have a brief taste of empire."

2. *consules erunt.* In English we should use the abstract form "the consulships." "The beginning of my work dates from the consulships of Galba and Vinus." It was usual for the reigning emperor to assume the consulship early in his reign, e.g. Tiberius becomes consul in 18 A.D., Ann. ii. 53, though, on that occasion, he held the office only for a few days.

2. *nam* gives the reason why he selects this date. "We begin here 'for.'"

2. *octingentos et viginti—annos.* This number is given as a round sum. According to Roman calculation it was 822 years (753 + 69) from the founda-

tion of the city to the consulships of Galba and Vinus.

3. *multi auctores.* It is scarcely necessary to enumerate them. There were the older annalists beginning with Fabius Pictor, then Polybius, Sallust, Caesar, Livy, Cicero, and the writers under the Empire.

3. *dum—memorabantur.* *Dum* with the imperfect has the sense of "so long as," and is used to express a permanent condition; see Madvig, § 337. *pari eloquentia.* This is an ablative of manner; it goes with *rettulerunt*, not with *memorabantur*.

3. *res populi Romani.* The history of the Roman people contrasted with the events under the Empire. In Ann. i. 1 we have "sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt," and in Ann. iv. 32 we have "veteres populi Romani res."

4. *postquam bellatum apud Actium.* With the battle of Actium, B.C. 31 (Sept. 2, A.U.C. 723), the *res populi Romani* came to an end.

5. *omnem potentiam.* Latin writers distinguish between *potestas*, the official power and authority possessed by a magistrate, and *potentia*, power and influence whether of the state at large or of an individual. Orelli, to illustrate the difference between the two, quotes Ann. iii. 69, "satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae. Minui iura, quoties gliscat potestas." So in Ann. i. 1 Tacitus speaks of *decemviralis potestas*, but of *Pompeii Crassique potentia*, the first being delegated authority, the second personal power and influence. Some of the inferior MSS. read *omnium potentiam* or *omnium potestatem*.

6. *pacis interfuit.* That the Empire grew out of the universal desire for peace and for a cessation from the long-continued civil wars is an opinion also expressed in the opening chapter of the *Annals*, "Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit;" also Ann. i. 2, "Caesar cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit." There

pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes : ita neutris cura posteritatis inter infensos vel obnoxios. Sed
 10 ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur : quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti. Dignitatem nostram a

were other causes which brought about the Empire, but this no doubt was one of the chief.

6. *magna illa ingenia cessare*. This does not quite agree with the statement in Ann. i. 1, "sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt ; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione detererentur." The chief writers of history under Augustus were Labienus, Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cossus.

7. *pluribus modis infracta*. "Was impaired in many ways." *Plures* is used by Tacitus as almost equivalent to the more classical *non nulli*, a form he hardly ever employs ; it, however, implies more than *non nulli*, as we might say "in a variety of ways."

7. *primum*, etc. "First of all, from ignorance of public affairs as no longer their concern." Dio, liii. 19, explains how the withdrawal of interest from public affairs consequent upon the establishment of the Empire led to the falsification of history, or, at any rate, to great meagreness in the details. Tacitus uses *mox* to introduce a second reason instead of the more classical *deinde*. Sometimes the two words are combined.

8. *libidine — dominantes*. For the use of *libido*, cf. i. 12, "libidine talia loquendi"; iv. 49, "indiligentia veri et adulandi libidine" = "the passion for." *rursus* is equivalent to the Greek *ad*, as in Ann. xiii. 14 ; and almost the same sentiment is found in Ann. i. 1, "Tiberii Gaique et Claudii res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt."

9. *inter infensos vel obnoxios*. "Between the hostile or the complaisant" = since all were either hostile or complaisant. This use of *inter* with an adjective to explain the ground or reason of an event occurs more than once in the *Histories*, e.g. i. 34, "credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos" = "cum omnes gauderent et incuriosi essent ;" ii. 50,

"inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis" = "cum discordes essent." For *obnoxius* used absolutely, we may compare ii. 56, "obnoxiiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis," and Liv. xxiii. 12, "si reticeam aut superbus aut obnoxius videar."

9. *sed ambitionem*. The history of the change in the meaning of this word is significant. Originally used to denote canvassing for an office, and then courting of the people, it easily passed into the notion of "servility," as offices came to be at the disposal of the emperor ; even in Cicero we have traces of this change of meaning.

10. *facile averseris*. There is a doubt here, as also in c. 38, "etiam deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes ;" and iv. 84, "volgus aversari regem," whether *aversor* or *adversor* (which is the reading of the majority of the MSS.) is the right reading ; but while *adversor* could scarcely be used with an accusative, there is no similar difficulty about *aversor*, cf. Ann. i. 28, "sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur."

10. *obtrectatio et livor*. "Detraction and jealousy." In Ag. 41 we have *livor* coupled with *malignitas*, and by Cicero, ad Fam. xi. 10, 1, with *malevolentia*.

11. *quippe*. "The reason being that." The derivation is *quia-pe*, like *nempe* = *nam-pe*.

13. *dignitatem nostram*. It is not certain what office Tacitus held under Vespasian. From a passage in Pliny, N. H. vii. 17, "ipsi nos pridem vidimus eadem omnia praeter pubertatem in filio Cornelii Taciti, equitis Romani, Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis," it has been supposed that Vespasian made him procurator of Gallia Belgica ; but there is no proof that the Cornelius Tacitus here mentioned was the historian (it may have been his father), or that the office was conferred on him by Vespasian. The more probable hypothesis is that he received the office of quaestor from Vespasian, and that by Titus he was made aedile, or tribune of the *plebs*.

Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis 15 neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. Quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiolem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.

20

2. Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox praeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevom. Quattuor principes ferro interempti: trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque

14. a Domitiano—provectam. He tells us himself, Ann. xi. 11, that under Domitian (in the year 88 A.D.) he was praetor and quindecimvir, "hisque intensius adfui sacerdotio quindecimviri prae-ditus ac tunc praetor."

16. et sine odio. We have to supply *quisque* as in Hor. Sat. i. 1, 3, "laudet diversa sequentes," and below ii. 52. We may, perhaps, translate "Those who lay claim to unimpeachable honesty must not speak of any with undue affection, but must speak of all without hatred." For the sentiment, see Ann. i. 1, "mihi consilium pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo."

16. quod si vita suppeditet. The promises held out here and in Ag. 3, "non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse," were not fulfilled. No more was his promise in Ann. iii. 24 of writing a history of the reign of Augustus.

17. principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani. The epithet *divi* proves that the deification of Nerva, and consequently his death, had already taken place when the *Histories* were written. It is most likely that they appeared early in the reign of Trajan, about 105 A.D. *Principatum*—*imperium* imply a contrast in the two reigns, the one peaceful, the other warlike.

18. uberiolem securioremque materiam. *Uberior*, because of the military achievements of Trajan. *Securiorem*, either "less painful," as not having to deal with the horrors which marked the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian, or "more secure," as being less liable to incur the enmity of the descendants of those whose crimes he

denounces; or, it may be, "less risky," for the reason given just below. The second sense seems favoured by Dial. 3, "emitteres Catonem (*i.e.* his tragedy of Cato) non meliorem sed securiorem." For the *securitas imperii* and *felicitas temporum* under Nerva and Trajan see Tacitus's description, Ag. 3, "quamquam . . . augeat quotidie *felicitatem temporum* Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum *securitas publica* sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpsit."

2. 1. opimum casibus. *Opimum* is a generally accepted correction, based on the minor MSS., of *opibus*, which is the reading of M. This has been corrected in the margin into *plenum*. The error arose, no doubt, from the termination of *casibus* having caught the scribe's eye.

2. ipsa etiam pace saevom. This refers to the tyranny of the *delatores* under Domitian, and the cruelties of that emperor, the *Histories* in their entirety embracing his reign. *Ipsa pace*, a kind of ablative absolute; the ablative, thus used elsewhere, to express time during which, is post-Augustan. For the horrors of Domitian's later years, see Ag. 2 *sub fine*.

2. quattuor principes. These were Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian, for the *Histories* included the whole of this last reign.

3. trina bella civilia. That of Otho against Vitellius, Vitellius against Vespasian, and, so say the commentators, of Lucius Antonius, ruler of Upper Germany, against Domitian; see Suet. Dom. 6; Dio, lxxvii. 11. It is possible that the third may be the struggle between Galba and Otho. *Trina* is used rather than *tria*, because *bella civilia* is equivalent to a plural noun used for the singular, and so follows the general rule, that with words used only in the plural the distributive numeral is used when a number is denoted, *e.g.*

permixta: prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res:
 5 turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes, perdomita Britannia et
 statim missa, coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes,
 nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum
 arma falsi Neronis ludibrio. Iam vero Italia novis cladibus vel
 post longam saeculorum seriem repetitis afflicta: haustae aut

"bina castra (not *duo*), trinae literae (not *tres*)," Madvig, § 76 c.

3. *plura externa*, e.g. those against the Rhoxolani, i. 79, and the Jews, v. 1.

3. *ac plerumque permixta*. The outbreak of Civilis, the Dacian revolt (iii. 46), and the Jewish war under Vespasian and Titus, had all this mixed character.

4. *prosperae, adversae*. The first refers to the successes of Vespasian and Titus in Palestine, the second to the disasters in Gaul and on the Rhine, occurring in the revolt of Civilis.

5. *turbatum Illyricum*. Illyricum is a term of wide and somewhat indefinite extent. It embraces Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia. For the troubles in that quarter, see i. 9 and 76; ii. 85; iii. 46.

5. *Galliae nutantes*, iv. 12, 49, etc.

5. *perdomita—missa*. Britain was subdued by Agricola, Tacitus's father-in-law, 77–84 A.D. Tacitus in his *Life* says, c. 10, "sed quia tum primum perdomita est." It was never wholly abandoned, but inasmuch as the conquests of Agricola were not followed up, a considerable portion of the island (Wales and Scotland), was practically lost in the later years of Domitian's reign; *missa* will thus be equivalent to *omissa*, into which it is altered by Heraeus; but the use of the simple for the compound form is quite Tacitean, and occurs again, Ann. vi. 36, "missa Armenia."

6. *Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes*. For the Sarmatae, see i. 79; iii. 5, 24; iv. 54. The Suebi here referred to are a branch of the great Suebian race whom Drusus had settled beyond the Danube, in the district between the rivers Marus and Cusus. They are mentioned in Ann. ii. 63; xii. 29; and of them Dio, lxxvii. 5, tells us that the Ligyes in Moesia, being at war with certain of these Suebi, sent ambassadors to Domitian asking him to make an alliance with them. He granted them the help of a force, remarkable not for its strength but its distinguished character. One hundred equites were sent to them. The Suebi, taking umbrage

at this, i.e. at the despatch of a Roman force to help their enemies, induced the Iazyges to join them, and made preparations with the intention of crossing the Danube.

7. *nobilitatus Dacus*. "The Dacians got the glory of defeats inflicted and received." Suetonius, Dom. 6, says that Domitian made two expeditions against the Dacians, the first after they had defeated Oppius Sabinus, a consular, the second when they had routed Cornelius Fuscus, praefect of the praetorians, whom he had appointed to the command against them. He celebrated a double triumph over the Chatti and Daci. Skirmishes with the Daci are mentioned, ii. 46; iv. 54; Ag. 41. Statius (Silv. i. 127) alluding to Domitian's victories, says, "das Chattis Dacisque fidem;" see also Silv. iii. 3, 170.

7. *mota prope—ludibrio*. *Prope* as in Hor. Od. iii. 8, 7, "prope funeratus arboris ictu." The *ludibrium* here referred to is not that mentioned in ii. 8, but one of the later reputed appearances which Tacitus there promises to relate subsequently. Suetonius, Ner. 57, has preserved a brief record of one of these. "Twenty years after Nero's death there arose a man of uncertain station, who pretended to be Nero, and Nero's name was held in such regard among the Parthians, that he was strenuously assisted, and reluctantly given up."

8. *vel—repetitis*. There had certainly been previous eruptions of Vesuvius, as is proved by the fact that the streets of Pompeii and Herculaneum are themselves paved with lava.

9. *haustae aut obrutae urbes, fecundissima—ora*. The first word *haustae*, "swallowed up," perhaps refers to the sudden encroachment of the sea consequent on the earthquake, while *obrutae* will describe the overwhelming of the cities by ashes and lava. *Ora* has by some been taken as a nominative in apposition with *urbes*, by others as a local ablative, a construction frequently found in Tacitus. The latter is to be preferred.

obrutae urbes, fecundissima Campaniae ora; et urbs incendiis 10
vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium
manibus incenso. Pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria. Plenum
exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli. Atrocius in urbe saevitum:
nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob
virtutes certissimum exitium. Nec minus praemia delatorum 15
invisa quam scelera, cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia
adepti, procurationes alii et interiorum potentiam, agerent
verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi,
in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos
oppressi. 20

Heraeus would omit *urbes*, considering that Tacitus would never have used the word with *urbes* equivalent to *Roma* in the next line; he then alters *haustae* and *obrutae* into *hausta* and *obruta*. For this there is no MS. authority, and the reason advanced is not sufficient. The destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii took place in 79 A.D. in the reign of Titus. Pliny has given a full account of it, Epp. vi. 16 and 20.

10. *et urbs incendiis vastata*. He refers to the great fire in which the Capitol was burnt, iii. 71, and to the great conflagration in the reign of Titus, A.D. 80, Dio, lxvi. 24.

12. *pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria*. He refers to such vices as Juvenal lashes, e.g. i. 36-41, and to the misconduct of the vestals, mentioned in Suet. Dom. 8; Plin. Epp. iv. 11, 6. *Magna* either means "scandalous," "notorious," "*causes d'élèbres*," or "in high places," in which case we may compare "*magnae domus*," c. 4; "*insignes amicitias*," c. 10. If the latter be the meaning, he will be specially alluding to the intrigues of Domitian with his niece Julia.

12. *plenum exiliis mare*. It was a favourite plan of all the emperors to send culprits or characters they considered dangerous to banishment on rocky islands in the Aegean or elsewhere, such as Gyarus, Seriphus, Cercina, Pandataria.

14. *omissi gestique honores*. "The refusal or bearing of office was equally ground of accusation." Dio, lxvii. 13, tells how Herennius Senecio was put to death by Domitian because he had never stood for any office higher than the quaestorship.

15. *delatorum*. We hear less of them in the part of the *Histories* we possess

than in the *Annals*, but from the *Agri-cola*, c. 45, we learn the fatal power they attained under Domitian.

16. *ut spolia adepti*. Tacitus, iv. 42, puts into the mouth of Montanus the following attack on Aquilius Regulus, "*cum ex funere reipublicae raptis consularibus spoliis, septuagies sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens innoxios pueros, inlustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prostermeres.*"

17. *procuraciones*. The office of procurators. The procurators in the larger imperial provinces answered to the quaestors in the senatorial, while they governed the smaller imperial provinces. They also sometimes represented the emperor in senatorial provinces, e.g. in Africa, below c. 7. Such posts were highly valued for the opportunities they gave of extortion.

17. *interiorem potentiam*. "Influence in the imperial household," or as we should say "at court."

17. *agerent verterent cuncta*. "Overthrew and turned all things upside down." Tacitus has in his mind Livy's favourite phrase "*agere ferre cuncta*." This is itself a translation of the Greek formula, *ἀγῆν καὶ φέρειν*. He has given it, however, a slightly different meaning. Some understand it "managed and then upset all things," others "ruled all things with an absolute sway:" but no authority is given for this. In the older editions *odio et terrore* were taken with the words which follow, but the rhythm of the sentence is clearly against this; *odio et terrore* = "by the hatred felt for them and the fear they inspired."

19. *per amicos*. As Dolabella was destroyed by his intimate friend, Plancius Varus, ii. 63; Barea Soranus by his friend and pupil, Publius Celer, iv. 10.

3. Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exilia coniuges; propinqui audentes, constantes generi; contumax etiam adversus tormenta servorum
 5 fides; supremae clarorum virorum necessitates, ipsa *necis* necessitas fortiter tolerata et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. Praeter multiplices rerum humanarum casus caelo teraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta. Nec enim umquam atrocioribus
 10 populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

4. Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque

3. 1. *virtutum sterile saeculum*. *Saeculum*, like our "age" or "period," is used of any indefinite, but considerable, period of time, e.g. Ag. 3, Tacitus describes by this word the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. For *virtutum sterile*, Heraeus quotes Vell. i. 18, "urbes liberalium studiorum steriles."

3. *secutae—conjuges*. E.g. Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus, of whom Pliny, Epp. vii. 19, 4, says that she twice followed her husband into exile, and was herself banished a third time on his account.

3. *constantes generi*. He probably has in his mind Helvidius Priscus, whose fidelity to the memory of his father-in-law, Thrasea, he mentions in iv. 5.

4. *servorum*. In iv. 50 he recounts the notable fidelity of a slave of L. Piso.

5. *supremae—necessitates*. This probably means "distinguished men were doomed to a self-inflicted death; the doom itself was borne with fortitude, and there were parting scenes equal to the much praised deaths of the ancients." This is reading *ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata*; but Meiser inserts *necis* after *necessitas*; Heraeus, less probably, reads *ipsae neces toleratae*; Ritter would expunge *ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata* as a gloss by a copyist. Neither change seems necessary. For the expression *suprema necessitas*, see i. 72, "accepto supremae necessitatis nuntio," and Ann. xi. 37, "supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat." *antiquorum*. The deaths alluded to are those of Socrates, Demosthenes, Phocion, Cato.

10. *magis iustis indiciis*. More perfect proofs, i.e. proofs that come more perfectly up to the full requirements. With the sentiment we may compare Lucan, Ph. iv. 207, "felix Roma quidem, civesque habitura beatos | si Libertatis superis tam cura placeret | quam vindicta placet," and what he says himself, Ann. vi. 22. That crimes are punished by a divine power he implies also, ii. 38, "eadem illos *Deum* ira, eadem hominum rabies, eadem scelerum causae, in discordias egere;" and iii. 72, "proptitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis." His general view, then, is that the gods do not concern themselves with the happiness of men but do interfere to punish them. His view is thus at once sceptical and melancholy. There is a sort of play on the words *curae . . . securitatem*.

4. 1. *destinata componam*. "I shall enter on the task I have set myself." The primary meaning of *destino* is to fix or fasten, the root reappearing in *stare* and *στάειν*; Caes. Bell. Civ. i. 33, "infectis iis quae agere destinaverat."

2. *quis habitus for qui habitus*, the use of either form being determined, it would seem, by considerations of euphony. So Ann. i. 48, "nullo noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis." Madvig, § 88, *obs.* 1.

3. *in toto terrarum orbe*. So Mon. Anc. c. 3, "toto in orbe terrarum." But the prep. is usually omitted; iv. 58, "ne hoc prodigium toto terrarum orbe vulgetur."

fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur. Finis Neronis 5
 ut laetus primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus
 animorum non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut
 urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones ducesque conciverat,
 evolgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae
 fieri. Sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga 10
 principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi
 gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa,

4. *qui*—*fortuiti sunt*. There appears a certain contradiction in proposing to examine into the principles and causes of events, if the issues and their incidents are governed by chance; but Tacitus's meaning seems to be that while particular events, like victories or defeats, the death of individuals, etc., are largely governed by chance, the general course of things and the main issues depend on general causes, and these he now proposes to investigate.

6. *ut*—*ita*. *Ut* followed by *ita* is used to draw attention to a contrast, as below, c. 6, "ut non in unum aliquem prono favore, ita audenti parata," etc., "while yet," Madvig, § 444 a, obs. 3.

6. *primo gaudentium impetu*. "In the first outburst of joy." The genitive plural of the present participle is often used by Tacitus in this way to express what we convey by the use of some abstract term. So Ann. ii. 1, "Phraates, quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat." The genitive is a kind of defining genitive.

7. *aut urbanum militem*. The term is not here equivalent to *urbanae cohortes*, but includes all the soldiery stationed in the capital, i.e. the praetorian guards and some legionary troops, in addition to the *urbanae cohortes* proper.

9. *evolgato imperii arcano*. "A constitutional secret being disclosed." *Imperii arcanum* is used in a different sense, Ann. ii. 36 and 59, where it stands for a secret relating to the means of maintaining the imperial dignity supposed to have been transmitted from Augustus. Galba's proclamation as emperor by the 6th legion in Spain does mark a great revolution in Roman history. In Republican days a consul or other magistrate was scarcely ever elected away from the city. A man could not, as a rule, even be elected in his absence, it being no new principle that Pompey laid down, when he wished

to force Caesar to come to Rome for the elections and stand in person. The earlier Caesars had all been created at Rome, and with the consent of the senate. Claudius and Nero owed indeed their elevation to the city soldiery; but that provincial soldiers should determine who should be elected emperor, it had not entered into the minds of men to conceive as possible. In old days the principle had been directly repudiated as of evil example. Liv. xxvi. 2, "mali exempli esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus; et solemne auspicatorum comitiorum in castra et provincias procul ab legibus magistratibusque ad militarem temeritatem transferri." It was partly the shock felt at the unprecedented manner of his election which led to the speedy downfall of Galba.

10. *usurpata*—*absentem*. "As they enjoyed a more unrestricted freedom under an emperor who was at once new and absent." *Ut* expresses (like *ut*) that that happens which might be expected under the circumstances.

11. *primores*—*gaudio*. "The chiefs of the equites came next the senators in their joy." Literally, were next to the joy of the senators. These *primores equitum* are those who had the senatorial census; they are called "equites dignitate senatoria," Ann. xvi. 17; "equites insignes," Ann. xi. 5; "equites illustres," Ann. ii. 59, xv. 28; "equites splendidi," Plin. Epp. vi. 15, 1.

12. *pars populi integra* is contrasted by Tacitus here and elsewhere with *plebs sordida*. The former were mainly the clients of the great houses, the ancient plebs of Rome. Such were still the backbone of the Commonwealth, and had become the main support of senatorial authority. The *plebs sordida*, on the other hand, was chiefly composed of newly liberated slaves, and even immigrant foreigners, owning no *patronus* but the emperor, to whose liberality they looked for liveli-

clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti : plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut
 15 qui adesitis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et
 ~ rumorum avidi.

5. Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum neque magnis meritis ac praemiis eundem
 5 in pace quem in bello locum praeventamque gratiam intellegit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitur. Et Nymphidius quidem in ipso conatu oppressus : set
 10 quamvis capite defectionis ablato manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deerant sermones senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus

hood, and whose staunchest upholders they were. For them, see Juv. viii. 118; x. 80; and Merivale, c. lv.

13. in spem erecti. "They hoped with the return and restoration of their patrons to regain their old advantages."

6. 1. longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus. *Longo* here, as in i. 89, is equivalent to *diuturno*. *Caesarum* is a kind of objective genitive; so in ii. 55, "sacramento Vitellii adactum." Nero was, properly speaking, the last of the Caesars; he was connected with Augustus through his mother Agrippina.

2. arte magis et impulsu. "More by artifice and the influence of others." *Impulsus* differs from *impetus* in denoting an external influence. It was by the influence of Nymphidius Sabinus, and Tigellinus, that the praetorians had been persuaded to desert Nero. Nymphidius had spread the report that Nero was intending to fly to Egypt, and had in this way alienated the hearts of the praetorians and populace from him. Plut. Galb. 2, 1 and 2.

3. donativum. Plutarch, Galb. 2, says that Nymphidius promised in Galba's name a donation of 7500 drachmas (£300) a man to each of the praetorians, and 1250 drachmas (£50) to each of the legionaries.

5. quem in bello locum. The relative is attracted into the case of the antecedent, but this only happens with the accusative. Madvig, § 303 b.

6. apud principem a legionibus factum. We notice throughout these books of the *Histories* that the struggle was largely one of the city soldiery against the legionaries, who were mainly recruited in the provinces.

7. insuper Nymphidii. Nymphidius Sabinus, who before Nero's death had induced, by the promise of a great donative, the praetorians and soldiers in Rome to proclaim Galba emperor (Plut. Galb. 1) not considering that his merits and services were sufficiently recognised by Galba, and finding that Titus Vinius and Laco had forestalled him in Galba's affections, tried to induce the praetorians to proclaim him emperor, giving himself out as a descendant of Caligula through his mother Nymphidia, Ann. xv. 72. The praetorians, however, by the advice of one of the tribunes, Antonius Honoratus, closed the gates of their camp against him, and when he forced his way in, put him to death, Plut. Galb. 14; Suet. Galb. 11, 16; Dio, lxi. 2. *agitatur*. The present is used because the effect still remains.

9. quamvis—ablato. The use of *quamvis* with an ablative absolute is not Ciceronian. *conscientia*=sense of guilt.

10. senium atque avaritiam. Galba was 73 years old; Plutarch and Suetonius both give instances of his avarice.



Valens legati legionum interfecerant, antequam iuberentur. 5
 Fuere qui crederent Capitonem ut avaritia et libidine foedum
 ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse; sed
 a legatis bellum suadentibus postquam impellere nequiverint,
 crimen ac dolum ultro compositum; et Galbam mobilitate 10
 ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari
 non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque caedes sinistre
 accepta, et invisio semel principi seu bene seu male facta per-
 niciem adferebant. Venalia cuncta, praepotentes liberti; servorum
 manus subitis avidae et tanquam apud senem festinantes;
 eademque novae aulae mala, aequae gravia, non aequae excusata. 15
 Ipsa aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat adsuetis iuventae
 Neronis et imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos
 volgi, comparantibus.

8. Et hic quidem Romae, tanquam in tanta multitudine,

Valens legati legionum. Of Cornelius Aquinus we do not hear elsewhere. Fabius Valens had taken the initiative in declaring for Galba, Plut. Galb. 10, and Hist. i. 52. The office of *legatus legionis* had been instituted by Julius Caesar, but afterwards retained and consolidated by Augustus.

6. fuere qui crederent. We have a similar impersonal reference to authorities elsewhere, i. 14, and ii. 99. *foedum ac maculosum* repeated ii. 30; Ann. xiii. 34.

9. crimen ac dolum ultro compositum. Julius Burdo, commander of the fleet, we learn from i. 58, had taken the lead in bringing the charge against Capito, and compassing his death by treachery. This seems to be the meaning of *crimen* and *dolum*. For *dolum compositum*, see Ann. xi. 10, "dolo ante composito." *Ultro* has the sense of doing a thing without any, or any sufficient, ground or provocation, or it has the meaning of not resting content with one thing, but going on further to do something else in a spirit of wantonness or in such a way as to excite surprise and baffle expectation. The latter is the sense here.

9. mobilitate ingenii, an ne. The omission of *utrum* and the change of construction are both thoroughly Tacitean. See iii. 25, "vagus inde an consilio ducis subditus rumor;" iv. 47, "ceterum verane praeperie, an uti videretur, actum in senatu." Translate "And that Galba, either from weakness of character or to avoid the necessity of probing the matter

further, had approved of their acts, whatever their character might have been, since they could no longer be altered."

11. sinistre. "Unfavourably." So ii. 93, "sinistrum rumorem;" Ag. 5, "sinistra interpretatio."

12. invisio semel principi—adferebant. M. reads *principi* and *p'minuit* 12. This has been variously corrected: Halm *principi parem invisiam adferebant venalia cuncta; praepotentes liberti*; Meiser, as in text, *perniciem adferebant*; Orelli, following Ruperti and other earlier editors, *invisio semel principe . . . premunt. Iam adferebant*, etc. But it is doubtful whether (in spite of Ann. iii. 67) the ablative absolute could be so used. The *praepotentes liberti* are Icelus, Halotus, Tigellinus, Suet. Galb. 14, 15.

14. subitis avidae. "Greedy taking advantage of this sudden change of fortune;" so c. 69, "ut est mos vulgo mutabilem subitis;" cf. Ann. i. 68, "ut rebus secundis avidi ita adversis incauti."

8. 1. tanquam in tanta multitudine. Two explanations have been proposed, (1) "to speak in general terms of so great a multitude;" (2) "as was sure to be the case in so great a multitude." Plutarch has *ὅσα δὲ ἐν πλείοσι τοσοῦτον*. If we adopt the first, Tacitus introduces it to limit his previous conclusions; if the second, it explains how it was that Nero was regretted. The passage, Hor. Sat. i. 6, 79, "in magno ut populo," has been adduced to illustrate both uses. In any case this use of *tanquam* is post-classical.

habitus animorum fuit. E provinciis Hispaniae praeerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. Galliae super memoriam Vindicis obligatae recenti dono Romanae civitatis et in posterum tributis levamento. Proximae tamen Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas iniurias metiebantur. Germanici exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et irati, superbia recentis victoriae et metu tanquam alias partes fovissent. Tarde a Nerone desciverant; nec statim pro Galba Verginius: an

2. *Hispaniae praeerat, i.e.* Hispania Tarraconensis; Galba had selected him as his successor when he was quitting Spain for Italy.

2. *Cluvius Rufus.* He had been consul suffectus under Claudius, A.D. 41. He was an historian, and gave an account of the reigns of Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius. Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 20, xiv. 2, twice cites him as an authority for the reign of Nero. He is several times mentioned subsequently, H. i. 76; ii. 58, 65; iii. 65; iv. 39 and 43. There is probably an allusion to his historical tastes in the phrase *vir facundus*. For him, see Int. iii. § 3, p. 19.

3. *et pacis artibus.* This is probably an ablative of quality descriptive of the man, as we speak of a man of honour or integrity; ii. 82, "firmus eoque exercitu meliore;" and so we have elsewhere, "Tiberium vetere superbia Blaesus multa dicendi arte," Ann. i. 19; Ann. i. 27. Some, however, prefer to supply *expertus* from the *inexpertus* which follows.

3. *bellis inexpertus.* This reading is better supported than *belli*. The meaning of the two phrases is not identical; the first means that he had had no such experience in wars as could have given him knowledge; the second, that he was altogether untried in war.

5. *Galliae, i.e.* Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Belgica.

4. *super memoriam Vindicis.* *super*=in addition to; so Ag. 17, "super iritum hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus." Vindex had offered the crown to Galba; it was therefore, only natural that the Gauls should support the choice of their favourite.

4. *recenti dono Romanae civitatis.* We learn from Ann. xi. 23, 24, that Claudius had conferred the Roman franchise on the chiefs of Gallia Comata; this gift Galba had extended to the people at

large of the districts which had mainly supported Vindex, Plut. Galb. 18.

5. *tributis levamento.* He had remitted one-fourth of the tribute. See below, c. 51.

5. *proximae tamen Germanicis exercitibus civitates.* These were those of the Lingones and Treveri, i. 51, 53. The reason why they were thus treated was that they had supported Verginius. For *Germanicis* the reading of the Florentine MSS. is *Germanis*; while Ritter, following some of the minor MSS., proposes *Romanis*. The Roman army in Germany is always spoken of as *Germanicus exercitus*, as that in Pannonia is called *Pannonicus*, in Britain *Britannicus*. *Germanus exercitus* would mean an army of Germans.

9. *in tantis viribus.* The two armies on the Rhine consisted at this time of seven legions, one out of the usual complement of eight legions being absent in Britain.

10. *et metu tanquam—fovissent.* *Tanquam* gives the ground of their fear. Tacitus uses *tanquam* to render the Greek *ὡς* with a participle. For the use of *fovere*, cf. Liv. xxviii. 32, "utramque partem fovendo;" and H. ii. 98, "occultis nuntiis Vespasianum fovens."

11. *nec statim pro Galba Verginius.* L. Verginius Rufus had been governor of Upper Germany under Nero. He had been consul in 63 A.D., Ann. xv. 23. After defeating Vindex he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers, but had declined the honour. He refers to the fact in the epitaph he composed on himself, "Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae." We shall hear of him several times more in the *Historiae*. He was again consul in 97 A.D., and died in that year. Tacitus himself succeeded him in

imperare noluisse dubium: delatum ei a milite imperium conveniebat. Fonteium Capitonem occisum etiam qui queri non poterant, tamen indignabantur. Dux deerat, abducto Verginio per simulationem amicitiae; quem non remitti atque etiam reum esse tanquam suum crimen accipiebant.

9. Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate, ne quieto quidem milite regimen: adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur. Inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec missu Galbae A. 5 Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac ter consulis filius: id satis videbatur. In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum: non sane aliae legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt, seu quia procul et Oceano divisae, seu crebris expeditionibus doctae hostem potius odisse. Quies et Illyrico, quanquam excita 10

the office, and pronounced a eulogy upon him, Plin. Epp. ii. 1, "Verginius laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito; nam hic supremus felicitati ejus cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus." See Int. pp. 19, 33, 66.

15. atque etiam reum esse. No actual charge seems to have been brought against Verginius; still, the fact that Galba kept him with him, and would not promote or employ him, was proof of the suspicion with which he was regarded.

9. 1. superior exercitus, i.e. the army of the Upper Rhine; it consisted of the following legions, viz. the 4th Macedonica, the 21st Rapax, and the 22d Primigenia. The 2d Augusta, which had originally belonged to it, had under Claudius been despatched into Britain, Ann. xiv. 37.

1. Hordeonium Flaccum. He was *legatus pro praetore*, Germany being of course a Caesarian province. Galba had appointed him to succeed Verginius. He suffered from gout. Suet. Galb. 18. For his character, see H. i. 56, and iv. 19.

3. ne quieto—regimen: adeo. *Regimen* may possibly be the abstract for the concrete, and so=a ruler; but more probably we must supply *erat*, and translate "There was no discipline even when the soldiers were quiet." *Adeo* points to a plain or obvious consequence, and so has the sense of "much more," while *adeo non* has that of "much less." For *adeo*, see iii. 64; *adeo non*, iii. 39.

4. inferioris Germaniae legiones.

These were the 1st Germanica, the 5th Alauda, the 15th Primigenia, and the 16th Gallica.

5. diutius. "For a considerable time," i.e. after the death of Fonteius Capito.

5. Aulus Vitellius. He had been consul with Lucius Vipstianus in 48 A.D., Ann. xi. 23. Subsequently he was proconsul of Africa, c. 70 and ii. 97. He is mentioned, Ann. xiv. 49, as showing special subservience to Nero.

6. censoris Vitellii. This was Lucius Vitellius. He was consul in A.D. 34, Ann. vi. 28. He began life well, being despatched by Tiberius in 35 A.D. to settle affairs in the East, and managed them with firmness and ability. After his return to the city he fell into evil ways under Caius and Claudius, Ann. vi. 28, and became one of the basest of sycophants, Ann. vi. 32. He was censor with Claudius from 47 to 52 A.D., Ann. xi. 33, xii. 4.

6. id satis videbatur, i.e. that he was the son of a distinguished father would be, Galba thought, sufficient to satisfy the troops.

7. in Britannico exercitu. This consisted of the 2d Augusta, the 9th Hispana, and the 20th Valeria Victrix.

10. hostem potius odisse. We must supply *quam cives et imperatorem*.

10. quies et Illyrico. Illyricum is properly the province to the east of the Adriatic inhabited by Albanians, but it is here used in the wide sense in which it includes Pannonia, and Moesia as well.

a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium legationibus adissent. Sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem, nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur.

10. Oriens adhuc inmotus. Syriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus. Insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in
5 secretum Asiae repositus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe. Luxuria industria, comitate adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus. Nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret: quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. Palam laudares: secreta male

The legions in this district were the 13th Gemina in Pannonia, and the 7th Galbiana (though this, perhaps, came later); in Dalmatia the 11th Claudia, the 14th Gemina Martia Victrix; in Moesia the 7th Claudia, the 8th Augusta, the 3d Gallica.

10. *excitae a Nerone legiones*. Nero had summoned them when he heard of Vindex's revolt. For *excitae*, cf. i. 70, "mox a Nerone exciti."

11. *cunctantur*. Classen, somewhat needlessly, proposes *cunctatur*, as it is doubtful whether the legions ever reached Italy; if we adopt *cunctatur*, Nero is the nominative. He wasted much time after he had heard of Vindex's revolt, partly in frivolous pleasures, partly in devising plans for the war which he speedily abandoned.

13. *neq. vitiis neq. viribus miscebantur*. "Had no opportunity of uniting their forces or their vices." They could take no concerted measures for revolt, nor did the consciousness of numbers give them strength.

10. 1. *quattuor legiones*. These were the 3d Gallica, the 4th Scythica, the 6th Ferrata, and the 12th Fulminatrix.

2. *Licinius Mucianus*. His name in full was Marcus Licinius Crassus Mucianus. He was a grandson of the Licinius Crassus who had formed one of the first triumvirate, and had been killed at Carrae. He had been consul in 66 A.D., and was consul again in 70 A.D. and 72 A.D. He died in or before 77 A.D. He had been appointed to the command of Syria in 67 A.D., in succession to Cestius Gallus, who had been defeated by the Jews.

2. *iuxta famosus*. *Iuxta*=*pariter*, as in Ann. i. 6, "*iuxta periculoso*." *Famosus* has a purely neutral sense,

"notorious;" in earlier writers it is used almost always in a bad sense=infamous.

3. *insignes amicitias—ambitiose coluerat*. "He had cultivated friendships with the great (his friendship with Messalina may be referred to) from interested motives," i.e. with a view of bringing himself into notoriety.

4. in *secretum Asiae repositus*. "Forced to withdraw to the retirement of Asia." It has been inferred from a passage in Pliny, N.H. xii. 5, that the district was Lycia, "Licinius Mucianus ter consul et nuper provinciae eius (i.e. Lyciae) legatus;" but the passage seems to refer to a later date. Nero got rid of Otho by sending him off to govern Lusitania, i. 13. Because there and in i. 88, "*sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem*," the word *sepositus* is used, Meiser and others propose to alter *repositus* here into *sepositus*; the change seems hardly needful, considering how fond Tacitus is of varying his expressions. For *secretum Asiae*, cf. Ann. iv. 57, "Rhodi secreto."

7. *mixtus*. "A strange combination." Cf. Ag. 4, "Massilium habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum."

7. *cum vacaret*. This use of the imperfect subjunctive to express indefinite frequency corresponds to the use of the Greek optative. It is frequent in Tacitus, though rare in earlier writers. It occurs not only with *cum* but with *quoties*, *ubi*, *ut quis*.

7. *quotiens expedierat*. "As often as he was on service," the opposite of *vacaret*. It occurs again, i. 88, "*secum expedire iubet*;" and ii. 99, "*expedire ad bellum iubet*;" but it is used in this absolute way by no other writer.

audiebant. Sed apud subiectos, apud proximos, apud collegas
variis illecebris potens, et cui expeditus fuerit tradere imperium
quam obtinere. Bellum Iudaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem
eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat. Nec Ves-
pasiano adversus Galbam votum aut animus: quippe Titum
filium ad venerationem cultumque eius miserat, ut suo loco
memorabimus. Occulta fati et ostentis ac responsis destinatum
Vespasiano liberisque eius imperium post fortunam credidimus.

11. Aegyptum copiasque, quibus coereretur, iam inde a
divo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum: ita visum
expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam, super-
stitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum,
ignaram magistratum, domi retinere. Regebat tum Tiberius

8. *palam laudares: secreta male audiebant.* "You might praise his open official acts, his secret doings had an ill repute;" with *palam* you must supply *facta*. This use of an adverb for an adjective occurs again, Ann. xvi. 5, "multis *palam*, pluribus occultis;" and xv. 44, "quod prospere aut in metu sacraverat." Even in Liv. xxi. 7, 5, we have "caetera circa" = "caetera quae circa erant." *Laudares* is the potential subjunctive, "you might," as in Hor. Sat. i. 6, 78, "avita ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet;" so i. 45, "alium crederes senatum."

9. *apud collegas, i.e.* the governors of the neighbouring provinces; it is so used in Ag. 9, "procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas."

11. *bellum Iudaicum.* He was appointed to succeed Gessius Florus, who had driven the Jews to revolt, and greatly mismanaged the war, v. 10.

12. *tribus legionibus.* The 5th Macedonica, the 10th Fretensis, the 15th Apollinaris, v. 1.

14. *suo loco memorabimus, in ii. 1.*

15. *occulta fati—post fortunam credidimus.* "It is only after his accession to power that we believed that it was the secret will of fate;" with *occulta* we must supply *esse*. One MS. inserts *legē* after *fati*, probably not seeing the construction. For *fortuna* in the sense of accession to power, see i. 15, "dignus hac fortuna," and iii. 43, "Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus;" Ag. 14, "quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit;" and Ann. xi. 12, "velut translata iam fortuna."

11. i. *copiasque quibus coereretur.* There were two legions stationed in

Egypt in the time of Tiberius, Ann. iv. 5, viz. the 22d Deiotariana, and the 3d Cyrenaica, and it appears from ii. 6 that there was the same number there still. The force of the subjunctive is "by which it might be kept in order."

2. *equites Romani obtinent.* The *equites Romani* are the *equites equo publico* as reconstituted by Augustus. Ann. ii. 59, "nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit Aegyptum."

2. *loco regum.* Either "in place of its proper kings," or, "ruling as kings." Strabo, xvii. 12, says ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου τάξιν. The Roman knight ruled it directly under the emperor, as his representative and responsible to him alone.

3. *aditu difficilem.* There are only one or two points at which it is possible to land on the coast of Egypt, and its flanks are protected by deserts.

3. *annonae fecundum.* It was, next to Africa, the most important of all the corn-supplies of Rome. Justin says the soil of Egypt is so fertile that no other land is so prolific of the means of human support.

3. *superstitione—mobilem.* Juvenal, Sat. xv. 45, "luxuria, quantum ipse notavi, | barbara famose non cedit turba Canopo."

4. *insciam legum, ignaram magistratum.* Egypt had never been subjected to the laws of Rome, or governed by regular Roman magistrates.

5. *domi retinere.* "To reserve for the house, or personal government of the princeps;" it has nearly the same sense

Alexander, eiusdem nationis. Africa ac legiones in ea interfecto Clodio Macro contenta qualicumque principe post experimentum domini minoris. Duae Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique
 10 exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. Inermes provinciae atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessurae erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinus consules incohavere annum sibi ultimum, rei
 15 publicae prope supremum.

12. Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompeii Propinqui procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem

as *seposuit* in the passage quoted from the *Annals* above, ii. 59.

5. *Tiberius Alexander*. He calls himself in an inscription Tib. Julius Alexander. He was by descent a Jew, but his father had settled at Alexandria, and had filled the office of Alabarches, or controller of the taxes, there. Philo was his uncle. He had been procurator of Judaea from 46 A.D. to 48 A.D., and had been made an *eques illustris* for his services. He led a force to aid Corbulo in Armenia, 63 A.D., and was employed by him to negotiate with Vol-gaes, Ann. xv. 28. He was the first provincial governor to recognise Vespasian as emperor, ii. 74 and 79.

6. *ac legiones in ea*. Ritter rejects these words as a gloss. He urges that it is obvious from ii. 97 that there was but a single legion in Africa, and some auxiliary forces raised by Clodius Macer, that *legiones in ea* is not a Tacitean phrase, and that *contenta* agrees with Africa alone. Orelli, however, maintains that inscriptions clearly prove that there were at this time two legions in Africa, one the 3d Augusta, the other a legion embodied by Macer from the auxiliary forces, and known by the name of Legio Macriana Liberatrix, and that the singular *contenta* is sufficiently explained by the stress being laid on Africa, and that Galba had not yet disbanded the Legio Macriana.

8. *domini minoris*. They were prepared to put up with any emperor (*princeps*) after the experience of a petty tyrant like Macer, who had tried to set up an independent sovereignty for himself.

8. *duae Mauritaniae*, i.e. Tingetana, now Tangiers, and Caesariensis, now

Algiers. Dio (lx. 9) tells us that they were made two distinct provinces by Claudius, Pliny (N. H. v. 1) by Caius. They were both imperial provinces.

8. *Raetia*. The Tyrol. Noricum is Styria, Carinthia, and part of Austria. It extended along the Danube from its junction with the Inn to a little above Vienna. Raetia lay west of it, Pannonia east.

9. *quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur*. These were the less important of the Caesarian provinces. *Inermes provinciae*. Such as Achaia, Sicily, Macedonia, etc., which had no Roman army stationed in them, and were handed over to senatorial rule.

12. *in pretium belli cessurae erant*. "Would fall as the prize of war;" so i. 70, "Noricos in certa victoriae praemia cessuros;" Ann. xi. 35, "in pretium probri cessisse."

14. *rei publicae prope supremum*. He does not absolutely assert that the *res publica* came to an end, but he evidently thinks that it practically ceased with Galba's death, the supreme power passing from senate and people to the army.

12. 1. *Pompell Propinquus procuratoris*. He is not known elsewhere than in these chapters of Tacitus. Gallia Belgica was governed by a procurator. From Pliny (N. H. vii. 17) it seems that either Tacitus himself, or more probably his father, held the office.

3. *rupta sacramenti reverentia*. The phrase is from Liv. xxviii. 27; it is formed on the analogy of *rumpere foedus*.

3. *imperatorem altum*. In place of Galba, for it was to the *imperator*, not their actual general, that the oath was taken.

alium flagitare et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi
 permittere, quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res
 consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum
 proximis agitantis. Non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo per
 illos menses fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi,
 dein fessa iam aetate Galbae. Paucis iudicium aut rei publicae
 amor: multi stulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel
 illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in Titi Vini
 odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu inuisior erat.
 Quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa
 Galbae facilitas intendebat, cum apud infirmum et credulum
 minore metu et maiore praemio peccaretur.

13. Potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem,
 Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum; nec minor gratia
 Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine
 Marcianum vocitabant. Hi discordes et rebus minoribus sibi
 quisque tendentes circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas
 factiones scindebantur. Vinus pro M. Othone: Laco atque
 Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium.
 Neque erat Galbae ignota Othonis ac Titi Vini amicitia; et

7. *agitantis*. "Discussing," as in iv. 59, "de supremis agitantem."

7. *non sane—fuerat*. "There had been indeed no more frequent subject of gossip during the months that had elapsed since Galba's accession."

8. *licentia ac libidine*. These are not synonyms. *Licentia* is the unchecked liberty; *libidine* the passion which grows out of that unchecked liberty.

9. *fessa iam aetate*. One of Tacitus's many adoptions of a poetical phrase. He uses it again, iii. 67; Ann. i. 46, etc.

11. *ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant*. "Marked out, pointed to with interested rumours," rumours, that is, which were intended to draw Galba's attention to this one or that of their friends, whose elevation might promote their own interests.

11. *etiam in Titi Vini odium*. "Also to gratify their hatred for Titus Vinus." Cf. Ov. Met. xiv. 71, "in Circes odium sociis spoliavit Ulixem." *In*, with the accusative, says Madvig, expresses a state of mind or action towards, or in reference to, something, § 230 a.

12. *eodem actu*. Ritter and Orelli, *actu*. If we read *actu*, we must translate "Vinus, the more powerful he became

day by day, became with the same progress, or momentum, more detested." For *actus* in the sense of momentum, accelerating speed, see Verg. Aen. xii. 687, "fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu."

13. *hiantes—facilitas intendebat*. Cicero speaks of *hians* ("open-mouthed") *avaritia*, in Verr. ii. 134. *Facilitas*, "easy temper;" Ag. 9, "nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit."

14. *apud*. "Under."

13. 1. *potentia*. The actual power as distinct from that which was conferred by the possession of the office (*potestas*).

1. *divisa in*. So Ann. ii. 67, iii. 38, after the analogy of "dividere nummos in viros." Suetonius (Galb. 14) says that the three were popularly nicknamed his schoolmasters.

3. *quem anulis donatum*. Tacitus [and he follows in this the example of Dio, and Plutarch] seems to use the plural when he mentions the ring as a sign of equestrian rank. See ii. 57, iv. 3.

5. *circa consilium*. "As respects the plan." This use of *circa* is not found in Cicero. It occurs not unfrequently in Tacitus, Ann. xi. 15, 29; xvi. 8; G. 28.

rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, quia Vinio vidua filia,
 10 caelebs Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur. Credo et rei
 publicae curam subisse frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud
 Othonem relinqueretur. Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose,
 adulescentiam petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni aemulatione
 15 luxus. Eoque Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud
 conscium libidinum, deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amo-
 liretur. Mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam Lusi-
 taniam specie legationis seposuit, Otho comiter administrata
 provincia primus in partes transgressus nec segnis et, donec
 bellum fuit, inter praesentes splendidissimus spem adoptionis
 20 statim conceptam acrius in dies rapiebat, faventibus plerisque
 militum, prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem.

14. Sed Galba post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quan-
 quam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exer-
 cituum vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confisus, quod
 remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit; adhibi-
 5 toque super Vinium ac Laconem Mario Celso consule designato

9. *transmittentium*. For this sense of *transmitto* = *praetermitto*, see Ann. i. 13, "silentio tramisit."

11. *curam subisse*. *Subire* used without *animum* is a poetical usage, Verg. Aen. ii. 560, "subiit cari genitoris imago;" v. 575, "subit ira cadentem ulcisci patriam." So Ann. ii. 2, "mox subiit pudor;" Ag. 3, "subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo."

14. *eoque Poppaeam*. In Ann. xiii. 45, 46, Tacitus has given a somewhat different account. Poppaea was married to Otho, but became subsequently Nero's paramour; Nero growing jealous of the husband sent him off to Lusitania to get him out of the way.

17. *Otho comiter administrata provincia*. Tacitus says, Ann. xiii. 46, "ubi (*i.e.* in Lusitania) usque ad civilia arma non ex priore infamia sed integre sancteque egit, procax otii et potestatis temperantior."

18. *primus in partes transgressus*. Plutarch, Galb. 20, tells us that not only had he been the first of all the provincial governors to join him, but that he had also given him his place to be melted down for money, and had supplied him with the necessary slaves for his establishment.

20. *acrius in dies rapiebat*. Ritter is probably right in explaining this by reference to Verg. Aen. i. 175, "succipitque

ignem foliis atque arida circum | nutrimenta dedit, *rapuitque* in fomite flammam." So the meaning will be "nourished to a hotter flame every day, the hope of adoption with which he had been at once fired." In Ann. vi. 45, we have "acrius in dies fovebat." Heræus can hardly be right in explaining it on the analogy of *rapere inlicitas voluptates*, iii. 41. You can hurriedly seize on pleasures, but hardly on a hope. Suetonius (Otho, 20) says, "idque in dies expectabat." Galba had had him for his constant companion during his march from Spain.

14. 2. *quonam—erumperet*. "In which direction the violence of the armies would break forth," *i.e.* whether towards Gaul, or Germany, or Italy itself; cf. Cicero, ad Att. 21, "quonam dominatio sit eruptura" (quoted by Godley).

4. *comitia imperii transigit*. *Comitia transigere* was the technical phrase, used in Republican times, of the presiding magistrate at the elections. Tacitus uses it here satirically in describing Galba's choice of a successor.

5. *Mario Celso consule designato ac Ducentio Gemino*. The first of these is mentioned, Ann. xv. 25, as legate of the 15th legion. For his subsequent history, see i. 87, ii. 23, etc. Geminus (Ann. xv. 18) had been appointed commissioner of taxes under Nero; he was a consular:

ac Ducenio Gemino praefecto urbis paucā praefatus de sua senectute Pisonem Licinianum accersiri iubet, seu propria electione sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone amicitia: sed callide ut ignotum fovebat et prospera de Pisone fama consilio eius 10 fidem addiderat. Piso M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, voltu habituque moris antiqui et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur. Ea pars morum eius quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat.

15. Igitur Galba adprehensa Pisonis manu in hunc modum locutus fertur: "si te privatus lege curiata apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompeii et

The office of *praefectus urbis* was reorganised by Augustus, B.C. 25, Ann. vi. 11. Maecenas first held the office. The business of the *praefectus* was to keep in check the slaves, and all the elements of disorder within the city, a task in which he was assisted by the *urbanæ cohortes*.

7. *Pisonem Licinianum*. His full name is Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus.

7. *accersiri*. This form is found in Livy, iii. 45, 3. Tacitus elsewhere prefers the word *acciri*, i. 71, 80; Ann. xv. 55.

8. *apud Rubellium Plautum*. He was great-grandson of Tiberius through his mother, Julia, daughter of the younger Drusus, and grand-daughter of Tiberius, Ann. vi. 27. His father was C. Rubellius Blandus. Though he lived a private life, Nero was jealous of his high birth, and obliged him in 60 A.D. to retire to his estates in Asia Minor. In 62 A.D. he had him murdered, Ann. xiii. 19. A son of his, Rubellius Blandus (2), is lashed by Juv. viii. 39, 40; xiv. 57, 59.

11. *Marco Crasso et Scribonia*. There are two men of the name of Marcus Crassus mentioned in the *Annals*. The first was consul in 27 A.D., with L. Calpurnius as his colleague. His full name was M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (Ann. iv. 62). The second was consul along with C. Laecanius in 64 A.D., Ann. xv. 33. The first of them was most likely the father of Piso Licinianus; the second would then be probably an elder brother; see Nipperdey on Ann. xv. 33. Scribonia was a grand-daughter of Sextus Pompeius, son of Pompey the Great. Seneca states that she was put to death by Claudius, Plutarch by Nero, Galb. 23.

12. *aestimatione recta* — *deterius*

interpretantibus. This is one of the many devices which Tacitus employs to give variety to his style. "On a fair view, by those who put the worst construction on his character."

14. *quo suspectior*—*adoptanti placebat*. The omission of the second comparative is not infrequent in Tacitus. See ii. 11, "quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat."

15. 1. *in hunc modum locutus fertur*. The expression implies that Tacitus did not hear the speech himself. How far it may have been reported to him, how far he constructed it himself, it is difficult, there at least, to say. All that we can with certainty affirm is that the style at any rate is Tacitus's own.

2. *lege curiata apud pontifices adoptarem*. Gellius tells us that those who were of full age and *sui iuris* could only be adopted into a family by an act publicly performed before the *pontifices*, and in the presence of certain lictors. These lictors were in theory the representatives of the ancient *comitia curiata*, to which, as the comitia of the assembled families, all changes in family relations were originally referred. The comitia had, however, sunk long ago into abeyance. Cicero, pro Domo sua, 14.

2. *ut moris est*. See Ann. i. 56, "quod illi moris;" G. 13; Ag. 33, 39, 42; Cicero, in Verr. i. 66, "negavit moris esse Graecorum ut," etc.

3. *adoptarem*. Gellius says that in case of those of full age the proper word to use is not *adoptarem*, but *arrogarem*. Galba as *pontifex maximus* could dispense with the ordinary forms, the presence of the lictors as representatives of the *comitia curiata*.

M. Crassi subolem in penates meos adsciscere et tibi insigne
 5 Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora nobilitati tuae adiecisse. Nunc me
 deorum hominumque consensu ad imperium vocatum praeclara
 indoles tua et amor patriae impulit, ut principatum, de quo
 majores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram,
 exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein
 10 generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium
 Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. Sed
 Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica, non
 quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam: sed neque ipse
 imperium ambitione accepi, et iudicii mei documentum sit non
 15 meae tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui, sed et tuae.
 Est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu maior, dignus hac fortuna,

3. *erat for esset*. The imperfect indicative is often used of a thing, which in a certain case that does not actually occur would be right, or possible, or proper, as if to show the duty, obligation, or possibility more unconditionally; Madvig, § 348 *c*.

3. *On. Pompell et M. Crassi subolem*. He was great-great-grandson of Pompey on his mother's side; on his father's side he was great-grandson of Crassus.

5. *Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora*. *Gentis* must be supplied. Ritter thinks that the word has accidentally dropped out. Galba belonged on his father's side to the Sulpician, on his mother's to the Lutatian *gens*. His mother was Mummia Achaica, grand-daughter of Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus, the last great *princeps senatus*, and great-grand-daughter of L. Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth. Plutarch says that Galba was very proud of his connexion with Catulus, while Suetonius adds that he set great store by his ancestry, putting up his pedigree in the hall of the Palace, in which he traced his descent through his father from Jove, through his mother from Pasiphae, wife of Minos. For *decora* in the sense of distinctions, see Ann. xiv. 53, "inter nobiles et longa decora praeferentes."

7. *de quo—certabant*. Servius Sulpicius Galba, great-grandfather of the emperor, Caesar's legate in Gaul, fought with Caesar against Pompey, Piso's great-great-grandfather. See Suet. Galb. 3.

9. *Marcellum*. He was the son of C. Marcellus and Octavia Minor. He married Augustus's daughter Julia, but died in 23 B.C., Ann. i. 3; Verg. Aen. vi. 883, 884.

10. *generum Agrippam*. After Marcellus's death Augustus married Julia to his general Agrippa.

10. *nepotes*. Caius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of this union.

10. *Tiberium Neronem privignum*. Livia, Tiberius's mother, was Augustus's third wife; her husband, Tiberius's father, was Tiberius Claudius Nero. Augustus adopted Tiberius after the death of Caius Caesar, 4 A.D., and associated him with himself in the government of the empire in 13 A.D., Ann. i. 3.

12. *in domo*. In the imperial house. Used nearly in the same sense above, c. 11, "domi retinere." Some read *in domo sua*.

12. *non quia—non habeam*. *Quia*, if expressing a positive reason, would not be used with the subjunctive; it is only so used when a supposed case is negatived.

14. *ambitione*. "By intrigue."

14. *sit*. There is something of the same difficulty in Latin as in English, when the subject is plural and the predicate singular, in settling whether the copula shall be singular or plural. The singular is used here because it is the fact that the relatives are passed over that furnishes the proof, not the relatives themselves. So even in Cicero (in *Pisonem*, § 8), "aude nunc, o furia, de tuo consulatu dicere, cuius fuit initium ludi compitalicii;" but a good many of the MSS. read *sint* here.

16. *est tibi frater*. Crassus Scribonianus. He helped afterward to bury him, i. 47, and was said to have been offered the throne by Antonius Primus, but declined it, iv. 39.

nisi tu potior esses. Ea aetas tua, quae cupiditates adulescentiae iam effugerit; ea vita, in qua nihil praeteritum excusandum habeas. Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, 20 felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem libertatem amicitiam, praecipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent. Inrumpet adulatio blanditiae, (pessimum veri affectus venenum, sua cuique etiam utilitas.) Ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur: ceteri libentius 25 cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum. Nam suadere principi, quod oporteat, multi laboris: adsentatio erga quemcumque principem sine affectu peragitur.

16. "Si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis iam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano posset quam bonum successorem nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. Sub Tiberio et Gaio et 5

18. *excusandum habeas*. This is not, says Orelli, a Ciceronian phrase, though often used by Tacitus and his contemporaries. For instance, iv. 47, we get "*aliud excusandum habeo*;" Ann. iv. 40, "*tolerandum haberet*."

19. *fortunam—adversam*. Seneca tells us that his father, mother, and one brother were put to death by Claudius, while another was put to death by Nero, Nero had also driven him into exile. See i. 48.

19. *secundae—explorant*. "Prosperity tries our dispositions by more searching tests." Orelli quotes many passages in illustration of this, e.g. Plin. Paneg. c. 31, Arist. Eth. vii. 7, 4; and see Bacon's *Essay on Fortitude*.

23. *adulatio blanditiae—adsentatio*. Orelli distinguishes them thus—flatteries, caresses, servile approbation. Cf. Cicero, Laelius, 91, "*nullam in amicitii pestem esse maiorem quam adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem*." We may also compare Pliny's panegyric on Trajan, 85, "*iam et in privatorum animis exoleverat priscum mortalium bonum, amicitia, cuius in locum migraverant adsentationes, blanditiae et peior odio amoris simulatio*."

24. *et pessimum*. *Et* is inserted in some MSS., but is omitted by Orelli, who reads, "*sua cuique etiam utilitas*." In M. *etiam* follows *utilitas*. This has been altered by many editors into *et iam*, and taken with the sentence which fol-

lows. Heraeus retains *etiam*, but inserts *si*, and makes it the beginning of a new sentence. Whether we retain or discard *et, pessimum venenum* is probably in apposition with *sua cuique utilitas*, though Orelli joins it with the preceding words.

25. *simplicissime*. "With perfect honesty." See iii. 53; Ann. i. 59, "*non simplices eas curas*."

25. *libentius cum fortuna nostra*. The thought is almost repeated, Ann. ii. 71, "*vindicabitur vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis*."

28. *sine affectu*. "Without any real feeling." The phrase occurs again, iv. 31, "*quis neque amor neque odium in partes, militia sine affectu*."

16. 1. *si—posset*. It was no doubt the great extent of the Roman Empire which made a single ruler a necessity; a senate and people with all their jarring interests and corruption were no longer adequate to carry on such a task.

2. *dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet*. For *dignus eram*, see second note on line 3, last chapter; *res publica*, "a republican form of government" in contrast to the Empire; soused, Ann. i. 3, "*quotusquisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset*;" H. i. 50, "*mansuram fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam*."

2. *nuno eo necessitatis*. This probably expresses Tacitus's own view of the situation, a view likely to be popular in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.

Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus, et finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. Nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum nec ultra aestimatur: adoptandi iudicium integrum; et si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. Sit ante oculos Nero, quem longa Caesarum serie tumentem non Vindex cum inermi provincia aut ego cum una legione, sed sua immanitas, sua luxuria cervicibus publicis depulerunt; neque erat adhuc damnati principis exemplum. Nos bello et ab aestimantibus adsciti cum invidia, quamvis egregii, erimus. Ne tamen territus fueris, si duae legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt. Ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi; et audita adoptione desinam videri senex, quod nunc mihi unum obicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi providendum est, ne etiam a bonis desideretur. Monere diutius neque temporis huius et impletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi. Utilissimus idem ac brevissimus

6. *unius familiae*, i.e. the Claudian, to which house these three emperors belonged. Others understand it of the Julian, since they were all adopted into this house.

7. *eligi coepimus*. This expression is not classical; in iii. 34 we have "*occidi coepere*."

7. *finita—domo*. Nero was at once the last of the Claudii and Iulii. The direct line of the Iulii had indeed become extinct in the time of Augustus, but it was continued by adoption down to Nero's death. Britannicus is described by Tacitus, xiii. 17, as "*supremus Claudii sanguis*." "*Progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit*," says Suetonius, Galb. 11.

9. *neo ultra aestimatur*. Nor (when this is established) is any comparison of merits instituted; a prince born to the purple is accepted, not for his merits, but his birth. For *aestimari*, cf. Ag. 1, "*adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur quibus facillime gignuntur*." In opposition to this the choice in adoption is *integrum*, "*unfettered*," and the object is pointed out by general consent.

11. *tumentem*. "*Puffed up*"—one of Tacitus's poetical words; so iii. 31, "*aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant*."

12. *cum inermi provincia*. Of which district of Gaul Vindex was *legatus pro praetore* is not expressly stated, but it is almost certain that it was Aquitania, for

Narbonensis was senatorial, Belgica was governed by a procurator, and Lugdunensis did not favour his attempts.

12. *cum una legione*. From v. 16, we learn that this was the 6th Victrix. Suetonius, Galb. 10, says that his original force consisted only of one legion, two alae, and three cohorts.

13. *cervicibus publicis depulerunt*. For the metaphor we may compare Cicero, Cat. iii. § 17, "*non facile hanc tantam molem mali a nostris cervicibus depulissem*," and Liv. iv. 12, 6, "*regno prope in cervicibus accepto*." The metaphor is, of course, from the yoke.

14. *ab aestimantibus*. "*By those who appreciated our merits*." There is, perhaps, a reference to his own choice of Piso. For *cum invidia*=accompanied by envy, Cicero would have written *in invidia*.

16. *ne tamen territus fueris*. The perfect subjunctive passive is used almost always in prohibitions, the present very rarely, Madvig, § 386.

16. *si duae legiones*. *Si* to indicate the originating cause is an imitation of the Greek *ei* after verbs expressive of emotion. The two legions were the 4th Macedonica, and the 22d Primigenia, of the army of the Upper Rhine. See c. 12 *supra*, and 18.

22. *utilissimus idem*. "*The safest at once, and the easiest way of choosing between good and bad is*," etc. The rule

bonarum malarumque rerum dilectus est cogitare, quid aut volueris sub alio principe aut nolueris. neque enim hic, ut gentibus quae regnantur, certa dominorum domus et ceteri 25 servi, sed imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem." Et Galba quidem haec ac talia, tanquam principem faceret, ceteri tanquam cum facto loquebantur.

17. Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus et mox coniectis in eum omnium oculis nullum turbati aut exultantis animi motum prodidisse. Sermo erga patrem imperatoremque reverens, de se moderatus; nihil in vultu habituque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet. Consultatum inde, pro rostris an in 5 senatu an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur. Iri in castra placuit: honorificum id militibus fore, quorum favorem ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum. circumsteterat interim Palatium publica expectatio, magni secreti inpatiens; et male coercitam famam suppressantes 10 augebant.

18. Quartum idus Ianuarias, foedum imbris diem, tonitrua

given is very nearly the rule "to do unto others as you would they should do unto you."

24. neque enim hic ut gentibus quae regnantur. The meaning is, "For it is not here as with nations which are ruled by kings, that there is one house which furnishes the masters, while the rest are slaves." *Gentibus quae regnantur*, races which have a kingly form of government, a translation of the Greek βασιλευσσαι. The phrase occurs again, Ann. xiii. 54; G. 25, 43.

27. haec ac talia. He does not profess to give the exact words; so Ag. 16, "his atque talibus instincti."

17. 2. nullum—prodidisse. Plutarch, Galb. 23, describes in similar terms the calmness of Piso's demeanour, and that though the announcement of his adoption took him by surprise.

3. erga patrem imperatoremque. These seem to be the titles by which he addressed Galba.

5. pro rostris. The alternatives are (1) the *rostra* from which the announcement would be made to the assembled people. These were situated at the head (or end towards the Capitol) of the *Forum Romanum*; (2) the *curia*, in which case the proclamation would be made to the senate (the exact position of the *curia*

is still matter of dispute, but it was certainly in the immediate neighbourhood of the *comitium* north-east of the Forum); or (3) the praetorian camp situated north-east of the city, just outside the Agger of Servius, between the Porta Nomentana and a gate whose name we do not know. In this case the soldiers would be first informed.

8. ut—adquiri, ita—haud spernendum. In the oratio obliqua, the first no less than the second clause connected by *ut*—*ita* is put in the infinitive; so in Cicero, pro Clu. 138, "ut mare ventorum vi agitari, sic populum Romanum sua sponte esse placatum."

9. publica expectatio. "An expectant public." A poetical phrase. The abstract for the concrete is very rarely thus used in Latin.

10. male is by Tacitus, as by the poets, constantly used to negative an adjective or participle in the same way that we use "ill." Thus *male coercitam* here = ill-suppressed. In some cases it has the force of a direct negative, e.g. *male fidus, male sanus*.

18. 1. quartum idus Ianuarias, i.e. January 10. A record of the adoption is preserved in the *acta* of the *Frateres Arvales*, thus restored by Orelli: "Isdem consilibus IIII idus Ian(uarias) adoptio

- et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum turbaverant. Observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis^{indit} non terruit Galbam, quo minus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum, seu quae fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. Apud frequentem militum contionem imperatoria brevitate adoptari a se Pisonem exemplo divi Augusti et more militari, quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat. Ac ne dissimulata seditio in maius crederetur, ultro adseverat quartam et duodevicesimam legiones paucis seditionis auctoribus non ultra verba ac voces errasse et brevi in officio fore. Nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium addit aut pretium. Tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium, tanquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello perdidissent. Constat potuisse conciliari animos

facta L. Liciniani magisterio Ser. Galbae imperatoris Caesaris Augusti, promagistro L. Salvio Othone Titiano, collegii Fratrum Arvalium nomine immolatum in Capitolio ob adoptionem Ser. Sulpicii Galbae Caesaris Iovi b(ovem) m(arem), Minervae vacc(am), Saluti Publicae P(opuli) R(omani) vaccam . . . Providentiae vaccam . . . Securitati vaccam . . . Genio ipsius taurum."

1. foedum imbris diem. In Ag. 12, we have "coelum crebris, imbris ac nebulis foedum."

2. observatum id — dirimendis. Cicero, de Div. ii. 42, says, "In nostris commentariis (i.e. those of the augurs) scriptum habemus: 'Iove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.'" The meaning is, "That, regarded from ancient times as a reason for putting an end to the *comitia*," or "The observance of that from ancient times as a reason for." Such a use of the past part. pass. is frequent in Livy, e.g. i. 53; iv. 49, etc.

5. seu quae — non vitantur. It is doubtful whether this sentence expresses the alternative in the mind of Galba or of Tacitus himself. In the former case the meaning will be "Galba was not deterred from going, either because he had a contempt for such things, or because he held that what will be must be;" in the latter case Tacitus says Galba's going was due to his contempt for such things, or to the fact that the will of heaven cannot be gainsaid. The order of the words seems to support the former of the two explanations.

7. exemplo — et more militari. To the former he had appealed in his speech, i. 15. The latter is explained, Liv. ix. 39, x. 38, Polyb. vi. 20, from which passages we gather that in moments of difficulty, or in expeditions of danger, each Roman soldier of those originally chosen was allowed to select a comrade in whom he could trust, the newly chosen comrade another, and so on till the whole number was made up.

8. in maius crederetur. Cf. i. 52, "in maius omnia accipiebantur;" iii. 7, "in maius accipitur."

9. quartam et duodevicesimam legiones. Where several things of the same kind are mentioned, the substantive may be either singular or plural, usually the latter if the adjectives precede, the former if the substantive. Tacitus generally prefers the plural in either case. The reading of M. is *duodevicesimam*, but the 18th legion was one of those which perished with Varus, and in i. 55, 56, the 22d, not the 18th, is spoken of as along with the 4th belonging to the army of Upper Germany. In ii. 100 this same legion appears as part of the army of Caecina, and in iii. 22 is enumerated among the forces of Vitellius. So most of the editors have followed Ritter in making the change here. *ultro adseverat* = he volunteers to state, before questions were asked about it.

14. usurpatam etiam in pace. Claudius, when he had adopted Nero, had given a donative to the soldiers, Ann. xii. 41, and Nero on his accession had repeated it, xii. 69.

Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto. Nec remedium in cet fuit, sed metu. initium, tanquam per artem et formic singuli pellerentur omnibus suspectis.

21. Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes, or in turbido consilium; multa simul extimulabant, luxuria eti principi onerosa, inopia vix privato toleranda, in Galbam i in Pisonem invidia. Fingebat et metum, quo magis concupisce Praegravem se Neroni fuisse nec Lusitaniam rursus et alter exilii honorem expectandum. Suspectum semper invisum dominantibus qui proximus destinaretur. Nocuisse id sibi ap senem principem, magis nociturum apud iuvenem ingenio truce. et longo exilio efferatum. Occidi Othonem posse. Proinde ager dum audendumque, dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis non dum coaluisset. Opportunos magnis conatibus transitus rerum nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies quam temerita Mortem omnibus ex natura aequalem, oblivione apud poster vel gloria distingui. Ac si nocentem innocentemque idem exi maneant, acrioris viri esse merito perire.

22. Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus.

14. neo—suspectis. Translate "This did not act as a deterrent to the rest, but was only the commencement of a panic, on the ground that while all were objects of suspicion, they were being got rid of one by one by subtlety and a policy of fear." *tanquam* gives here, as elsewhere in Tacitus, the real not the imaginary reason. *per artem et formidine* (for which Orelli reads *formidinem*) are co-ordinate, Tacitus not unfrequently interchanging the ablative with the accusative and *per*. *Formidine* is used as dictating a policy, i. 42, "quod seu finxit formidine."

21. 1. omne in turbido consilium. "Whose plans turn on a state of turmoil." Liv. iii. 40, "in turbido minus perspicuum fore quid agatur."

2. multa simul extimulabant. Suetonius (Oth. 5) says, "sed postquam Pisone praelato spe decidit, ad vim conversus est, instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine aeris alieni."

4. quo magis concupisceret. "That he might give the freer rein to his desires." This is a fine touch of Tacitus's, very true to nature; he pretended, persuaded himself that he was afraid for his life, that he might do with the less scruple that which he had set his heart on doing. The

words which follow are a sort of *soliloquy* or addressed to his intimate friend. Tacitus often uses the *oratio obliqua* in this way to express a man's thoughts.

7. qui proximus destinaretur. The man whom public opinion would mark out as nearest to the throne and best entitled to succeed to it.

9. occidi Othonem posse. These words are by some editors enclosed in brackets as dubious, but unnecessarily.

10. dum—fluxa—coaluisset. Tacitus is exceedingly fond of the omission of the substantive verb, but he omits it in the subjunctive usually only when, as here, it is followed by some co-ordinate verb also in the subjunctive. For *coaluisset* in the sense of "had consolidated itself," cf. Ann. xvi. 1, "vetustate imperii coalita audacia."

11. transitus rerum. "Transfers of power." Though it may possibly have a more general sense.

22. 1. Othonis. Heraeus, following Pichena, reads *Othoni*; either reading is quite Tacitean. Plutarch has adopted a very similar phrase, Galb. 25, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν καὶ θηλότητα τῇ ψυχῇ διατεθρυμμένος, ἀλλ' ἰταμὸς ὡς πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἀρεπτος.

CORNELII TACITI HISTORIARUM

ni libertorum servorumque corruptius quam in privata domo
iti, aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria matrona ceterasque
norum libidines avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes,
escenti ut aliena exprobrabant, urgentibus etiam mathe-
maticis, dum novos motus et clarum Othoni annum observa-
ne siderum adfirmant, genus hominum potentibus infidum;
stantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper
retinebitur. Multos secreta Poppaeae mathematicos, pessimum
ncipalis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant; e quibus
Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes, cum superfuturum eum
eroni promississet, postquam ex eventu fides, coniectura iam
t rumore senium Galbae et iuventam Othonis computantium
persuaserat fore ut in imperium ascisceretur. Sed Otho tamquam,
veritia et monitu fatorum, praedicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii
umani libentius obscura credendi.

23. Nec deerat Ptolemaeus, iam et sceleris instinator, ad
ad facillime ab eiusmodi voto transitur. Sed sceleris cogitatio

corruptius quam in privata
habiti. "Treated with greater
than becomed a private house."
enjoyed, he means, the same licence
each and intimacy, which as a rule
only to be found among the slaves
and freedmen of the emperor.

3. *matrimonio*. This word is rejected
as spurious by some editors, but need-
lessly, for Caligula had four, Claudius six
wives.

5. *mathematici*. The soothsayers.
They are called elsewhere Chaldaei; cf.
Gellius i. 9, § 6, "vulgus autem quos
gentilicio vocabulo Chaldaeos dicere opor-
tet mathematicos dicit." They professed
to cast the horoscope of their patrons. Bar-
jesus, who was at the court of Sergius
Paulus, was one of these *mathematici*,
Acts xiii. 8.

6. *dum* is here nearly the same as *cum*,
and = "in that;" so iii. 40, "*dum media
sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit.*"

8. *et vetabitur semper et retinebitur*.
Soothsayers had been expelled from
Italy under Tiberius, Ann. ii. 32; under
Claudius, Ann. xii. 52, and were again ex-
pelled under Vitellius, H. ii. 62; but as the
emperors themselves and the aristocracy
habitually consulted them, it is hardly
wonderful that each successive decree re-
mained a dead letter.

9. *secreta Poppaeae*. "The cabinet
of Poppaea had contained many sooth-
sayers, the worst tools of an imperial

household;" so Ritter; but *principalis
matrimonii* might mean, and probably
does, the worst tools by which she secured
her marriage with the emperor. For
secreta Poppaeae, Heraeus compares Ann.
iii. 30, "*praecipuus cui secreta impera-
torum inniterentur*"—"the principal prop
of the emperor's secret cabinet," but it is
not at all certain that the sense is the
same there.

10. *instrumentum* is used as a term of
contempt like *supellex*, with which it is
sometimes coupled, and like our word tool.

11. *Ptolemaeus*. He is called by Sue-
tonius, but probably by a slip, Seleucus,
that being the name of Vespasian's sooth-
sayer, ii. 78. Plutarch, Galb. 23, agrees
with Tacitus. Othoni—comes like "*rec-
tor iuveni*," Ann. i. 24; "*Ptolemai liberis
tutorem*," Ann. iii. 14. For Nymphidius
Sabinus, see above, c. 5.

16. *credendi*. M. reads *credi*, but
this was corrected by Pichena.

23. 1. *nec deerat Ptolemaeus*. "Nor
did Ptolemaeus fail to go on to instigate
him to crimes." This is a phrase of which
Tacitus is fond, see i. 51, "*nec deerat
pars Galliarum, acerrima instigatrix ad-
versum Galbianos.*"

2. *sed sceleris*—*repens*. "But
it is doubtful whether the crime was
really of sudden growth." *Incertum* and
dubium an are used by Tacitus almost
like *nescio an*; cf. i. 75, "*et stetit domus
integra sub Othone, incertum an metu*;"



incertum an repens: studia militum iam pridem spe successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernaes appellando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare, inserendo saepius querellas et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quaeque alia turbamenta volgi. Labores itinerum, inopia com- meatuum, duritia imperii atrocius accipiebantur, cum Campaniae lacus et Achaiae urbes classibus adire soliti Pyrenaeum et Alpes et inmensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis eniterentur.

24. Flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini. Is mobilissimum quemque ingenio aut pecuniae indigum et in novas cupiditates praecipitem alliciendo eo paulatim progressus est, ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti

Ann. i. 5, "dubium an quaesita morte." For *repens* in the sense of "of sudden growth," "recently conceived," see Ann. vi. 7, "quid repens aut vetustate obscurum;" H. iv. 25. The word is thus used by no other author.

3. iam pridem—adfectaverat. "He had long ago tampered with." Plutarch, Galb. 24, also points this out, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἔργον ὑψηλοῦς στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι πλῆτιν, δοῦναι μεταξὺ τῆς εἰσποικίσεως (the adoption) ἐγένοντο καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς.

4. in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus. The first is the general term for the journey from Spain, the two latter are more special: "on the march" and "during the halts" when the soldiers would be mounting guard. Cf. Ann. iii. 9.

5. nomine vocans ac—appellando. One of Tacitus's artifices to obtain variety of expression.

9. labores itinerum. Tacitus seems here to have made a slip; the forces which accompanied Galba from Spain were not the praetorians who attended Nero, but regular legionary or auxiliary troops. The praetorians, were, however, no doubt looking forward to such hardship and such a change of life as that here described. They had accompanied Nero in his artistic tours, and it is this fact which is alluded to in this sentence. For Nero's tours in Campania and Achaia, see Ann. xiv. 13; xv. 33, 36; Dio, lxiii. 8; Suet. Nero, 19, 22, 25, 34.

11. Pyrenaeum—eniterentur. *Eniti* with the simple acc. of the object sur-

mounted occurs only in Tacitus (Ann. ii. 20) and in Columella. In Ag. 27 *eluctor* occurs with the same construction. *spatia* is joined with *eniti* by a sort of zeugma.

24. 2. e proximis Tigellini. Tigellinus, one of Nero's worst creatures, and co-praefect along with Nymphidius Sabinus of the praetorian guard. After deserting his master at the crisis of his fate, he was at this time kept by Vinus's influence in safe and disgraceful retirement. Otho yielding to the popular demand subsequently put him to death. See below, c. 72; Plut. Oth. 2; Juv. i. 55.

4. per speciem convivii. The *sportula* (a small allowance in food and then in money) given by the rich to their clients had been extended by the emperors to their guards, and Nero, following a practice which had grown up generally, seems to have granted a regular dinner allowance to his guards in place of actual food. This custom Otho now took advantage of to bribe the troops. Under pretence of complying with a custom already established Pudens gave the money openly, the amount being largely increased beyond the ordinary limit, *hanc publicam largitionem*.

5. cohorti excubias agenti viritum—divideret. Claudius (Dio, lx. 3) had first introduced the custom of having a cohort of the praetorians to attend him when he went out to dinner; Otho afterwards kept up the custom, ii. 11. *Viritum* is inserted to make it clear that the one hundred sesterces were given to each man in the cohort, not to the cohort as a whole.

excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret; quam velut publicam largitionem Otho secretioribus apud singulos praemiis intendebat, adeo animosus corruptor, ut Cocceio Proculo speculatori de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti
 10 universum vicini agrum sua pecunia emptum dono dederit, per socordiam praefecti, quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.

25. Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem eorundem perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et promissis onerat, data pecunia
 5 ad pertemptandos plurium animos. Suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum et transtulerunt. In conscientiam facinoris pauci adsciti. Suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant, primores militum per beneficia Nymphidii ut suspectos, volgus et ceteros ira et desperatione
 10 dilati totiens donativi. Erant quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris licentiae accenderet: in commune omnes metu mutandae militiae terrebantur.

26. Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas

8. adeo animosus corruptor. "A briber of such spirit." For *animosus* applied to pecuniary dealings, Heraeus quotes Suet. Iul. 47, "gemmas toreumata, signa tabulas operis antiqui semper animosisime comparare."

9. speculatori. The *speculatores* were the immediate bodyguard of the emperor, picked men from the praetorians. They were armed with spear and shield. They were often employed as messengers and carriers of despatches. The name originally meant "a scout," for which service picked men would be taken.

10. per socordiam praefecti, i.e. Laco, already described as *ignavissimus mortalium*, c. 6.

25. 1. sed tum. *Tum* is at the point in the narrative we have now reached: he has hitherto been describing the previous measures which Otho had taken to tamper with the troops.

2. tesserarium speculatorum. It was the duty of the *tesserarius* to receive the watchword from the officer in command (in this case the emperor), and to communicate it to the soldiers on duty.

3. optionem eorundem. "A lieutenant of the same force." He was so called because he was chosen (*optatus*) by the tribune or centurion to act as his

representative, to assist him in his duties, and to take his place if, through sickness or other cause, he had himself to be absent. See Veget. ii. 7, and Festus.

5. duo manipulares. "Two common soldiers." The term is introduced as a term of contempt, and the *tesserarius* and *optio* served actually in the ranks. Suetonius, Oth. 5, says that originally there were five who were privy to the plot.

8. per beneficia Nymphidii ut suspectos. "By reference to their promotion by Nymphidius, as on this ground suspected by Galba." Galba's action in dismissing Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso would give point to such suggestions. By the *primores militum* we must understand the *tesserarii*, *optiones*, *decuriones*, *centuriones*. *volgus et ceteros*. The phrase is repeated in iii. 3. *Et* is epexegetical.

11. mutandae militiae, i.e. of being drafted into the legions where their pay was less, the term of service longer, and the duties much heavier.

26. 1. infecit ea tabes legionum quoque—mentes. *Tabes* is the mutinous spirit. The legions in the city were the *legio classica*, perhaps also the 6th which Galba had brought with him from Spain, and detachments of the German,

iam mentes, postquam volgatum erat labare Germanici exercitus fidem. Adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero iduum die redeuntem a cena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni incerta noctis et tota urbe sparsa 5 militum castra nec facilem inter temulentos consensum timuissent, non rei publicae cura, quam foedare principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis 10 indicia per conscios oppressa: quaedam apud Galbae aures praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum consilii quavis egregii, quod non ipse afferret, inimicus et adversus peritos pervicax.

27. Octavo decimo kalendas Februarias sacrificanti pro 15
aede Apollinis Galbae haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone (nam proximus adstiterat) idque ut laetum e contrario et suis cogitationibus prosperum interpretante. Nec multo post 5 libertus Onomastus nuntiat expectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus; quae significatio coeuntium iam militum et

British, and Illyrian armies. For *tabes*, see iii. 11, "legiones velut tabe infectae."

4. *dissimulatio* = "readiness to ignore or suppress what was going on." For this sense of the word, Heraeus quotes Cicero, pro Sest. § 35, "eaque non silentio consulum dissimulantur, sed et voce et sententia comprobantur."

4. postero iduum die. The reading of M., though it is much obliterated, seems to be "postero iduum dierum." This Pichena corrects into "iduum Ianu-arium;" Heraeus, "iduum Ian. die;" Orelli, "iduum die." The natural expression would be *postridie iduum*, but Cicero, pro Sull. § 52, has "posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium," which is good authority for a similar use here. The day after the Ides is the 14th, the day before the actual outbreak.

5. rapturi fuerint. This, and not the pluperfect subjunctive, is the ordinary tense used to express a hypothetical case, which was intended and did not actually occur in the past; so Ann. iii. 53, "quod si mecum consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim." The nominative must be supplied from the *apud malos* above.

5. incerta noctis — neo facilem — consensum timuissent. This con-

junction of an adjective and substantive in place of two substantives, comparatively rare with earlier writers, is a very favourite one with Tacitus, who employs it almost always when we should use an abstract word; *neo facilem* is equivalent to *et non facilem*. In English we should say "the difficulty of securing concert."

6. castra. The troops of Illyricum were quartered in the Portico of Vip-sanius, the German detachments in the Atrium Libertatis.

10. pro Othone destinaretur. "He should be pitched upon as Otho;" so *destinabant*, i. 12; Liv. ix. 24, "qui omnium consensu destinabantur auctores."

11. apud Galbae aures. "Which reached the ears of Galba."

12. elusit. "Parried." (Properly of a boxer who dodges a blow aimed at him.) Ann. iii. 34, "sic Caecinae sententia elusa est;" Dial. 5, "Helvidii sapientiam elusit."

27. 1. octavo decimo kalendas Februarias = on January 15th.

1. pro aede Apollinis. This was situated on the Palatine in the immediate neighbourhood of the Palace; see iii. 65.

2. tristia exta = unfavourable, the opposite of *laeta*.

paratae coniurationis convenerat. Otho causam digressus re-
 quirentibus cum emi sibi praedia vetustate suspecta eoque
 10 prius exploranda finxisset, innixus liberto per Tiberianam
 domum in Velabrum, inde ad miliarium aureum sub aedem
 Saturni pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum
 imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum et sellae
 festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt. Totidem
 15 ferme milites in itinere adgregantur, alii conscientia, plerique
 miraculo, pars clamore et gaudiis, pars silentio, animum ex
 eventu sumpturi.

28. Stationem in castris agebat Iulius Martialis tribunus.
 Is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra et, si
 contra tenderet, exitium metuens praebuit plerisque suspicionem
 conscientiae. Anteposuerunt ceteri quoque tribuni centurionesque
 5 praesentia dubiis et honestis, isque habitus animorum fuit, ut pes-
 simum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.

29. Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat

9. emi sibi praedia vetustate sus-
 pecta. "That he is buying a property
 which from its age he suspects to be un-
 sound." Plutarch, Galb. 24, represents
 him as saying that having bought an old
 house, he wishes to point out the suspicious
 portions of it to the sellers.

10. Tiberianam domum. This was at
 the back of the Palace, on the side of the
 Palatine towards the Tiber. The Vela-
 brum ran at the foot of the Palatine from
 the Tiber towards the Forum. So far he
 had been going away from the camp of
 the praetorians to avoid suspicion. Here
 he turns.

11. miliarium aureum. This stood
 at the upper end of the Forum, and was
 the point from which all the roads in
 Italy started. It had been erected by
 Augustus. Suetonius, Oth. 6, says that
 this was the spot at which it was agreed
 that his fellow-conspirators were to meet
 him.

13. sellae — impositum. It was a
 woman's litter he was put in, as this was
 closed.

15. alii conscientia, plerique mira-
 culo. "Some as being privy to the plan,
 the larger number out of mere curiosity."

16. pars clamore et gaudiis. The
 reading of M. is *gladiis*, but this seems
 hardly possible after the *strictis mucroni-*
bus above, and the word would be in any
 case somewhat oddly coupled to *clamore*.
 The plural finds a parallel in Ann. xiv.

14, "facili foeminarum credulitate ad
 gaudia," and is used where the joy arises
 from various causes. Ritter encloses *gladiis*
 in brackets, thinking that the word
 has crept in from the parallel passage in
 Suetonius, who says (Otho 6) "inter
 faustas acclamationes strictosque gladios
 ad principia devenit."

28. 1. Iulius Martialis tribunus.
 Plutarch says that he was generally
 credited with being innocent, and simply
 taken by surprise. The tribunes took it
 in turn to be in command, and responsible
 for the safety of the camp.

2. is magnitudine — sceleris, an-
 metuens. We have an ablative and
 participle thus conjoined in Ann. ii. 38,
 "siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobili-
 tatis . . . retinens."

2. si contra tenderet. Taken from
 Verg. Aen. vii. 27, "frustra cerno te
 tendere contra."

5. praesentia dubiis et honestis.
 "The interest of the moment to the doubt-
 ful path of honour." Such a contrast is
 often in Tacitus's mind, "tuta et prae-
 sentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent,"
 Ann. i. 2. Heraeus quotes Ann. xv. 29,
 "omissis praecipitiis tuta et salutaria
 capessentem." Orelli would insert *et*
turpia after *praesentia*.

29. 1. fatigabat alieni iam imperii
 deos. For the expression *fatigare deos*,
 Orelli quotes Lucr. iv. 1239, "Nequic-
 quam divom numen sortisque fatigant ;"

alieni iam imperii deos, cum adfertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui raperetur; simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obuius fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. 5 Igitur consultantibus placuit pertemptari animum cohortis, quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cuius integra auctoritas maioribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est: "sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optan- 10 dum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum. Quo domus nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est, non quia meo nomine tristiores casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et senatus et ipsius imperii 15 vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod

also Hor. Od. i. 2, 26, "prece qua fatigent | virgines sanctae minus audientem | carmina Vestam." Notice how the Gods are supposed to pass with the imperial power they protect.

3. incertum quem. *Incertum* is neuter; the two words together make one expression like *nescio quem*.

4. simul ex tota urbe. We must supply *nuntiant* from the previous *adfertur rumor*.

4. alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero. *Formidine* = under the influence of fear; *augentes*, exaggerating. For *formidine* some editors have proposed *formidinem*; with *minora vero* we must supply *referentes*, implied in *augentes*.

8. pro gradibus domus must be taken with *adlocutus est*, not *vocatos*. He addressed them from the steps of the Palace when summoned for the purpose. Thus, Ann. ii. 81, we have "pro muris" = *stands in muris*; Ag. 35, "pro vallo" = from the vallum; and so elsewhere in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Sallust.

9. in hunc modum. Here again Tacitus does not profess to give an exact report. Plutarch has no mention of this speech.

9. sextus dies agitur. He had been adopted on the 10th, it was now the 15th, but the Romans reckoned in the day at either end.

10. et sive—erat. The mood shows that this clause is not dependent on *ignarus*. "I was summoned to be Caesar, whether the title were one to be wished

for or dreaded." For a very similar passage, cf. ii. 76, "quam salutare reipublicae quam tibi magnificum iuxta deos in tua manu positum est." Heraeus quotes for *ignarus et sive*, etc. iii. 46, "Cremensis victoriae gnarus ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret." Caesar. He had not been adopted into the family of the Caesars, for Galba was himself a Sulpicius, but Caesar had now become a title attaching not only to the reigning monarch, but to his agnate descendants, whether by birth or adoption.

11. quo fato. Supply *adscitus sim*. Cicero, Phil. ii. 1, "quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut," etc.

13. meo nomine. "In my own person," "as far as I am personally concerned;" none of the other passages quoted seem to have this precise shade of meaning. *non quia* is just equivalent to our phrase "not that;" it is an elliptical expression, the phrase in full being *quod dico non quia*.

14. cum maxime discam = "am at this moment learning." This is the uniform meaning of *cum maxime* in Tacitus; see Ann. ii. 11. It is also used by Cicero, de Off. ii. 7, 23; Liv. xl. 32, 1. A fuller form is *nunc cum maxime* = *nunc ut cum maxime* = now especially. See Furneaux on Ann. iii. 59.

15. patris—vicem doleo = "I grieve on account of my father." So Cicero, ad Fam. xii. 23, 3, "tuam vicem saepe doleo;" so Hor. Ep. 17, 42, "infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice."

aeque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Solacium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem et res sine discordia translatas. Provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam
20 quidem bello locus esset.

30. "Nihil adrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae: neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est. Vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium, etiam cum amicis imperatoris ageret. Habitune et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu
5 mereretur imperium? falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis inponit. Perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stupra nunc et comissiones et feminarum coetus volvit animo: haec principatus praemia putat, quorum libido ac voluptas penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes. Nemo enim umquam imperium
10 flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba consentientibus vobis Caesarem dixit. si res publica et senatus et populus vacua nomina sunt, vestra, commilitones, interest ne imperatorem pessimi faciant. Legionum seditio adversus duces suos audita est aliquando: vestra fides
15 famaue inlaesa ad hunc diem mansit. Et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem. Minus triginta transfugae et deser-

17. *solacium*—*translatas*. He takes no account of the slaughter of the *iptrae*, because that took place outside the city, and might be represented as a step necessary for quelling a mutiny; *res translatae*=the transfer of sovereignty. Cf. *rerum transitus* above, c. 21.

20. *bello locus esset*. He implies that had Galba not adopted a successor there might have been such opportunity. Of the outbreak in Germany he refuses to make mention.

30. 1. *aut modestiae*. As a personal quality this is equivalent to the Greek *σωφροσύνη*, self-restraint. When applied to soldiers it means "orderliness," readiness to submit to discipline.

2. *relatu*. This is a word not used in prose before Tacitus. It occurs again, Ann. xv. 22; G. 3.

3. *etiam cum—ageret*. "Even when he was playing the part of friend of the emperor," i.e. under Nero, whose worst vices he was supposed to have pandered to. See above, c. 13.

4. *habitune—mereretur*. The *ne* emphasises the word to which it is appended, Madvig, § 451 a. *ornatu muliebri*. Suetonius (Oth. 12) says of him "fuisse traditus munditiarum prope mu-

liebrium;" and Juv. ii. 99, "ille tenet speculum pathici gestamen Othonis." The imperfect subj. is used in questions like this to express vehement dissent.

5. *quibus luxuria—inponit*. *Luxuria* is nominative to *inponit*, which is neuter. So Plin. Epp. ii. 6, "ne tibi optimae indolis juveni quorundam in mensa luxuria specie frugalitatis imponat."

8. *penes ipsum—penes omnes*. "Falls to his share," "falls to that of all."

10. *consensus generis humani*. This is, of course, a rhetorical exaggeration. He had been proclaimed only by the army of Spain and then accepted by the senate for the Empire at large.

12. *vacua*. This has been altered in some copies and by some editors to *vana*, "empty names." Cf. c. 57; ii. 20; iv. 73.

14. *aliquando*. "From time to time." There had been mutinies in Pannonia and Germany at the beginning of Tiberius's reign, and many since.

16. *minus triginta transfugae*. The best way of explaining the construction without *quam* is to suppose that the two words make almost one, as we say "shall under thirty traitors?" *Plus* is often used in the same way.

tores, quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentes nemo ferret, imperium adsignabunt? admittitis exemplum et quiescendo commune crimen facitis? transcendet haec licentia in provincias et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt. 20 Nec est plus quod pro caede principis quam quod innocentibus datur, sed perinde a nobis donativum ob fidem quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis."

31. Dilapsis speculatoribus, cetera cohors non aspernata contionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio rapit signa *quam*, quod postea creditum est, insidiis et simulatione. Missus et Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus Vipsania in porticu tendentes. Praeceptum 5 Amulio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus, ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent. Legioni classicae diffide-

19. transcendet haec licentia in provincias. He tries here to raise the jealousy of the praetorians against the legionary troops. As a matter of fact this was what actually occurred. Otho's nomination by the praetorians was answered by Vitellius's nomination by the legions of Germany, and the issue was fought out at Bedriacum.

20. et ad nos scelerum exitus. Translate "The consequences in which crimes will issue will bear hardly on us, the wars in which they will no less surely issue will bear hardly on you."

22. perinde for *proinde* of M. The two are often confused, being nearly identical in their abbreviated form. There is no natural sequence for *proinde* here to indicate, whereas it was much to the point to say "You will equally receive a donation from us for loyalty, as from others for treachery." If *perinde* is read, it is followed by *quam*, as usually in Tacitus, instead of the classical *ac* or *atque*.

31. 1. dilapsis speculatoribus. The bodyguard slunk off because it had been already corrupted by the agents of Otho. See above, c. 26.

2. forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio—*quam*. The reading of M. is *non nullo par signas*, leaving out *quam*. Ritter suggests *parat et non ullo*. Ruperti reads *timore magis et non nullo ad huc consilio*. This is rather wanton. Meiser substitutes *rapit* for *parat*. Freinsheim inserted *quam*. *Forte* is contrasted with *insidiis, nullo adhuc consilio with simulatione*. *Et nullo* is later Latin for *nec ullo*. So often in Tacitus, e.g. ii. 26.

4. Celsus Marius. He was consul designate. We learn from Ann. xv. 25 that he had served in Pannonia; hence his selection for this particular mission.

4. ad electos Illyrici exercitus. They had been chosen by Nero for the war against the Parthians, and were staying on still in Rome, i. 6, 9, 26.

5. Vipsania in porticu tendentes. *Tendentes*, "quartered in;" properly of pitching tents, Ann. xiii. 36. The Portico erected by Vipsanius Agrippa, and called sometimes Porticus Neptuni or Argonautarum, was situated in the Campus Martius, not very far from the modern fountain of Trevi, where remains of it have been lately discovered. It is mentioned by Martial, iv. 18, "qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis."

6. primipilaribus. This form does not imply that they held the post of *primipilus* at the time, but that they had held it once. It is thus like *consularis*.

7. Libertatis atrio. It is not certain where this was, some say near the Circus Flaminius, others near the Temple of Concord. Legionary troops in Rome seem to have been generally quartered in temples or other public buildings; ii. 93, "miles in porticibus aut delubris."

7. legioni classicae—*commilitonum*. The *prima Adiutrix* had been enrolled out of the *epetrai*, and would therefore naturally look on them as *commilitones*. *Diffidebatur* is a correction for *diffidebat*; if this is read the nominative to the verb is Piso.

batur infestae ob caedem commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba. Pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. Tribunorum Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis, Longinum manibus coercent exarmentque, quia non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis, fidus principi suo et
 15 descendentibus suspectior erat. Legio classica nihil cunctata praetorianis adiungitur. Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum infestis pilis proturbant. Germanica vexilla diu nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde rursus longa navigatione
 20 aegros impensiore cura Galba refovebat.

32. Universa iam plebs Palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et coniuratorum exitium poscentium, ut si in circo aut theatro ludicrum aliquod postulerent: neque illis iudicium aut veritas, quippe eodem die

11. *si*, in the sense of "to see if" = the Greek *ei, ei πως*. It occurs with words expressive of, or implying, an attempt, and is so used even by Cicero and Livy, Madvig, § 451 *d*; see Ann. i. 48.

12. *tribunorum*, which by most editors is taken with *consiliis*, Orelli inclines to join with the words that follow. By Ritter and others it is enclosed in brackets as a gloss.

13. *quia non ordine militiae—erat*. "Because he was faithful to his prince, not in virtue of his military rank, but as being a personal friend of Galba, and so was viewed with more suspicion by the mutineers." *Ordine militiae* and *sed quia* express two distinct motives by which fidelity to Galba might have been brought about. Nipperdey would insert *profectus* after *ordine militiae*.

16. *Celsum infestis pilis*. *Festum incestis pilis* is the reading of M. The present seems an obvious correction; others read *ingestis*, but this is less likely, and further from the MS. In iii. 85 we have *Vitellium infestis mucronibus ad Gemonias propulere*.

17. *Germanica vexilla*. "The detachments of the German army." *Vexilla* are properly bodies of troops, serving under a *vexillum*, detached from a regiment. The *vexilla* here mentioned are drafts brought by Nero to Rome from the German army for the purposes of the

Parthian war. From Rome they had been despatched to Alexandria, but afterwards brought back again when he was threatened by the outbreak of Vindex. See cs. 70 and 6. Some of them, however, remained behind and served under Titus in the Judaic war at Alexandria, v. 1. Sometimes, however, *vexilla* and *vexillarii* denote the veterans who have received their discharge, but are still retained *sub vexillo*, as we now say, "in the reserve."

19. *inde rursus*. Corrected by Döderlein into *reversos*, perhaps unnecessarily. If *rursus* be read, it must be taken closely with *longa navigatione* = from the long return voyage from thence.

32. 1. *mixtis servitiis*. *Servitiis* = *servis*. So several times in Tacitus, and also in Livy, e.g. vi. 12. Even in Cicero, Verr. v. 4, § 9, *servitium* is used as a collective term for slaves.

4. *iudicium aut veritas*. "Sound judgment or reality." Their cries did not proceed from any real well-considered recognition of Galba's superiority to Otho, or from any genuine enthusiasm for him, for the event showed they were ready to shout just as loud against him. *postulaturis*. The participle in *rus* is not thus used as a simple participle in earlier times, but is found in Livy, Madvig, § 424, *obs*. 5; here "since they would demand."

diversa pari certamine postulaturis, sed tradito more quem- 5
cumque principem adulandi licentia adclamationum et studiis
inanimis. Interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus
Vinii manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos
aditus, non eundem ad iratos censebat. Daret malorum paeni-
tentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatium. Scelera impetu, bona 10
consilia mora valescere. Denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem
mox facultatem; regressum, si paeniteat, in aliena potestate.

33. Festinandum ceteris videbatur, antequam cresceret
invalida adhuc coniuratio paucorum. Trepidaturum etiam Otho-
nem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros inlatus, cunctatione nunc
et segnitia terentium tempus imitari principem discat. Non
expectandum, ut compositis castris forum invadat et prospe- 5
ctante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius imperator cum
fortibus amicis ianua ac limine tenus domum cludit, obsidionem
nimirum toleraturus. Et praeclarum in servis auxilium, si con-
sensus tantae multitudinis et, quae plurimum valet, prima
indignatio elanguescat. Perinde intuta quae indecora. Vel si 10
cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini: id Othoni invidio-
sius et ipsis honestum. Repugnantem huic sententiae Vinium
Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia
in publicum exitium.

34. Nec diutius Galba cunctatus speciosiora suadentibus

11. si ratio sit. "If it be the reason-
able course to adopt." So iii. 22, "con-
fectum algore atque inedia hostem postera
die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit."

12. regressum, si paeniteat, in ali-
ena potestate. M. read *regressu*; Ritter,
regressus, and takes it as nominative
plural; Döderlein as genitive, but *facul-
tatem regressus in aliena potestate* would
be very awkward, so it is better to read
regressum and suppose the mark of the
accusative to have dropped out (*regressū*).

33. 4. segnitia terentium tempus.
For this substantival use of the present
participle so frequent in Tacitus, so rare
in earlier writers, see above, c. 13, "ru-
moribus nihil silentio transmittentium."

4. imitari principem discat = "is
learning to play the rôle of *princeps*."

5. compositis castris. "When
matters have been arranged in the
camp."

5. prospectante Galba Capitolium
adeat. To go up to the Capitol and
take the auspices would be the first act of

a newly created emperor. Galba could
easily watch him from the Palatine.

6. cum—cludit. "While an illus-
trious emperor, keeping within the door
and threshold, shuts fast his palace."
The indicative is used because they picture
the fact as actually present. The form
cludere occurs again, Ann. xv. 64, etc.
nimirum is of course ironical.

10. perinde intuta quae indecora.
"A course is unsafe in the measure that
it is dishonourable." There is the usual
conflict of authority here for *perinde* and
proinde. Nipperdey reads *perinde*.

11. id Othoni invidiosius. "That
would bring greater odium on Otho,"
because it would force him into a position
of open hostility to the emperor, to whom
he had sworn allegiance.

13. privati—exitium. "Persisting in
his private enmity, even to the ruin of
the State."

34. 1. nec diutius Galba cunctatus.
Suetonius, Galb. 19, gives a different
account. He says that Galba, on receipt

accessit. Praemissus tamen in castra Piso ut iuvenis magno nomine, recenti favore et infensus Tito Vinio, seu quia erat, seu quia irati ita volebant; et facilius de odio creditur. Vixdum
 5 egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus primum et incertus rumor: mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis iam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam laeta falso
 10 volgaverint.

35. Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in plausus et inmodica studia, sed equitum plerique ac senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis Palatii foribus ruere intus ac se Galbae ostentare, praereptam sibi ultionem querentes, ignavissimi
 5 mus quisque et, ut res docuit, in periculo non ausurus nimii verbis, linguae feroces; nemo scire et omnes adfirmare, donec inopia veri et consensu errantium victus sumpto thorace Galba inruenti turbae neque aetate neque corpore resistens sella levaretur. Obvius in Palatio Iulius Atticus speculator cruentum
 10 gladium ostentans occisum a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba "commilito," inquit, "quis iussit?" insigni animo ad coercendam

of the news of Otho's proclamation by the praetorians, determined to remain in the Palace and call out the legionary troops to his defence, and that he was only drawn forth by the false news of Otho's death. He also knows nothing of Piso's mission.

3. et infensus Tito Vinio. His reputed enmity to Vinio would, they thought, commend him to the soldiers, among whom Vinio was very unpopular. seu quia irati, i.e. Laco and his friends, who opposed the advice of Vinio.

6. ut in magnis mendaciis. Heraeus quotes Ann. xv. 36, "dehinc quae natura magnis timoribus, deterius credebant, quod evenerat."

7. credula fama. The adjective is probably passive in sense, "gaining credence;" but as this use is very rare, some suppose fama is personified, "fame, easily believing it when all were glad or careless." On the use of inter, see first note on line 9 of chap. 1.

8. arbitrabantur. Altered by Urlichs into arbitrantur. The change seems unnecessary, since the imperfect may well refer to the time which immediately succeeded Galba's death.

86. 1. populus et imperita plebs.

There is the same contrast as above, c. 4, "populi pars integra—plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta," and below, c. 40, "populi aut plebis."

1. in plausus et inmodica studia. Supply prorumpere, effundi.

3. ruere intus. This is noted as a solecism by Quintilian, but is found in Caesar, B. C. iii. 26, "quo simul atque intus (alii intro) est itum."

4. ignavissimus quisque et—non ausurus. For this combination of the superlative and positive, see i. 88, "levis-simus quisque et futuri improvidus." The predicate after quisque with the superlative is often in the plural, see ii. 66 and 84. For the absolute use of audeo, see Ag. 15, "periculosius est deprehendi quam audere."

6. linguae feroces. "Fierce of speech." So Ann. i. 32, "animi ferox," Furn. Int. v. § 33, e.g. Heraeus, however, reads lingua feroces; M. has linguae ferocis, etc.

8. resistens. So Orelli, following Lipsius. Some have thought that sistens, the reading of M., might here be used for resistens, but no parallel can be cited. It seems therefore better with Heraeus to take inruenti turbae as a dative of the agent after levaretur and let sistens have

militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

36. Haud dubiae iam in castris omnium mentes tantusque ardor, ut non contenti agmine et corporibus in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper praepositos 5 iubebat. Strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tanquam in populo ac plebe variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed ut quemque affluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus, conplecti armis, conlocare iuxta, praeire sacramentum, modo imperatorem militibus, modo milites im- 10 peratori commendare. Nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare volgum, iacere oscula et omnia serviliter pro domina-

its ordinary sense of "standing upright, able to support himself." The objection to this is that he could hardly be lifted by the crowd into his litter.

12. *minantibus—adversus blandientes*. A good instance of Tacitus's somewhat exaggerated love of varying his phrase and construction. Plut. G. 26, Suet. G. 19, Dio, lxiv. 6, tell the same story.

36. 2. *non contenti agmine et corporibus* = "that not content with forming a procession and carrying him on their shoulders." *Agmine et corporibus* are a sort of hendiadys.

2. *in suggestu*. There was always such a raised platform in the neighbourhood of the praetorium from which the commander might address his troops. See below, c. 55. It is mentioned in Caesar, B. G. vi. 3, "hac re pro suggestu nuntiata." See also Ann. i. 44.

3. *aurea Galbae statua fuerat*. It would seem from Ann. xv. 29 that a golden statue of the emperor was a part of the ordinary furniture of a camp at this time, "medio tribunal sedem curulem et sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat."

3. *medium inter signa—vexillis circumdarent*. It seems from a comparison of this passage with ii. 29, "Valentem circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt" that this was the soldiers' way of proclaiming a new commander. It is perhaps better, as Heraeus suggests, to take *vexilla* as detachments of troops, but it might very well refer to the colours of the different maniples, as distinguished from the *signa* which occupied a permanent place in the camp. It is doubtful

whether the *signa* belonged to the legion as a whole or to the different cohorts. The phrase "*signa cohortium*" in Ann. i. 18, looks as if the cohorts had *signa*, and this was likely to be the case with the praetorians which were not formed into regular legions. The *vexilla*, if they mean colours, belonged to the maniples.

5. *caveri*. "To be watched." They had some of them been promoted by Galba and so would naturally be favourable to him, and the upper officers were generally on the side of the existing authority.

6. *strepere cuncta*. *Cuncta* has a local sense, "the whole neighbourhood."

9. *conplecti armis*. It is doubtful whether *armis* is from *armi* or *arma*. It seems probable, from Verg. Aen. xii. 432, "postquam habilis lateri clipeus loricaque tergo est, Ascanium fuis circumcomplectitur armis," that it is the latter.

11. *nec deerat Otho*. "Otho was not behindhand." *Nec deerat* is here used with an inf.; so iii. 58, iv. 1; above, c. 22, it had been used with a substantive; so again in c. 51.

11. *protendens manus adorare volgum, iacere oscula*. "He bent forward, bowed, kissed his hands to the mob"—a picturesque description, bringing before us the graceful Italian saluting the mob. It appears from Appuleius that to kiss one's fingers was part of the act of adoration. With *serviliter* we have to supply *facere*. "He acts like a slave to gain the position of a master of slaves"—such, Tacitus hints, is the position of a Roman emperor.

tionem. Postquam universa classicorum legio sacramentum eius accepit, fidens viribus, et quos adhuc singulos extimulaverat, accendendos in commune ratus, pro vallo castrorum ita coepit :

37. "Quis ad vos processerim, commilitones, dicere non possum, quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo princeps a vobis nominatus nec principem alio imperante. Vestrum quoque nomen in incerto erit, donec dubitabitur, imperatorem populi Romani in castris an hostem habeatis. Auditisne, ut poena mea et supplicium vestrum simul postulentur? adeo manifestum est neque perire nos neque salvos esse nisi una posse. Et cuius lenitatis est Galba, iam fortasse promisit, ut qui nullo exposcente tot milia innocentissimorum militum trucidaverit. Horror animum subit, quotiens recorder feralem introitum et hanc solam Galbae victoriam, cum in oculis urbis decumari deditos iuberet, quos deprecantes in fidem acceperat. His auspiciis urbem ingressus, quam gloriam ad principatum attulit nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Chilonis in Gallia, Fonteii Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, Cingonii in via, Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidii in castris? quae usquam provincia, quae castra sunt nisi cruenta

13. *classicorum legio*. See notes on chaps. 6 and 31. This was, perhaps, the only whole legion in the city.

15. *ita coepit*. Tacitus may, perhaps, himself have heard this speech. It is in admirable contrast, as Ritter points out, to the one which he had lately put into the mouth of Piso, chaps. 29, 30. Piso's was grave, moderate, patriotic, but unsuited to meet the emergency; Otho's unscrupulous and untrue, but admirably adapted to win the goodwill of those to whom it is addressed.

37. 1. *commilitones*. Galba and Piso had also used this word in addressing the troops.

2. *princeps a vobis nominatus*. It did not rest with the soldiers to nominate a *princeps*; the right in theory still remained with the senate and the senate alone.

5. *auditisne?* This implies that the shouts from the city were audible in the camp. *ut*, meaning how, is joined with the subjunctive after verbs of hearing and seeing when it has reference to the manner of the deed, not the deed or fact itself. "Videsne ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte?" Hor. Od. i. 9, 1; see above, c.

32, "dissono clamore caedem Othonis et coniuratorum exitium poscentium."

7. *cuius lenitatis*. This is of course ironical. *promisit*. We must supply *et poenam meam et supplicium vestrum*.

9. *tot milia*. Dio says there were 7000 of the unarmed marines killed besides those who were afterwards decimated.

14. *Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania*. Nothing is known of the circumstances of their deaths, but they may be alluded to in Suet. Galb. 12, when he says "praepositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis affecit cum coniugibus et liberis," speaking of the time before Galba left Spain. Obultronius Sabinus is mentioned as *quaestor aerearii* under Claudius, and accused of extortion by Helvidius Priscus, Ann. xiii. 28. Cornelius Marcellus was a senator accused of being an accomplice with L. Silanus but escaped, Ann. xvi. 8. Nero may have afterwards sent him to Spain. Of *Betuius Chilon* nothing is known, only his name has been found on a dubious inscription.

15. For *Fonteius Capito*, see c. 7; *Clodius Macer*, chaps. 7 and 11; *Cingonius Varro* and *Petronius Turpilianus*, c. 6; *Nymphidius Sabinus*, c. 5.

et maculata aut, ut ipse praedicat, emendata et correcta? nam quae alii scelera, hic remedia vocat, dum falsis nominibus severitatem pro saevitia, parsimoniam pro avaritia, supplicia et contumelias vestras disciplinam appellat. Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt et iam plus rapuit Icelus, quam Polycliti et Vatinii et Aegiali, quoad perierunt. Minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinus, si ipse imperasset: nunc et subiectos nos habuit tanquam suos et viles ut alienos. Una illa domus sufficit donativo, quod vobis numquam datur et cotidie exprobratur.

38. "Ac ne qua saltem in successore Galbae spes esset, accersit ab exilio, quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum iudicabat. Vidistis, commilitones, notabili tempestate etiam deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes. Idem senatus, idem populi Romani animus est. Vestra virtus expectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur et sine quibus quamvis egregia invalida sunt. Non ad bellum vos nec ad periculum voco: omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt. Nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam, sed detinet. Cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum acceperit, hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum imputet.

21. septem a Neronis fine menses. Nero died in June A.D. 68.

22. Icelus quam Polycliti et Vatinii et Aegiali. For Icelus, see i.

13. He, Galba's freedman, is compared with Nero's notorious freedmen. Polyclitus was despatched to Britain in 61 A.D., Ann. xiv. 39, where Tacitus has some scornful remarks about him. Vatinus is described, Ann. xv. 34, "inter foedissima eius aulae (Nero's) ostenta—eo usque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vinocendi etiam malos praemineret;" see also Dial. 11, "improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi." For Aegiali, or rather Aegialii, the reading of M., Heraeus substitutes Tigellini, a rash change.

23. quoad perierunt. This is Meiser's emendation for quam—quod perierunt of M. Ritter suggests perierunt; Ruperti et alii qui perierunt; Orelli paraverunt. Heraeus follows Ritter.

25. una illa domus, i.e. of Titus Vinus.

26. cotidie exprobratur. "Galba, though he never pays it, daily grumbles at your demand for it, and casts the demand as a reproach in your teeth."

38. 2. quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum iudicabat. Tristitia = moroseness. Tristitia and avaritia are

coupled together, Ag. 9, "tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat." On Piso's character, see above, c. 14, "deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur."

3. notabili tempestate — aversantes. The storm referred to is that mentioned above, c. 18.

8. nec una cohors togata. The cohort which was in attendance on the emperor in the city left their military cloaks, their helmets and shields behind them and were armed only with spear and sword. Martial, vi. 76, writing of Fuscus, praefect of the praetorians, says, "Ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati credita cui summi castra fuere ducis, hic situs est Fuscus."

9. cum signum meum acceperit. It was the business of the emperor to give the watchword to the praetorians; see Ann. i. 7, "defuncto Augusto signum praetoris cohortibus ut imperator dederat Tiberius."

10. quis mihi plurimum imputet. "Who may place me most deeply in his debt." Imputare is not Ciceronian in this sense, but several times used by Tacitus, see i. 55 and 71. The metaphor is that of a creditor who puts down in his book so much as owing to him from such and such a debtor.

Nullus cunctationi locus est in eo consilio, quod non potest laudari nisi peractum." Aperire deinde armamentarium iussit. Rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur: miscentur auxili-
 15 aribus galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator; et praecipuum pessimorum incitamentum, quod boni maerebant.

39. Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis et vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus egressum interim Galbam et foro appropinquantem adsecutus erat, iam Marius Celsus haud laeta rettulerat, cum alii in Palatium redire, alii Capitolium petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicerent, utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur, quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco ignaro Galba de occidendo Tito Vinio dicitur, sive ut poena eius animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis
 5 credebat, ad postremum vel odio. Haesitationem attulit tempus ac locus, quia initio caedis orto difficilis modus, et turbavere consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis, qui primo alacres fidem atque animum ostentaverant.

13. *sine more et ordine militiae.* "Without any of the established routine or order of service, that praetorian soldiers or legionaries should be distinguished by their own badges." The *ut* is in this way explanatory of what the *mos et ordo militiae* was. Ritter supplies with *ut* a *non* from the preceding *sine* = "so that praetorian and legionary were not distinguishable." The praetorians were distinguished from the legionaries by having the number of their cohort marked on their helmets and by carrying lances instead of the *pilum*. The legionary troops were distinguished from the auxiliaries by the shape of their helmets and shields.

39. 1. *iam exterritus Piso.* Piso was, according to the resolution mentioned in c. 34, on his way to the camp, when the noise of the growing sedition turned him back, and he joined Galba in the Forum.

3. *iam Marius Celsus.* He had been despatched to try the temper of the Illyrian troops, c. 31.

4. *cum alii—redire—petere—oenserent.* The present infinitive is used after *censeo* by Cicero, Sallust, Livy; so

there is no need with Nipperdey, following a doubtful reading of M., to alter into *rediret—peteret*. For the change of construction from the infinitive to the gerund, Heraeus refers to ii. 10, "dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis inivisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum censebant."

7. *agitasse Laco—de occidendo.* The construction seems peculiar to Tacitus, cf. iv. 59, "de supremis agitationem." The accusative of the object would be the natural construction with *agito*.

10. *ad postremum vel odio.* The phrase *ad postremum* denotes the alternative which Tacitus himself prefers, Ann. i. 2, "invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur."

11. *initio caedis orto.* There is a kind of redundancy in this expression, but it is found often in Tacitus, and even in Terence and Cicero.

12. *diffugia.* The word does not occur elsewhere; Tacitus is fond of the plural of abstract nouns. It here denotes that they slunk away on different pretexts, and in different ways.

40. Agebatur huc illuc Galba vario turbæ fluctuantis impulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu. Neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti voltus et conversæ ad omnia aures. Non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnæ iræ silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur. Ire præcipientes et occupare pericula iubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologaesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disiecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrumpunt. Nec illos Capitoli aspectus et imminetium templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere, quo minus facerent scelus, cuius ultor est quisquis successit.

41. Viso cominus armatorum agmine vexillarius comitatus Galbam cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse tradunt) dereptam Galbæ imaginem solo adflixit. Eo signo manifesta in Othonem omnium militum studia, desertum fuga populi forum, destricta

40. 1. agebatur. "Was driven in his litter."

2. basilicis. These were halls for the administration of justice, or other public purposes. There were a number of them round the Forum, such as the Basilica Iulia, Sempronia, Opimia, Fulvia, Aemilia.

2. lugubri prospectu. This is a kind of ablative absolute, but is partly in apposition with the ablatives preceding, the sight before them being a mournful one, or "which furnished a mournful prospect." It may well have been that Tacitus was himself one of those looking on.

3. populi aut plebis. See on the distinction, c. 35.

6. ire præcipientes et occupare pericula iubet. Suetonius, Galb. 19, says that he had told off certain prætorians on this service. *Occupare* = Greek *ὑπάρχειν τὸν κίνδυνον*, "to be beforehand with" the danger.

7. Vologaesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio. Vologaes, called in the *Annals* generally Vologeses (but Dio, Pliny, and Suetonius all have Vologaes), was the son of Vonones II, and ascended the throne of the Arsacidae under Claudius, Ann. xii. 44. He set up his brother Pacorus as king of Media Atropatene, Ann. xiv. 2, 13, 31. The Arsacidae are selected as being the

hereditary enemies of the Roman Empire.

9. proculcato senatu. Senators had rushed to the palace on the false tidings of Otho's death and had accompanied Galba to the Forum, c. 35. *rapidī equis*, as in il. 40, "*citus equo*."

11. imminetium templorum. The temples, particularly those on the Capitol, were almost all on higher ground than the Forum itself. They are spoken of, iii. 71, as *imminetium foro*; and Liv. vii. 6 has "*templa deorum immortalium quæ foro imminet*." Many of these temples overhanging the Forum still remain.

11. priores et futuri principes. The former were represented by their statues; the latter by the influence they would naturally have on the imagination of the prætorians.

12. terruere quo minus. The use of *quo minus* for *ne* after verbs of frightening is almost peculiar to Tacitus. It occurs again in Dial. 3, "*nihilne terrent quominus ames?*"

41. 1. vexillarius here means standard-bearer, colour-sergeant; so iii. 17. Each cohort of the prætorians had its own special colours. See above, c. 36, second note on line 3.

2. dereptam Galbæ imaginem. This was the little statue of the emperor attached to the colours or standard (the *signum cohortis*) of the cohort.

- 5 adversus dubitantes tela. Iuxta Curtii lacum trepidatione ferentium Galba proiectus e sella ac provolutus est. Extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere: alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali meruisset, paucos dies exolvendo donativo deprecatum; plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus
 10 iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita e re publica videretur. Non interfuit occidentium quid diceret. De percussore non satis constat. Quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Laecanium; crebrior fama tradidit Camurium quintae decimae legionis militem inpresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse. Ceteri crura brachiaque
 15 (nam pectus tegebatur) foede laniavere; pleraque volnera feritate et saevitia trunco iam corpori adiecta.

42. Titum inde Vinium invasere. De quo et ipso ambigitur, consumpseritne vocem eius instans metus, an proclamaverit non esse ab Othone mandatum, ut occideretur. Quod seu finxit formidine seu conscientiam coniurationis confessus est, huc
 5 potius eius vita famaue inclinatur, ut conscius sceleris fuerit, cuius causa erat. Ante aedem divi Iulii iacuit primo ictu in

5. *iuxta Curtii lacum.* This was situated near the middle of the Forum. For its story, see Liv. i. 12; vii. 6.

7. *varie prodidere.* Dio (lxiv. 6) follows those who made him ask "quid mali meruisset," τοῦτο μόνον εἶπε· τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησα; but he makes no mention of the promise of the donative. Plutarch, 27, agrees with those who made him offer himself up a willing victim: Ἀπαρε, εἶπεν, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ Δῆμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἀμεινὸν ἐστι. Suetonius has put forward yet a third version, 20: "sunt qui tradant ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum. Quid agitis commilitones? ego vester sum, et vos mei." He mentions, however, the account which made him profess his willingness to die if it was for the interest of the state.

9. *deprecatum.* "Had begged for;" its more usual meaning is to beg to be excused from something, but the other use is to be found even in Cicero.

12. *Terentium evocatum.* Either "one of the reserve"—men were so called who had received their discharge, but remained in the service with lighter duties—or "one of the select guard," of which Suetonius (Galb. 10) tells us, that it had been formed originally by Galba from the ranks of the equites, and that its members were called *evocati*. Plutarch (Galb. 27) says that the man's name was variously given.

13. *quintae decimae legionis.* This

was a legion of Lower Germany, but detachments from these legions were at present in Rome. See iv. 35, and above, chaps. 6 and 31.

14. *iugulum eius hausisse.* This is a Vergilian formula, Aen. x. 314, "per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum," but Livy (vii. 10) and Curtius (vii. 2, 27) also use it.

15. *nam pectus tegebatur.* By the breastplate which he had taken at starting, c. 35.

42. 1. *de quo et ipso ambigitur.* *Et ipse* occurs again, iii. 82, "trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit;" the phrase is also used by Cicero and Caesar.

2. *consumpserit vocem* = "took away his power of speech;" so Sil. iii. 157, "donec iter liquidum volucris rapiente carina consumpsit visus."

4. *seu conscientiam coniurationis confessus est.* M. reads *conscientia*, but this can hardly stand, for to say that he confessed, through being privy to the conspiracy, that his death had not been ordered by Otho, is almost nonsense. Plutarch, Galb. 27, expressly states that he said ἀποδησκει παρά τῆν Ὀθωνος γνώμην.

4. *huo—inclinatur.* The phrase is repeated in Ann. xiv. 2, "fama huc inclinatur."

6. *cuius causa erat.* He had been

poplitem, mox ab Iulio Caro legionario milite in utrumque latus transverberatus.

43. Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit. Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobrans ac modo manu modo voce vertendo in se percussores quanquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit exceptusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio eius abditus non religione nec caerimoniis sed latebra imminens exitium differebat, cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim in caedem eius ardentis Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus speculator, a quibus protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur.

mainly the cause of Galba's unpopularity with the soldiers.

6. *ante aedem divi Iulii*. This was erected by Augustus (42 B.C.) on the spot where Caesar's body had been burnt; it was afterwards adorned with the beaks of the ships taken at Actium. It was close to the temple of Vesta, and stood on a high platform. Hence Ovid, referring to this temple, Met. xv. 840, says, "hanc animam interea caeso de corpore raptam, fac iubar ut semper Capitolia nostra Forumque, divus ab excelsa prospectet Iulius aede," also "fratribus assimiles quos proxima templa tenentes divus ab excelsa Iulius aede videt."

7. *in utrumque latus transverberatus*. Livy has *per* and *transfixus* = "pierced through from side to side;" *in* is used as giving the direction of the blow.

43. 1. *Sempronium Densum*. Plutarch, Galb. 26, who calls him Indrisus, (though the reading is doubtful), and Dio, lxiv. 6, both represent Densus as having tried to protect Galba, not Piso. Tacitus is, however, to be preferred as an authority.

2. *a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus* = either "attached as a guard to Piso," or "attached to Piso's guard." On the whole, the use of *additus* makes the former rendering the more probable. There is the same doubt in Ann. i. 6, "tribuno custodiae adposito." Galba had ordered him to attend Piso when setting out for the camp of the praetorians.

5. *quanquam vulnerato*. This conjunction of *quanquam* with a participle is noted by Madvig, § 424, note 4,

as a use of later Latin. Cicero has always the finite verb.

5. *in aedem Vestae*. It was situated in front of the house of the Vestals, at the end of the Forum farthest from the Capitol, Hor. Od. i. 2, 13.

6. *publici servi*. Public slaves were employed among other duties as attendants on a temple; when so employed they were called *aeditui*, see iii. 71; also Liv. ix. 29.

7. *contubernio eius abditus*. *Contubernium* was the regular name for the quarters in which a married slave lived. The marriage of slaves was called *contubernium*.

7. *non religione nec caerimoniis*. "Not by the sanctity of the place or its worship."

9. *nominatim in caedem eius ardentis*. *Ardentis* is to be preferred to *ardentes*, the reading of M., since Plutarch expressly records that he had asked by name for the head of Piso. When shown Galba's head he had said, οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὃ στρατῶνται τῇρ Πιλωωνὶ μοι κεφαλὴν δέξαι. Orelli retains the reading of M.

10. *e Britannicis cohortibus*, i.e. of the auxiliary British cohorts, as the next words imply. The presence of detachments of British troops had been already mentioned in c. 6.

12. *trucidatur*. *Trucidatus*, the reading of M., has been altered by almost all the editors into *trucidatur*, since Tacitus would hardly have joined the participle *protractus* with *trucidatus* = *trucidatus est*.

44. Nullam caedem Otho maiore laetitia excepsisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio coeperat, seu recordatio maiestatis in Galba, amicitiae in Tito Vinio
 5 quamvis inमितem animum imagine tristi confuderat: Pisonis ut inimici et aemuli caede laetari ius fasque credebat. Praefixa contis capita gestabantur inter signa cohortium, iuxta aquilam legionis, certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile
 10 facinus iactabant. Plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit omnesque conquiri et interfici iussit, non honoris Galbae, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.
45. Alium crederes senatum, alium populum. Ruere cuncti in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus, increpare Galbam, laudare militum iudicium, exosculari Othonis manum; quantoque magis falsa erant quae fiebant, tanto plura
 5 facere. Nec aspernabatur singulos Otho avidum et minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium Celsum

44. 5. *imagine tristi confuderat.* Dio (lxiv. 7) has much to tell us of the feelings of remorse and uneasiness with which Otho was visited after Galba's death.

7. *inter signa cohortium, iuxta aquilam legionis.* The *cohortes* are the praetorians; the *legio* is the *prima classica Adiutrix*.

9. *qui vere. Quique vere, M.; Ritter, quiue vere.* Some editors insert a colon after *interfuerant*, in which case the last sentence will mean "Those who boasted of it truly, and those who boasted of it falsely, equally boasted of it as an honourable and memorable deed."

10. *praemium exposcentium.* The singular is used because each asked for a reward for himself.

13. *munimentum—ultionem.* These accusatives are in apposition with the whole previous sentence, being governed by the action contained in the sentence, and expressing the result of the action (see Furneaux, *Int.* § v. 12, *a*; and Nipperdey on *Ann.* i. 27). Instances are found in Sallust and Livy. The meaning is that the reigning emperor at once protects himself by the punish-

ment of the murderers of his predecessor, and makes vengeance more probable in the event of his own death. Tacitus had already said the same thing, c. 40, "*scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.*"

45. 1. *crederes.* The potential subjunctive. So Ag. 44, "*bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.*" Juvenal satirises the changefulness of the fickle mob of Rome, x. 72, "*sed quid | turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit | damnatos.*"

2. *anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus.* "Outstrip their neighbours, try to get up to those in front of them." All were frightened of being thought behindhand.

3. *laudare militum iudicium.* "The sound judgment" in preferring Otho to Galba.

5. *nec aspernabatur singulos.* "And Otho did not reject the advances of individuals." He showed himself placable and conciliatory, and in this stood opposed to the soldiers, whose greed and cruelty he did his best to restrain.

6. *Marium Celsum.* On him see above, c. 14.

consulem designatum et Galbae usque in extremas res amicorum fidumque *ad* supplicium expostulabant, industriae eius innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi. Caedis et praedarum initium et optimo cuique perniciem quaeri apparebat. Sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus: iubere iam poterat. Ita simulatione irae vinciri iussum et maiores poenas daturum adfirmans praesenti exitio subtraxit.

46. Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta. Praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum et incolumi adhuc Galba partes Othonis secutum; adiungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis suspectus consilia eius fovisse. Urbi Flavium Sabinum praefecere iudicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat, plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. Flagitatum, ut vacationes praestari centurionibus solitae remitterentur: namque gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat. Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per *commeatus* aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exolveret, neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriis militare otium redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles

12. et maiores poenas daturum adfirmans. The *et* might be omitted, but it is better to retain it, as it explains one of the ways in which Otho saved him from destruction; he did this by having him bound, and by affirming that he should be more severely punished in the future. Lipsius quotes Seneca (de Ira), who mentions this plan of falling in with the first gust of passion as a way of mitigating anger.

46. 1. deinde. In the literal sense, from that time or point onwards; so Liv. i. 15, "ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet."

2. Plotium Firmum e manipularibus. "From the ranks." For his subsequent history, see c. 82, ii. 46-49. For Licinius Proculus, chaps. 82, 87; ii. 33, 39-44.

5. suspectus foviase. A Tacitean idiom; so iv. 34, "suspectus bellum malle."

5. Flavium Sabinum. He was the elder brother of Vespasian; he had been praefectus urbi under Nero, and remained praefectus urbi under Vitellius. For his character and tragical end, see iii. 73, 74.

8. vacationes. Here, and in c. 58,

payments for exemption from military duties, more often the exemptions themselves; in the latter sense Ann. i. 17, "hinc vacationes munerum redimi." In Ann. i. 35, for vacationes we have *præstia vacationum*.

10. per commeatus. "On furlough." With *sparsa* and *vaga* we must supply *est*. M. has *quarta pars manipulis pauper commeatus*. The emendation is Pichena's. *dum*. "Provided that."

12. neque—pensi habebat. Translate "Nor did any one the least consider the way the burden pressed, nor the nature of the source from which payment was made." All that the centurions thought about was enriching themselves. They did not concern themselves with the way the payments pressed on the soldiers, or the means the soldiers took to meet the payments. *Pensi* is a genitive of price, literally "at any value;" cf. Ann. xiii. 15, "neque fas neque fidem pensi haberet." The phrase occurs in Sall. Cat. 12; Jug. 41, and often in Suetonius.

13. servilibus ministeriis. Such services as hewing wood and drawing water for private houses.

- 15 labore ac saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret. Ubi sumptibus exhaustus socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat; ac rursus alius atque alius eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti ad seditiones et discordias et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho, 20 ne volgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum promisit, rem haud dubie utilem et a bonis postea principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus, tanquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad caedem eius Otho praemiserat, confossus; in Marci- 25 anum Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum.

47. Exacto per scelera die-novissimum malorum fuit laetitia. Vocat senatum praetor urbanus; certant adulationibus ceteri magistratus. Adcurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores,

15. ubi sumptibus exhaustus. "When his means were exhausted, and he had been in addition demoralised by habits of idleness," contracted, that is, during his leave of absence from camp.

20. volgi largitione. "By an act of bounty to the common soldiers." *Volgi* is an objective genitive.

20. *fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum*. He commuted the payment for *vacationes* into an annual sum, to be paid to the centurions, and undertook that this should come out of the emperor's privy purse. Some editors have proposed to omit *suum* on the ground that *fiscus* is always used absolutely, but Tacitus here puts into oratio obliqua Otho's actual words *fiscus meus exsolvet*.

21. *rem haud dubie utilem*. On this accusative, see c. 44, note on line 13.

22. *perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam*. "Established as a fixed rule of the service."

23. *tanquam in insulam seponeretur*. "Under the pretence that he was being banished to an island." The soldier who was leading him away, professedly to banishment, killed him.

25. *ut in libertum*, i.e. Caesaris; see c. 13. It was the custom to employ these *liberti* in various offices connected with the court. Vitellius was the first to break through this custom. See below, c. 58, "ministeria principatus per liberos agi solita in equites Romanos disposuit." For the absolute use of *libertus*, see iv. 11, "Asiaticus, is enim libertus, malam

potentiam servili supplicio expiavit." Many of the editors alter *libertus* into *libertinus*, but needlessly; the freedmen of one emperor passed on as a matter of course to the next.

47. 2. *praetor urbanus*. As both consuls, Galba and Vinus, were dead, the duty of convening the senate would devolve on him. Cicero, ad Fam. x. 12, "placuit nobis, ut statim ad Cornutum praetorem urbanum litteras deferremus, qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum."

3. *decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas*. This was the most distinctive of the emperor's powers, as making his person inviolable, marking him as the representative of the people, and giving him the initiative in and control of legislation. Ann. i. 2, "Augustus consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum;" and Ann. iii. 56, "Tiberius mittit litteras ad senatum, quis potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia prae-mineret."

4. *nomen Augusti*. First assumed by Octavianus in accordance with a decree of the senate on Jan. 16, 27 B.C. Afterwards conferred on his successors. Vitellius at first declined it, ii. 90.

4. *omnes principum honores*. Such as that of being *pontifex maximus* and *imperator*.

adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quae promisce
iacta haesisse animo eius nemo sensit: omisisset offensas an
distulisset, brevitatem imperii in incerto fuit. Otho cruento
adhuc foro per stragem iacentium in Capitolium atque inde in
Palatium vectus concedi corpora sepulturae cremarique permisit.
Pisonem Verania uxor ac frater Scribonianus, Titum Vinium
Crispina filia composuere, quaesitis redemptisque capitibus,
quae venalia interfectores servaverant.

48. Piso unum et tricesimum aetatis annum explebat,
fama meliore quam fortuna. Fratres eius Magnum Claudius,
Crassum Nero interfecerant; ipse diu exul, quadriduo Caesar,
properata adoptione ad hoc tantum maiori fratri praelatus est,
ut prior occideretur. Titus Vinus quinquaginta septem annos
variis moribus egit. Pater illi praetoria familia, maternus avus
e proscriptis. Prima militia infamis legatum Calvisium Sabinum
habuerat, cuius uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum per
noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiae
munia eadem lascivia temerasset, in ipsis principiis stuprum
ausa; et criminis huius reus Titus Vinus arguebatur. Igitur
iussu G. Caesaris oneratus catenis, mox mutatione temporum

5. *adnitentibus cunctis abolere.* Cicero does not use *nitor* and its compounds with an infinitive, but Sallust and Caesar so use it.

9. *concedi corpora—permisit.* The bodies are those of Galba, Piso, and Vinus. *Permitto* is followed by an infinitive, iv. 22, "rapi permisere."

11. *quaesitis redemptisque capitibus.* Plut. Galb. 28, *ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον ἐτι χρῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν Οὐνίου τῇ θυγατρὶ δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀπέδοντο, τὴν δὲ Πιλοῦτος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Οὐερανία δαηθείσα.* For a subsequent account of Verania, see Plin. Epp. ii. 20.

48. 1. *explebat.* "Was on the point of completing."

2. *Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero.* Of Magnus's death no details, beyond the fact of it, are known. The other brother, Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, was accused by Regulus and put to death towards the end of Nero's reign; see iv. 42, and Plin. Epp. i. 5, 3.

4. *maiori fratri.* This was Crassus Scribonianus. He is mentioned in the last chapter as having buried his brother, and in iv. 39 as declining the overtures of Antonius Primus to make him emperor.

6. *maternus avus e proscriptis.* Dio, xlvii. 7, tells how a Titus Vinus proscribed by the triumvirs was saved by the cleverness and devotion of his wife, Tanusia. It is most probable that he was the maternal grandfather of T. Vinus, and that Titus Vinus had through adoption or in some other way taken his name.

7. *Calvisius Sabinus was consul under Tiberius, 26 A.D., Ann. iv. 46.* Caius was his praenomen. He was *legatus* of Pannonia under the emperor Caius. On his return from this command he and his wife were accused of the misconduct here mentioned and committed suicide, Dio, lix. 18.

10. *temerasset.* *Heracus templasset.* The Roman feeling against women taking any part in military affairs was very strong, see Ann. i. 69; ii. 55; iii. 33, so that Tacitus may well have used the strong word *temerasset*. He employs *intemerata* of a camp kept safe from mutiny, iv. 58, and *temerata* of the camp in Pannonia which had been disgraced by the mutiny of the legions, Ann. i. 30.

10. *in ipsis principiis.* The *principia*, where the eagle and standards, the gods of the legions, were kept, had a religious sanctity attaching to it.

dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso legioni post praeturam prae-
positus probatusque, servili deinceps probro respersus est,
15 tanquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus; et
Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari
iussit. Sed Vinio proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem severe
integreque rexit, mox Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus,
audax callidus promptus et, prout animum intendisset, prae-
20 aut industrius eadem vi. Testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine
opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.

49. Galbae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum
plurimis ludibriis vexatum dispensator Argius, e prioribus
servis, humili sepultura in privatis eius hortis contextit. Caput
per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque ante Patrobii
5 tumultum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat) postera
demum die repertum et cremato iam corpori admixtum est.
Hunc exitum habuit Servius Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis
quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus et alieno imperio
felicius quam suo. Vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes :
10 ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus.

13. *cursu honorum inoffenso*. "With an unbroken rise in office"—the quaestorship, the aedileship, the praetorship, the command of a legion, would be the regular course.

14. *servili probro—respersus est, tanquam*. *Tanquam* gives simply the substance of the charge without expressing any view whether it is true or false. The pilfering habits of slaves were a proverb, hence *servili probro*. It was quite like Claudius's humour to serve him with earthenware.

17. *proconsulatu* is corrected into *proconsul* by Muretus, into *proconsole* by Halm. Gallia Narbonensis was one of the senatorial provinces.

18. *in abruptum tractus*. "Dragged on the downward road." His position of influence with Galba was too much for his virtue. Others explain it, "raised to a dangerous height, to the edge of a precipice."

19. *praeus aut industrius eadem vi*. "Depraved or devoted to duty with the same force of character."

49. 2. *plurimis ludibriis vexatum*. "Exposed to many indignities from the license which night gives."

2. *dispensator Argius, e prioribus* (others *primoribus*) *servis*. If we read *prioribus*, it will mean that Argius was

one of Galba's slaves before he became emperor; if *primoribus*, it is a reference to the important post the *dispensator* or *olkovpos* filled. Plutarch calls him a freedman which, perhaps, gives some countenance to the reading *prioribus*. He gives his name as *Ἀργείος*.

3. *caput per lixas calonesque suffixum*. The *lixas* were camp followers who made a trade of selling things to the soldiers. *Calones* were soldiers' servants (for *caballones*). Suetonius, Galb. 20, says, "caput Galbae ille (Otho) lixis calonibusque donavit, qui hasta suffixum non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt."

4. *Patrobli*. He was one of the more infamous of Nero's freedmen, see ii. 95. Suetonius says that it had been bought from the sutlers by a freedman of Patrobis, and that he had thrown it away at the spot where his master had been killed.

8. *quinque principes—emensus*. "Having passed through the reigns of." The word is properly used of a journey which a man has completed. The five emperors were Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Nero.

10. *medium ingenium, magis extra vitia*. "Neutral," i.e. midway between virtue and vice. For *extra* in the sense of "free from," see Ag. 8, "extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat."

Famae nec incuriosus nec venditor; pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus, publicae avarus. Amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens, si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus. Sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui, ut quod segnitia erat sapientia 15 vocaretur. Dum vigeat aetas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit. Pro consule Africam moderate, iam senior citeriorem Hispaniam pari iustitia continuit, maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.

50. Trépidam urbem ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris simul veteres Othonis mores paventem novus insuper de Vitellio nuntius exterruit ante caedem Galbae suppressus, ut tantum superioris Germaniae exercitum descivisse crederetur. Tum duos omnium mortalium impudicitia ignavia luxuria deterrimos 5 velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed volgus

11. *famae—incuriosus*. "Indifferent to." *Famae* is probably a genitive, though Tacitus also uses *incuriosus* with the dative.

11. *pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus*. He is here copying Sall. Cat. v. 4, "alieni appetens, sui profusus."

13. *sine reprehensione patiens*. "Was blamelessly forbearing with."

13. *si mali forent*. *Forent* in Cicero is only used in a proper hypothetical clause. Here where the verb corresponds to *et* with the optative to express indefinite frequency he would have used *essent*.

14. *ignarus*. "Shutting his eyes to;" so Ann. xi. 13.

14. *sed claritas natalium et metus temporum*. The Sulpicii were one of the great families of Rome, and Galba was also descended from the Lutatian house. *Metus temporum*, "the fear the times inspired" when any eminence was marked out for destruction. Tacitus has accumulated instances in the *Annals*. For *natalium*, meaning descent, see Ag. 6, "splendidis natalibus ortum," and iv. 15, "claritate natalium insignis." For the sentiment, see Ag. 6, "gnarus sub Nerone temporum quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit."

16. *apud Germanias floruit*. Tacitus uses *apud* with the names of countries and cities, particularly in the *Annals*; the use is rare in earlier writers, Furn. Int. v. § 57. Galba was appointed after his first consulship commander in Germany by

Caius, and carried on war against the Chatti. He had command in Africa under Claudius, in Spain under Nero, Dio lx. 8; Suet. Galba 7, 8; Plut. G. 3. The estimate of his character is just and discriminating. He was a type of the better class of the Roman nobles of his day; harsh and cruel, but upright in a way, and a capable subordinate, though not equal to supreme command or the burden of empire.

50. 2. *paventem*. Sallust, Livy, Horace, and Tacitus, use this verb transitively; in Cicero it is always intransitive.

2. *novus insuper de Vitellio nuntius*. The news of the revolt of the 4th and 22d legions in Upper Germany had reached Rome before Piso's adoption, and had been alluded to by Galba in his speech to the praetorians, c. 16; but no certain tidings had yet come about Vitellius's attitude or the disposition of the troops in Lower Germany; c. 14, "quanquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum."

4. *exercitum descivisse crederetur*. It is difficult to make out from M. whether *um* or *us* is the reading intended; either construction can be paralleled in Tacitus. The impersonal use, Ann. ii. 69, "quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari;" the personal use, c. 78, "creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse."

7. *quis aliqua pars—volgus* quoque. For this disparaging way of speaking of the populace and their want of

quoque palam maerere. Nec iam recentia saevae pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis
 10 exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italiae, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladum nomina, loquebantur. Prope eversum orbem, etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur; sed mansisse G. Iulio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium; mansuram
 15 fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam. Nunc pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templa ituros? utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos, quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset. Erant qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur, et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita
 20 bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.

51. Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Caeso cum omnibus copiis Iulio Vindice ferox praeda gloriaque

interest in public affairs, see *infra*, c. 89, "curarum communium expers populus," and iv. 48, "volgum alimenta in dies mercari solitum, cui una ex republica annonae cura."

8. *saevae pacis*. "A bloodstained peace;" compare the description of the period as "saeculum ipsa pace saevum," c. 2.

11. *Pharsallam, Philippos, et Perusiam ac Mutinam*. These were the most noted battles of the civil wars, but they are not given in their historical order. Pharsalia was fought between Caesar and Pompey, B.C. 48; Philippi between Octavianus and Brutus and Cassius, B.C. 42; Perusia between Octavianus and L. Antonius, brother of Marcus, B.C. 41; Mutina between Hirtius and Pansa and Antonius, B.C. 43.

14. *imperium—rem publicam*. For this use of the words as almost equivalent to empire and republic, see above, c. 16, 1, 2. The view that Pompey, if victorious, would have restored the Republic is, to say the least, problematical.

16. *ituros*. The regular acc. with the infinitive in rhetorical questions in the 1st and 3d persons in oratio obliqua, as in ii. 48; iii. 75. The future is used to represent the future of oratio recta = "shall we go?"

17. *inter duos*. "When the choice lies between two" = *cum duo essent*.

quorum bello = "in a war between whom."

18. *Vespasianum—augurarentur*. "Talked darkly of Vespasian and the armies of the East," *i.e.* that which Vespasian commanded in Judaea and the forces of Syria under Mucianus. *ut—ita* = "though, still." The second clause, as Madvig points out, is used to limit and qualify the first, § 444, *obs.* 3.

20. *ambigua de Vespasiano fama*. "Vespasian had but a doubtful repute." His conduct in Africa had given grave grounds for apprehension, "proconsulatum famosum invisumque Vespasianus egerat," ii. 97.

21. *omnium ante se principum*. This is an imitation of a Greek construction, and illogical, like Milton's phrase, "fairest of her daughters, Eve." We might turn it, "in contrast to all his predecessors on the throne, he alone changed for the better." Ausonius (Tetrast. 16) has put the sentiment into verse, "olim qui dubiam privato in tempore famam, rarum aliis princeps transtulit in melius."

51. 1. *expediam*. Poetical and Vergilian for *exponam*, Georg. iv. 150; often in Tacitus.

2. *caeso cum—Iulio Vindice*. For Vindex and the suppression of his revolt, see c. 6, note on line 13.

2. *ferox*. "Elated by." So iii. 77, "secundis ferox."

exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem, praemia quam stipendia malebat. Diu infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverant ingenio loci caelique et severitate disciplinae, quam in pace inexorabilem discordiae civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia impunita. Viri arma equi ad usum et ad decus supererant. Sed ante bellum centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant; exercitus finibus provinciarum discernebantur. Tum adversus Vindicem contractae legiones seque et Gallias expertae quaerere rursus arma novasque discordias; nec socios, ut olim, sed hostes et victos vocabant. Nec deerat pars Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem partes secuta ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversum Galbianos: hoc enim nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant. Igitur Sequanis Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatium hauserunt animo, super avaritiam et arrogantiam, praecipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et publice donatos in

4. *expeditionem et aciem.* We must supply *cupiebat* from *malebat*. Heraeus would alter this into *expeditionum feracium* dependent on *praemia*; but there is not sufficient justification for the change. We have several references in Tacitus to the supposed wealth of the Gallic provinces; see especially iv. 17, note on line 27.

5. *Ingenio loci caelique.* Cf. ii. 80, "Germanica hiberna caelo ac laboribus dura." *Ingenium* is used for the "character" of inanimate objects only by Sallust and later writers.

8. *ad usum et ad decus supererant.* "Had in abundance for use and for show." He says below, c. 57, that they had belts and trappings, and their arms gaily adorned with silver. Ritter suggests *dedecus*, but the expression that they had abundance of arms to disgrace themselves with would be very harsh even in Tacitus. For *superesse*, in the sense of "to have in abundance," see Ann. xiv. 54, "superest tibi robur."

9. *ante bellum—discernebantur,* i.e. before the war with Vindex the two armies of Upper and Lower Germany were kept separate by being confined within the limits of their respective provinces. For the effect which the isolation of the various armies had in promoting discipline and good order see above, c. 9, "sed

longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem, nec vitii nec viribus miscebantur."

12. *seque et Gallias expertae.* "And had learnt their own power and that of the Gauls," i.e. their own superiority to the Gauls. For this use of *que et = re kal*, see iv. 34; Ann. i. 34.

14. *neo deerat.* Translate "That part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine was not behindhand in espousing the same cause, and in acting at that time as their most energetic instigators against the Galbians." We have an exactly parallel construction above, c. 23, "nec deerat Ptolemaeus—instinctor." The Lingones, Remi, and Treveri were the three chief Gallic tribes in the quarter referred to. The Sequani are in Franche Comté round Besançon, the Aedui are their neighbours round Autun.

17. *ac deinde* = almost *ac reliquis*.

19. *hauserunt animo.* "They filled their imagination with." The phrase is Vergilian, Aen. x. 648, "animo spem turbidus hausit inanem."

21. *et publice donatos.* "Had been rewarded as a state," *publice* being in opposition to *privatim*; so c. 66, "publice tamen armis multati." This most likely refers to the present which Galba

ignominiam exercitus iactabant. Accessit callide volgatum, temere creditum decumari legiones et promptissimum quemque centurionum dimitti. Undique atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe
 25 fama; infensa Lugdunensis colonia et pertinaci pro Nerone fide fecunda rumoribus. Sed plurima ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris odio metu et, ubi vires suas respexerant, securitate.

52. Sub ipsas superioris anni kalendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius inferiorem Germaniam ingressus hiberna legionum cum cura adierat. Redditi plerisque ordines, remissa ignominia, adlevatae notae; plura ambitione, quaedam iudicio, in quibus
 5 sordes et avaritiam Fonteï Capitonis adimendis adsignandisque militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat. Nec consularis legati mensura, sed in maius omnia accipiebantur. Et ut Vitellius

had made them of lands which he had taken from the Lingones and Treveri, see below, c. 53. There may be also a reference to the bestowal of Roman citizenship, mentioned in c. 8. *in ignominiam exercitus iactabant*. These words should be taken closely together: "they boasted by way of casting a slur on the army."

22. *callide volgatum, temere creditum*. The neuter participle is used as nominative to the verb again in G. 31, "*aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro apud Chattos in consensum vertit*."

23. *promptissimum quemque*. "All the most energetic;" so Ag. 3, "*promptissimus quisque servitii principis intercedit*."

25. *infensa—rumoribus*. These words are somewhat ambiguous. They may mean either "Lyons was hostile, and from the constancy of its attachment to Nero was prolific in rumours," or "the hostility of Lyons and its steady loyalty to Nero made it prolific in rumours." The first is to be preferred. Lyons was devoted to Nero because he had contributed 4,000,000 sesterces towards the cost of rebuilding the town when it was burnt down, Ann. xvi. 13. *pro Nerone*. Tacitus is fond of this use of *pro*; see c. 70, "*pro Othone fides*."

27. *et—securitate*. *Et* after an asyndeton marks a contrast and a climax.

52. 1. *superioris anni, i.e. 68 A.D.*, so that he had been now in the province for just a month.

2. *inferiorem Germaniam*. Lower Germany was the more northern province,

that lower down the Rhine. It included what is now Belgium and part of Holland, Luxemburg, and the country round Cologne. The boundary between it and Upper Germany was between Andernach and Remagen, near Brohl, so that Coblenz and Bingen fell to the upper, Bonn and Cologne to the lower province.

2. *hiberna—adlerat*. "Had made a careful inspection of the winter quarters of the legions." The winter quarters were in the principal towns of the province, the troops being either quartered on the inhabitants or having barracks erected for them. The chief camp and military capital of the whole district was *Vetera Castra*, near Wesel, on the Rhine.

3. *redditi ordines, remissa ignominia, adlevatae notae*. These represent the three chief forms of military punishment: degradation or loss of rank, discharge for bad conduct, different brands of infamy, such as inferior rations, loss of uniform, bad-conduct badges, out-post duty, etc.

4. *plura ambitione—mutaverat*. Translate "He acted chiefly with a view to curry favour, sometimes with judgment, in cases where he had honestly departed from the avarice and meanness which had characterised Capito's conduct in assigning or suspending military rank." *sordes* is to be preferred to *sordem* as a correction of the reading of M., *sorde*, for though the singular is sometimes found, it is never used in a metaphorical sense.

7. *mensura*. May be either the nominative, in which case we must supply *erat*, or more probably the ablative, in

apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditate imperandi ipsa vitia pro virtutibus inter-¹⁰pretabantur. Multi in utroque exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui. Sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum Alienus Caecina et Fabius Valens; e quibus Valens infensus Galbae, tanquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa Capitonis consilia ingratis tulisset,¹⁵ instigare Vitellium ardorem militum ostentans: ipsum celebri ubique fama, nullam in Flacco Hordeonio moram; adfore Britanniam, secutura Germanorum auxilia; male fidas provincias, precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum. Panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae occurreret. Merito²⁰ dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre, inparem, si recepisset imperium, tutum, si recusasset. Vitellio tres patris

which case it must be coupled with *accipiebantur*.

8. *apud severos humilis* = "demeaned himself in the judgment of the stern." Notice how completely *humilis* is used by Tacitus as a term of censure. Suetonius gives as instances of the way in which he demeaned himself his kissing and being hail-fellow-well-met with all the common soldiers and even the muleteers.

8. *bonitatemque*. "Good-heartedness," "liberality." He showed this in what follows, squandering his own property, and scattering broadcast the state funds he had to administer.

10. *aviditate imperandi*. This is the reading of M., but, as it can hardly mean "in their greed to exercise power which the sluggishness of Vitellius, if made emperor, would enable them to exercise," various emendations have been suggested. Nipperdey suggests *imperi dandi*, and is followed by Heraeus. Meiser, with less probability, *ei parendi*.

11. *multū*. Note the force gained by the emphatic position of this word. Many as were the loyal and quiet in either army, there were as many ill-disposed and restless.

13. *legati legionum*. Valens was *legatus legionis* (probably of the fourth legion) in the lower, Caecina (legate of the first legion) in the upper province. The office of *legatus legionis* was generally held just after the praetorship, sometimes before it. The *legati legionum* acted also as vicegerents in the province under the *legatus Augusti*.

14. *tanquam — ingratis tulisset*.

"On the ground that he had showed no gratitude for his detection of Verginius's hesitation, or his suppression of Capito's designs." It would appear from this that Valens had divulged to Galba Verginius's hesitation. Verginius had hesitated whether he should seize the empire himself or hand it over to Galba. Valens had caused Capito to be slain without orders from Galba (see c. 7).

17. *nullam — moram*. "No ground for hesitating in Hordeonius Flaccus." He was the legate of Upper Germany, and had no energy or authority. For the use of *mora*, see c. 59, "nec in Raeticis copiis mora."

18. *Germanorum auxilia*, i.e. the cis-Rhenane Germans. These were a powerful body, particularly the Batavian cohorts.

19. *precarium seni imperium*. *Preca-rium* is thus defined by Ulpian, Dig. xliii. 26, 1, "preca-rium est quod precibus petenti utendum conceditur tamdiu quamdiu is, qui concessit, patitur." The soldiers had given Galba his throne; the soldiers might take it away again.

19. *panderet modo sinum*. "Let him only open his arms and clasp the fortune which is coming to him." The metaphor is that of catching it in his outspread toga, not of spreading his sails for it.

22. *tres patris consulatus*. He had been consul in 34 A.D. with Paulus Fabius Persicus; and again in 43 A.D. and 46 A.D., being on these two latter

consulatus, censuram, collegium Caesaris et inponere iam pridem imperatoris dignationem et auferre privati securitatem.

53. Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut concupisceret magis quam ut speraret. At in superiore Germania Caecina decorus iuventa, corpore ingens, animi inmodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu studia militum inllexerat. Hunc iuvenem Galba, quaestorem in Baetica inpigre in partes suas transgressum, legioni praeposuit; mox compertum publicam pecuniam avertisse ut peculatorem flagitari iussit. Caecina aegre passus miscere cuncta et privata volnera rei publicae malis operire statuit. Nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiae, quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat nec nisi occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam atque in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat. Et Treveri ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur; unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus.

54. Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legioni-bus dextras, hospitii insigne. Legati eorum in squalorem

occasions Claudius's colleague. He was also Claudius's colleague in the censorship, Suet. Vit. c. 2.

53. 3. *corpore ingens* is a variation for the more usual *ingenti corpore*, so Ann. xiii. 8. *animi inmodicus*. This genitive is confined to later prose writers and to the poets. We have, ii. 23, "promptus animi;" see Madvig, § 290, *obs.* 9.

3. *scito sermone*. Corrected for *cito* in M. Cicero, de Nat. Deorum i. 93, has "scito sermone et Attico."

5. *Baetica* was the senatorial province in Southern Spain. Galba was himself in command of the Tarraconensis.

6. *mox—iussit*. "He afterwards discovered that he was guilty of peculation, and ordered him to be impeached." ut *peculatorem*. He would be tried under the *Lex Iulia de peculatu*. *avertisse*, like the Greek *νοσφισθα*. *compertum* is the accusative before *flagitari*. *Flagitari* is like *postulari*.

9. *discordiae*. "Mutiny;" cf. below, c. 60, "eoque discordiae ventum." The adjective *discors* is used for "mutinous."

12. *vexillis—praeventus erat*. "Had been anticipated by the detachments of Lower Germany," *i.e.* they had taken the

oath to Galba before them. *Prævenio* is used transitively, Ann. xiv. 7, "nisi præveniretur Agrippina." See Ov. Trist. v. 4, 32, "quod non præventum morte fuisse dolet." For *vexillum*, see i. 36.

12. *Treveri*. The Gauls round Trèves.

13. *Lingones*. Those round Langres and Dijon.

14. *propius miscentur*. "Mingle more freely with," as would naturally be the case when in their winter cantonments the legions were quartered in their midst.

15. *inter paganos*. Nearly = civil-ians; so ii. 14, 88. In Dig. xiv. Tit. 2, "si miles, dum paganus erat, fecerit testamentum," etc. This refers to a rather later date, when recruiting went on more freely in the provinces. With *profuturus* we must supply *erat*. For the use of *cuicumque*, see above, c. 11, "Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessura erat."

54. 1. *civitas Lingonum*. The name of the capital, not the canton at large, now Langres. *Civitas* is used not unfrequently in Tacitus for a town, see chaps. 63, 64, etc.

2. *dextras, hospitii insigne*. These *dextrae* were generally made in silver,

maestitiamque compositi per principia per contubernia modo suas iniurias modo vicinarum civitatum praemia et, ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes accendebant animos. Nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus abire legatos, utque occultior digressus esset, nocte castris excedere iubet. Inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque interfectos ac, nisi ipsi consulerent, fore ut acerrimi militum et praesentia conquesti per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur. Obstringuntur inter se tacito foedere legiones; adsciscitur auxiliorum miles, primo suspectus, tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens, faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.

55. Inferioris tamen Germaniae legiones sollemni kalendarum Ianuariarum sacramento pro Galba adactae, multa cunctatione et raris primorum ordinum vocibus, ceteri silentio proximi cuiusque audaciam expetantes, insita mortalibus natura propere sequi quae piget inchoare. Sed ipsis legionibus inerat diversitas animorum. Primani quintanique turbidi adeo, ut quidam saxa in Galbae imagines iecerint: quinta decuma ac sexta decuma legiones nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausae

sometimes in bronze; they are often represented on coins. We have below, ii. 8, "dextras concordiae insignia."

3. *per principia, per contubernia*. The officers' quarters and the soldiers' tents.

9. *ac nisi ipsi consulerent*. If this, the reading of M., be adopted, *consulerent* must be used absolutely = "were on their guard;" but as this absolute use is hardly found elsewhere, Heraeus, following Halm, would read *sibi ipsi*, and quotes Ann. i. 48, "*si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent*."

11. *per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum* = "under cover of the darkness and taking advantage of the ignorance of the rest." This use of *per* with two different words in two different senses is thoroughly Tacitean. Cf. ii. 88, "*cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant*." For *per inscitiam*, see ii. 88.

13. *tanquam—alisque*. The cohorts were the infantry, the *alae* were the horse, of the allies. It appears from the present passage and elsewhere that the

allies were stationed outside the regular camp:

14. *mox eadem acrius volvens*. "Afterwards sharing in their designs with special zeal." For this use of *volvens*, see Verg. Aen. i. 305, "*per noctem plurima volvens*;" and below, c. 64, "*bellum volvebat*."

55. 1. *sollemni kal. Ianuar. sacramento adactae*. It had become usual ever since Tiberius's time for the legions to take afresh each year on the 1st of January their oath of allegiance to the reigning emperor. For the phrase *sacramento adigere*, see Ann. i. 37, "*Germanicus legiones sacramento adigit*."

3. *primorum ordinum* here seems to mean the leading tribunes and centurions; each tribune swore in his own men.

6. *primani quintanique*. The 1st legion was quartered at Bonn, which belonged to the lower province, iv. 25; the 5th at Vetera, iv. 35; the 15th also at Vetera, iv. 35; the 16th at Novesium, iv. 26, (Neuss) considerably nearer Cologne.

initium erumpendi circumspectabant. At in superiore exercitu
 10 quarta ac duoetvicesima legiones isdem hibernis tendentes ipso
 kalendarum Ianuariarum die dirumpunt imagines Galbae, quarta
 legio promptius, duoetvicesima cunctanter, mox consensu.
 Ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus populique
 Romani oblitterata iam nomina sacramento advocabant, nullo
 15 legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitente, quibusdam, ut in
 tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. Non tamen quisquam in
 modum contionis aut suggestu locutus: neque enim erat adhuc
 cui inputeretur.

56. Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus
 aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non
 cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis pavidus et socordia innocens.
 Quattuor centuriones duoetvicesimae legionis, Nonius Receptus,
 5 Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus,
 cum protegerent Galbae imagines, impetu militum abrepti
 vinctique. Nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacra-
 menti, sed quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant,
 omnes fuere.

10 Nocte quae kalendas Ianuarias secuta est in coloniam
 Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio
 nuntiat quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones proiectis Galbae
 imaginibus in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse. Id
 sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam et

10. quarta ac duoetvicesima legiones isdem hibernis tendentes. They were quartered, both of them, at Mogontiacum or Mainz, iv. 24, 37, 59.

11. dirumpunt imagines Galbae. This they would do with the picks with which every Roman soldier was equipped.

14. oblitterata iam nomina. "The now long disused names," so long disused that they had become meaningless.

15. ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. *Notabilius turbantibus*, so Ann. i. 65, "making themselves conspicuous for uproar." *Ut=ut fieri solet in tumultu*.

16. in modum contionis aut suggestu locutus="addressed them in a formal harangue or from the raised platform." Many editors have inserted *pro*, *e*, or *de* before *suggestu*, but Tacitus delights in this absolute use of the ablative. For the *suggestus* in the camp, see Ann. i. 44, and above, c. 36.

18. cui inputeretur. "On whom a claim could be established;" see above, c. 38; iii. 86.

56. 1. consularis legatus. The legates might be either *consulares* or *praetorii*.

2. ruentes. "Rushing blindly on into mutiny;" so Liv. iii. 11, "accusator pati reum ruere."

4. duoetvicesimae legionis. Quartered, as we saw in the last chapter, at Mainz.

7. ultra. "Any longer." So Ann. i. 17, "ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur prioris sacramenti." They no longer remembered the oath they had taken to Galba after Nero's death.

8. unde. "On the side on which."

10. in coloniam Agrippinensem. To this Cologne, formerly Ara Ubiorum, had its name changed in the year 50 A.D. in honour of Agrippina, Ann. xii. 27.

offerri principem placuit. Missi a Vitellio ad legiones lega- 15
tosque, qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum nuntiarent :
proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes aut, si concordia
et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem ; et minore discrimine
sumi principem quam quaeri.

57. Proxima legionis primae hiberna erant et promptissimus
e legatis Fabius Valens. Is die proximo coloniam Agrippi-
nensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus
imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit. Secutae ingenti certamine
eiusdem provinciae legiones ; et superior exercitus speciosis 5
senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis tertium nonas
Ianuarias Vitellio accessit : scires illum priore biduo non
penes rem publicam fuisse. Ardorem exercituum Agrippi-
nenses Treveri Lingones aequabant auxilia equos arma pecuniam
offerentes, ut quisque corpore opibus ingenio validus. Nec 10
principes modo coloniarum aut castrorum, quibus praesentia ex
affluenti et partâ victoriâ magnae spes, sed manipuli quoque et
gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos phalerasque, insignia
armorum argento decora, loco pecuniae tradebant instinctu
et impetu et avaritia. 15

15. ad legiones legatosque, *i.e.* those of Lower Germany where Vitellius was in command.

18. et minore discrimine. The emphatic position of these words marks them as the virtual predicate of the sentence. "There is less risk in taking an emperor (already found) than in looking for one." So we have, Ann. i. 18, "leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis."

57. 1. proxima legionis primae hiberna. They were at Bonn, which belonged to the lower province ; iv. 25, "Bonnâ hiberna primae legionis." Valens would seem to have been legate of the first legion.

3. cum equitibus legionis. To each legion there was a small force of Roman cavalry attached, distinct from the auxiliary cavalry ; it was these he took with him. *ingressus* has been rightly substituted for *gressus*, the reading of M.

6. tertium nonas Ianuarias, *i.e.* on the 3d of January.

7. non penes rem publicam fuisse. Had not been "in the power of" "loyal to" the Republic as distinct from the Empire.

9. auxilia. "Personal services." The

plural is used, because many different people make each the offer of their services. See Madvig, § 50, *obs.* 3.

10. ingenio. "In resource," or "inventiveness." By the *principes castrorum* we must understand *praefecti castrorum*, *tribuni*, etc. Others understand *castrorum* as equivalent to castles, fortified places ; but this is unlikely.

11. quibus praesentia ex affluenti. "Who had resources in abundance and to spare." *Ex affluenti* is imitated from the Greek *ἐκ περισσοῦ*. Tacitus also uses *ex facili* as an adverb, iii. 49.

13. viatica sua. "Their ready money." So Ann. i. 37, "contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia." The soldiers' belts, by which their swords were hung, were often adorned with silver knobs. The *phalerae* were silver ornaments or medals, hung generally on the breast.

14. instinctu et impetu et avaritia. *Instinctu* may, as Orelli contended, refer to promptings from without ; *impetu*, enthusiasm from within ; but it seems more probable that the two terms are nearly synonymous, excitement and enthusiasm. So, ii. 46, we have "furor quodam et instinctu ;" and Ann. xiv. 16, "impetu

58. Igitur laudata militum alacritate Vitellius ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit; vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat; saevitiam militum plerosque ad poenam exposcentium saepius adprobat, raro
 5 simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus procurator Belgicae statim interfectus; Iulium Burdonem Germanicae classis praefectum astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus, tanquam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. Grata erat memoria Capitonis; et apud
 10 saevientes occidere palam, ignoscere non nisi fallendo licebat. Ita in custodia habitus et post victoriam demum stratis iam militum odiis dimissus est. Interim ut piaculum obicitur centurio Crispinus; sanguine Capitonis *se* cruentaverat eoque et postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit.

59. Iulius deinde Civilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio eius ferox gens alienaretur. Et erant in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione
 5 digressae, prout inclinassent, grande momentum sociae aut

et instinctu," where it is not a case of promptings from without. With these, in any case, *avaritia* is contrasted, the secret hopes they entertained of future recompense.

58. 1. *ministeria principatus*. "Services in the imperial household," such offices as that of Lord Chamberlain, keeper of the emperor's accounts, private secretary. These offices, at first regarded as mere posts in the household, and so unfit for a free Roman, grew, like the office of Lord Chamberlain or Chancellor under our own kings, naturally enough into great offices of state. The custom, however, of employing Roman knights for them did not become usual till the time of Hadrian; at least Spartian says that that emperor was the first to employ knights in this capacity.

3. *vacationes*. The price paid by the soldiers to the centurions for exemption from duty. On these, see above, c. 46.

5. *Pompeius Propinquus*. For him see c. 12, note 1.

6. *Germanicae classis praefectum*. This was the flotilla kept on the Rhine. See Ann. i. 45.

11. *stratis*. M. reads *statis*, which is impossible; Heraeus, following Döder-

lein, *sedatis*. Orelli reads *stratis*, and quotes Stat. Silv. ii. 5, 1, "quid tibi constata mansuescere profuit ira?"

14. *et punienti villor fuit*. "And it cost Vitellius less to punish such a man."

59. 1. *Iulius deinde Civilis*. According to the reading of M. in iv. 13 his name was Claudius Civilis. But Plutarch speaks of him also as Julius Civilis. Ryckius thinks that he may have had both names, Julius and Claudius, as the provincials sometimes took two gentile names.

3. *quartae decimae legionis auxilia*. Every Roman legion had at this time auxiliary forces attached to it. Nero had summoned this legion into Italy to serve against Vindex, ii. 11; ii. 66. By Galba it was sent into Dalmatia, but after the battle of Bedriacum it was determined to send it back to Britain. Its auxiliary cohorts seem to have been left among the Lingones on its march south. Its full title was *Gemina Martia Victrix*.

5. *prout inclinassent*. The pluperfect is used, since their weight would be felt only when they had made up their mind for one side or the other. *grande momentum*. Lipsius quotes Lucan, iv. 819, "momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum."

adversae. Nonium, Donatium, Romilium, Calpurnium centuriones, de quibus supra rettulimus, occidi iussit, damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes. Accessere partibus Valerius Asiaticus Belgicae provinciae legatus, quem mox Vitellius generum adscivit, et Iunius Blaesus Lugdunensis Galliae rector cum Italica legione et ala Tauriana Lugduni tendentibus. Nec in Raeticis copiis mora, quo minus statim adiungerentur. Ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum.

60. Praeerat Trebellius Maximus per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium eius Roscius Caelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Caelio, spoliatus et inopes legiones Caelius Trebellio objectabat, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Caelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. Quies provinciae quanquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares iure, Caelius audendo potentior.

61. Adiuncto Britannico exercitu ingens viribus opibusque

7. de quibus supra rettulimus in c. 56.

9. Valerius Asiaticus was very likely the son of the Valerius Asiaticus mentioned Ann. xi. 1, 2, who was put to death by Claudius at the prompting of Messalina.

10. Iunius Blaesus. The son of one of the two Blaesi, whose suicide is recorded in Ann. vi. 40. For him, see H. ii. 59; iii. 38 and 39.

11. Italica legione, i.e. the *prima Italica*, see below, c. 64.

11. ala Tauriana. Its name is found in inscriptions. It was probably named, like most of the *alae*, after the man who originally raised it, perhaps Statilius Taurus, mentioned in Ann. xii. 59.

12. In Raeticis copiis, i.e. the forces occupying Eastern Switzerland and the Tyrol. Raetia was an imperial province.

60. 1. Trebellius Maximus. We have a rather fuller and a slightly different account of him in Ag. 16, where he is described as "segnis et nullis castrorum experimentis." He had been *consul suffectus* with Annaeus Seneca in 56 A.D., and afterwards had been engaged in settling questions connected with the census in Gaul, Ann. xiv. 46. He succeeded

Petronius Turpilianus in Britain. For his subsequent flight, see ii. 65.

1. per avaritiam. The more classical expression would be *propter*.

3. Roscius Caelius. Described in Ag. 7, as *prædiorius*; he was Agricola's predecessor in command of the 20th legion.

3. olim is often used by Tacitus for a long but indefinite period of time. See Ann. i. 3.

5. confusum ordinem disciplinae = "the general ruin of discipline."

6. cum interim is used with the indicative when it is used simply to connect an event or relation with a time or circumstance previously mentioned, Madvig, § 358, *obs.* 1.

11. quanquam remoto consulari. So again, ii. 86. *rexere* is used absolutely.

61. 1. adiuncto Britannico exercitu. Tacitus does not, except indirectly at the end of c. 59, record that the legions of the British army joined Vitellius. That they did so, however, appears from the present chapter, and also from the mention of detachments of the 9th, 2d, and 20th regiments as present at Bedriacum, and from Vitellius sending Vettius Bolanus, ii. 56, to succeed Trebellius.

Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens allicere vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere, Caecina propiore transitu Poeninis iugis
 5 degredi iussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi cum aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque ad quadraginta milia armatorum data; triginta milia Caecina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio unaetvicensima fuit. Addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas quoque
 10 copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus.

62. Mira inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas. Instare miles, arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae cunctentur: non obstare hiemem neque ignavae pacis moras; invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem; nihil in discordiis
 5 civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset. Torpebat Vitellius et fortunam principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis praesumebat, medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis, cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultro ducis
 10 munia implebat, ut si adesset imperator et strenuis vel ignavis spem metumve adderet. Instructi intentique signum profec- tionis exposcunt. Nomen Germanici Vitellio statim additum: Caesarem se appellari etiam victor prohibuit. Laetum augurium

1. *ingens viribus opibusque*. *Opes* is quite a general term, used to denote military resources of all kinds, men and ships as well as money. Cf. Ann. i. 11.

3. *Cottianis Alpibus*. The Cottian Alps separate Dauphiné from Piedmont, and include Mt. Cenis and Mt. Genève. Pompey had constructed a military road over the latter pass. This was improved by Augustus.

4. *Poeninis iugis*. The route lay through Switzerland and over the Great St. Bernard, which leads from Martigny to Aosta. Here, too, Augustus had made a military road.

5. *cum aquila quintae legionis*. The eagle implies that the headquarters, and so the main bulk of the legion, were taken. The legion came from Vetera, where a depot seems still to have been left, iv. 35.

8. *legio unaetvicensima*. This legion had its headquarters at Vindonissa (Windisch) in Switzerland. It was called Rapax.

62. 2. *dum Galliae trepident, cunctentur*. The subjunctives are used partly because of the oratio obliqua, partly because *dum* has a causal sense.

3. *neque ignavae pacis moras*. This seems to mean "those delays which are suitable in easy-going peace." The genitive is a descriptive genitive. The phrase has reference to Vitellius's sluggishness. *et sagina gravis*. Cf. ii. 71, "luxu et saginae manipatus emptusque."

5. *ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset*. The imperfect generalises the remark. The phrase itself is copied from Sallust, Cat. 43, 3.

7. *medio diei*. Tacitus is fond of this temporal ablative; see below, iii. 11, and elsewhere.

8. *cum tamen* with the indicative occurs also in Cicero and Verg. Aen. x. 509, "haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem auferit, cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos." For the sense, see on *cum interim*, c. 60, note to line 6.

11. *nomen Germanici Vitellio statim additum*. The title occurs on his coins, e.g. Aul. Vitellius Imp. German.; Aul. Vitellius German. Imp. Aug. Tr. Pl. 17

12. *Caesarem se appellari—prohibuit*. The title, found on no Latin coin, occurs on some Eastern coins; e.g. a Greek coin from Egypt has 'Ἰλου Οὐρελλ' Καὶ Σὲβ Τερμ'. For *prohibuit* with the

Fabio Valenti exercituique, quem in bellum agebat, ipso perfectionis die aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viae praevolavit; longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.

63. Et Treveros quidem, ut socios, securi adiere. Divoduri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) quanquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis repente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine, set furore et rabie et causis incertis eoque difficilioribus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab excidio civitatis temperavere: caesa tamen ad quattuor milia hominum. Isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias feminis puerisque, quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur.

infinitive, see Ann. i. 69, "ni Agrippina pontem solvi prohibuisset."

12. *laetum augurium*. A nominative in apposition to the sentence. Such a nom. stands sometimes first, sometimes last, sometimes as a parenthesis.

14. *leni meatu*. *Meatus* is a poetical word for the quiet, equable flight of a bird, so used in Ann. vi. 28, "ubi par oneri par meatui sit." *Leni* is a correction for *levi* of M. prout retains here its proper sense of "in proportion as" the army advanced on its march.

63. 1. *et Treveros quidem*. The *et quidem* carries on the thought contained in the words *magnae et prosperae rei omen* of the last chapter. They advanced along the line of the Moselle to Trèves, and followed the stream on to Divodurum or Metz, the modern name of the town being derived from the Mediomatrici, whose capital it was.

3. *exceptos*. For this use, cf. Hor. Sat. i. 5, 1, "egressum magna me excepti Aricia Roma hospitio modico."

3. *raptis repente armis*. The general rule for the ablative absolute is that the action expressed by it should refer to the subject of the sentence. In the present instance this is not the case, and so Heraeus would put a full stop at *terrui*, and insert *eunt* after *rabie*. Such a considerable change seems scarcely, however, necessary, as *subitus pavor terruit* is nearly equivalent to *subito pavore territi sunt*. M. has *raptisae*,

altered by Gronovius into *raptis derrepente*, but as *derrepente* is not elsewhere found in Tacitus it seems better to regard the final *ae* in *raptisae* as having originated in a careless repetition by the scribe of the first syllable of *re*. For *pavor terruit*, see Ann. xiv. 8, "terrore . . . exterriti."

5. *causis incertis eoque difficilioribus remediis*. The sense is quite clear, the construction is open to a possible doubt: (1) both clauses may be ablatives absolute, and this is more likely; or (2) the second ablative may be an ablative descriptive of the character of the causes, "causes which were uncertain and for that reason more difficult of remedy."

6. *temperavere*. "They abstained from." For this absolute use of the word, cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 6, "quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis;" Also Caes. B. G. i. 7, "neque homines inimico animo temperatos ab iniuria et maleficio existimabat."

8. *cum magistratibus et precibus*. A somewhat forced conjunction, but it has a parallel in other passages of Tacitus, e.g. ii. 3, "precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur;" ii. 88, "cum terrore et armorum catervis volitabant."

10. *quaeque alia placamenta*. These words are somewhat loosely connected with the preceding ablative absolute. The editors compare ii. 4, "Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum, quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navi-

64. Nuntium de caede Galbae et imperio Othonis Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum accepit. Nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidine permotus: bellumolvebat. Gallis cunctatio exempta et in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex
 5 Vitellio et metus. Proxima Lingonum civitas erat fida partibus. Benigne excepti modestia certavere. Sed brevis laetitia fuit cohortium intemperie, quas a legione quarta decima, ut supra memoravimus, digressas exercitui suo Fabius Valens adiunxerat. Iurgia primum, mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his
 10 aut illis studia militum adgregantur, prope in praelium exarsere, ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitos iam Batavos imperii admonuisset. Frustra adversus Aeduos quaesita belli causa: iussi pecuniam atque arma deferre gratuitos insuper commeatus praebuere. Quod Aedui formidine, Lugdunenses gaudio fecere.
 15 Sed legio Italica et ala Tauriana abductae: cohortem duodevicesimam Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis, relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis, quanquam bene de partibus meritis, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit: secretis eum crimina-

gatione primum consuluit." We might, perhaps, render it, "while there were presented to them (*tendebantur*) all those other means of appeasing an enemy's rage, intended to secure peace though there was no actual war." Garlands, ribbons, out-stretched hands are the *placamenta* referred to.

64. 2. in civitate Leucorum. The neighbourhood of Toul, somewhat further up the Moselle than Metz.

3. in gaudium aut formidine permotus. Tacitus is fond of thus varying the expression. Cf. c. 20, "per artem et formidine;" in the last chapter, "non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine."

5. proxima Lingonum civitas erat, i.e. as he continued his march southward. The Lingones are situated between the head waters of the Moselle and the Saône (Aris).

6. benigne—certavere. Translate "being courteously entertained they rivalled by their good discipline the good-will of the townsfolk."

7. cohortium intemperie. The cohorts are those of the Batavians mentioned in c. 59. *Intemperies* is a comparatively rare and late word, and not often employed metaphorically, more often it is used of climate and so on; here it means "unruly conduct."

9. iurgia primum, mox rixa. *Iur-*

gia are high words, *rix*a means actual blows. See ii. 88, "ad iurgium mox ad manus et ferrum transirent."

10. From *exarsere* we have to supply *et exarsissent*; so Ann. i. 35, "elatumque deferebat in pectus ni proximi prensam dextram adinuissent."

12. adversus Aeduos. They lay a little off the line of march to the west, so they do not seem to have been actually visited. The Aedui and Sequani had been the great supporters of Vindex, and would be for that reason specially obnoxious to the soldiers.

14. Lugdunenses gaudio fecere. Devoted to Nero they were hostile to Galba, and regarded Vitellius as Nero's avenger.

15. abductae. "Were taken away from Lyons, where they had been quartered."

15. cohortem duodevicesimam. As in inscriptions this cohort is called "cohors xiii urbana," it has been supposed that the number is wrongly written here. See Furneaux on Ann. iii. 41, 5. Besides this extra *cohors urbana*, mention of cohorts of Roman citizens is often found in inscriptions, and from these it would appear there were at least thirty-two of them. The cohort mentioned in Acts x. was perhaps one.

16. solitis sibi. The reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the infinitive, i.e. *cohors*.

tionibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.

20

65. Veterem inter Lugdunenses et Viennenses discordiam proximum bellum accenderat. Multae in vicem clades, crebrius infestiusque quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reditus Lugdunensium occasione irae in fiscum verterat; multus contra in Viennenses honor. Unde 5 aemulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis connexum odium. Igitur Lugdunenses extimulare singulos militum et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adiutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae referendo. Et ubi causas odiorum prae- 10 tenderant, magnitudinem praedae ostendebant. Nec iam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae preces: irent ultores, excinderent sedem Gallici belli. Cuncta illic externa et hostilia: se coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios. Si fortuna contra daret, iratis ne relinquerentur. 15

66. His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerant, ut ne

65. 1. et Viennenses. The words have dropped out of M., but they have been inserted in the margin. Vienna was situated on the other side of the Rhone from Lyons; it was the old capital of the Allobroges, and subsequently the residence of the governor of Gallia Narbonensis. It seems to have been made a Roman colony by either Caligula or Claudius. Claudius in his speech describes it as "ornatissima ecce valentissimaque colonia Viennensium quam longo iam tempore senatores huic curiae confert." Orelli, however, considers that it never attained more than Latin rights.

2. proximum bellum. The outbreak of Vindex. accenderat. "Had fanned into a flame."

3. multae in vicem clades, crebrius infestiusque. We must supply *fecerant*; the verb being sufficiently indicated in Tacitus's view by the adverbs; see Furn. Int. v. 38, 6; Madvig, § 579 d. *In vicem* means "were inflicted by one on the other in turn."

4. reditus Lugdunensium occasione irae. His anger against them was kindled by their steadfast loyalty to Nero; he had made this an excuse for confiscating their revenues, perhaps demanding back the money Nero had given them, when their city was destroyed by fire.

6. uno amne discretis connexum odium. A somewhat strained antithesis. "They were separated but by a river, bound together by a bond of never-dying hatred." For *discretis*, see Liv. xxiii. 31, "utraque aedes in Capitolio est canali uno discreta." In *connexum* he is perhaps referring to the proverbial quarrels of near neighbours.

13. cuncta illic externa et hostilia. It would seem from this that while Vienna and Lyons were both Roman colonies, Vienna was peopled chiefly by native Gauls, Lyons by Romans and Italians who had migrated from Italy. Lyons was founded as early as 43 B.C., just after Caesar's death, by L. Munatius Plancus (Dio, xlv. 50), and had become since its foundation the regular Roman capital of Gaul, beyond the Narbonensis, the altar of Rome and of the genius of its emperor, the Roman centre or hearth of the whole country, being there set up. When they speak of themselves as *pars exercitus* they may be referring to the fact that the original colonists were Roman soldiers belonging to the armies of Antony and Plancus, or more probably to the fact that part of their garrison was accompanying the army on its march into Italy.

15. si fortuna contra daret. Repeated in Ann. xv. 13, "quotiens fortuna contra daret."

legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse iracundiam exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discriminis sui Viennenses velamenta et infulas praeferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma genua vestigia prensando flexere militum animos. Addidit Valens trecenos singulis militibus sestertios. Tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit et verba Fabi salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis aequis auribus accepta. Publice tamen armis multati privatis et promiscuis copiis iuvare militem. Sed fama constans fuit ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum. Is diu sordidus, repente dives mutationem fortunae male tegebat, accensis egestate longa cupidinibus inmoderatus et inopi iuventa senex prodigus. Lento deinde agmine per fines Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus exercitus, ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante duce, foedis pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum et magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter, ut Luco (municipium id Vocontiorum est) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitigaretur. Quotiens pecuniae materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis exorabatur. Sic ad Alpes perventum.

67. Plus praedae ac sanguinis per Caecinam haustum. Inritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens, olim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara, de caede Galbae ignari et Vitellii inperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit

66. 4. *velamenta et infulas*. These and similar things are the *placamenta hostilis irae*, spoken of in c. 63.

6. *tum* is emphatic "then at last." *vetustas dignitasque coloniae*. These words make it probable that Vienna was, like Lyons, a Roman colony.

9. *publica*. "As a state" they had to give up their arms. Cf. i. 51. *promiscuis*. "With resources of all kinds from their own private stores."

11. *sordidus* may mean either "in poor circumstances" or "mean;" more likely the former here.

14. *Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum*. They occupied between them the *Insula Allobrogum*, the Allobroges dwelling in North Dauphiné and Savoy, the *Vocontii* in South Dauphiné and Provence. The chief town of the *Vocontii* is *Vasio* (Vaison).

15. *ipsa itinerum spatia*, *i.e.* the length of the day's march. *Lucus Augusti* is now Luc.

19. *pecuniae materia*. "The means

wherewith to pay." He loitered among those who could not pay, hurried by those who bribed him.

67. 1. *haustum*. This word, applicable properly only to *sanguinis*, is connected with *praedae* by a kind of zeugma. *M.* has *plus praedae ac sanguinis p[er] Caecina hausit*. The above is Meiser's correction.

2. *Helvetii Gallica gens*. They are thus described also by Caesar, who, like Tacitus, praises their warlike prowess, when first they encountered him. They were the nation with whom Caesar was first engaged in his conquest of Gaul. The hostility of the Roman soldiers was roused against the Gauls by the recent attempt of *Vindex* to assert a national independence. See Mommsen, *P.R.E.* vol. i. pp. 128, 129.

4. *initium bello fuit*. The dative for the genitive, found only in Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 26, is frequent in Tacitus, as ii. 19, "*sedem bello legere*;" *Ann.* ii. 64, "*exscindere castella causas bello*."

avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicensimae legionis. Rapuerant 5
 pecuniam missam in stipendium castelli, quod olim Helvetii
 suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur. Aegre id passi Helvetii,
 interceptis epistulis, quae nomine Germanici exercitus ad
 Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam
 militum in custodia retinebant. Caecina belli avidus proximam 10
 quamque culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultimum ibat. Mota ✓
 propere castra, vastati agri, direptus longa pace in modum
 municipii exstructus locus, amoeno salubrium aquarum usu fre-
 quens. Missi ad Raetica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionem
 Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur. 15

68. Illi ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidī, quan-
 quam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non
 arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere.
 Exitiosius adversus veteranos proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis
 vetustate moenibus. Hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu, inde 5
 Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuventus sueta
 armis et more militiae exercita. Undique populatio et caedes.
 Ipsi medio vagi abiectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes,

5. *unaetvicensimae legionis*. One of the legions of the army of Upper Germany; it was quartered at Vindonissa (Windisch), near Zürich, not far from the territory of the Helvetii.

5. *rapuerant*. The tense expresses that this had been done before Caecina's arrival.

7. *suis militibus ac stipendiis*. The use of *stipendium* in the line before seems to make it necessary to take this "with their own soldiers and at their own expense." The fort was kept up to protect the country against the raids of the Germans.

8. *interceptis epistulis*. The plural is by Tacitus and other later writers used instead of the singular, even when describing a single letter, on the mistaken analogy of *litterae*. This use occurs both in the *Historiae* and the *Annals*, but more often in the *Historiae*.

10. *proximam quamque culpam*. "The first fault on which he could lay his hands."

12. *in modum municipii exstructus locus*. "Which had grown up into the dignity of a country town" from being originally only a village; villas and so on had grown up around it. In iv. 22 we have "opera in modum municipii instructa;" and Ann. i. 20, "quod municipii instar erat." The place was Vicus

Aquensis, now called Baden, in Canton Aargau. *amoeno—frequens*. "Much resorted to for its beauty and health-giving waters."

14. *Raetica auxilla*. These would attack the Helvetii from the east, while the legions attacked them from the west. Raetia had no standing army, and was garrisoned by its native militia, Intr. v. pp. 43, 44.

68. 1. *illi—pavidī*. This description exactly answers to that of the *θρασύδειλος* in Aristot. *Ethics*, iii., from which it may possibly be taken. The description of the Britons, Ag. 11, 10, "in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido," is very similar.

2. *non arma noscere, non ordines sequi*. "Do not know the use of arms, or how to dress their ranks, or take concerted measures."

6. *Raeticae alae cohortesque*. The auxiliary troops quartered in Raetia as distinct from the Raeti themselves, who are spoken of in the next line. *more militiae exercita*. "Trained in regular military drill." For *more militiae*, see Ann. ii. 52, "more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere."

8. *medio*. "Between the two armies." For this adverbial use, see Ann. i. 61, 64.

- in montem Vocetium perfugere. Ac statim inmissa cohorte
 10 Thracum depulsi et consecretantibus Germanis Raetisque per
 silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hominum milia
 caesa, multa sub corona venundata. Cumque dirutis omnibus
 Aventicum gentis caput iusto agmine peteretur, missi qui
 dedèrent civitatem; et deditio accepta. In Iulium Alpinum e
 15 principibus ut concitorem belli Caecina animadvertit: ceteros
 veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii reliquit.

69. Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem imperatorem an militem invenerint. Civitatis excidium poscunt, tela ac manus in ora legatorum intentant. Ne Vitellius quidem verbis et minis temperabat, cum Claudius
 5 Cossus, unus ex legatis, notae facundiae, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit, ut est mos vulgo, mutabilem subitis et tam primum in misericordiam quam immodicus saevitia fuerat: effusis lacrimis et meliora constantius postulando impunitatem salutemque
 10 civitati impetrare.

70. Caecina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiae Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans,

9. *montem Vocetium*. The Bözberg in the Eastern Jura. *Thracum*. The auxiliary forces of the Roman army were largely recruited among the Thracians.

13. *Aventicum*. Now Avenches or Wifflisburg, near Freiburg. It was rebuilt by Vespasian and made a colony, and given the high-sounding title of Colonia Pia Flavia Constans Emerita Helvetiorum.

14. *Iulium Alpinum*. Orelli quotes a pretty (but forged) inscription on his supposed daughter, Julia Alpinula. It runs as follows: "Iulia Alpinula hic iaceo—infelicis patris infelix proles—Deae Avent. Sacerd.—exorare patris necem non potui—male mori in fatis illi erat—vixi annos XXIII."

15. *animadvertit*. Tacitus uses this form in the *Histories*; in the *Annals* the shorter form *advertere*, Ann. ii. 32.

69. 4. *verbis et minis temperabat*. *Verbis et minis*="threatening words." It is doubtful whether the case is the dative or ablative; most likely the latter. In c. 63 we had *temperare ab*, but Tacitus, for the sake of variety here and in Ann. xv. 16, substitutes a simple ablative.

4. *Claudius Cossus*. The name Cossus belonged in Republican times to

a family of the Cornelii, but as the gentile name was at this date constantly taken from the reigning emperor, it seems unnecessary to alter the name here with the Oxford MSS. into *Cornelius Cossus*.

7. *ut est mos vulgo, mutabilem subitis*="as is the way with a crowd liable to be swept by sudden emotions." For *ut est mos vulgo*, see Ann. i. 39, "utque mos vulgo;" iv. 64, "qui mos vulgo." A page of M. is here unfortunately lost, and we have to rely in its place on the other Florentine MS. of Lipsius, and on the Bodleian MS. There seems, however, no need to adopt the correction of Heraeus, who places a full stop at *mitigavit*, and reads "mox, ut est vulgus mutabile subitis, tam primum—immodici fuerant—impetrare." This reading makes the soldiers obtain the pardon of the place from the emperor, which is, on the face of it, unlikely, and seems supported by no good MS. authority. Ritter would omit *fuerat*, and read *immodicum*. A good many editors alter *meliora* into *molliora*. If we retain the ordinary reading we must put a semicolon at *fuerat*, and the nominative to *impetrare* will be *legati*, understood from *unus ex legatis*.

laetum ex Italia nuntium accipit alam Silianam circa Padum agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. Pro consule Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, exciti et ob bellum Vindicis revocati ac tum in Italia manentes instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attollebant, transiere in partes et ut donum aliquod novo principi firmissima Transpadanae regionis municipia Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam et Vercellas adiungere. Id Caecinae per ipsos compertum. Et quia praesidio alae unius latissima Italiae pars defendi nequibat, praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorumque et Britannorum cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petriana, ipse paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem, qui concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur. Sed metu, ne amitteret praemissas iam cohortes alasque, simul reputans plus gloriae retenta Italia, et ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in certa victoriae praemia cessuros, Poenino

70. 3. *alam Silianam*. It is most likely that this troop of horse was called after C. Silius, Germanicus's legate in Upper Germany. He served afterwards in Gaul, Ann. i. 31; i. 72; ii. 6, 11, 35. There are other readings—"Syllana," "Silana," but "ala Siliana" occurs again ii. 17, where M. (wanting here) has "Siliana."

4. *pro consule Vitellium Siliani habuerant*. Africa and Asia were governed by proconsuls, being the two chief senatorial provinces. For Vitellius's command in Africa, see below, ii. 97.

5. *utin Aegyptum praemitterentur*. It was shortly before the end of his reign that Nero had entertained the plan of sending them to Egypt. See c. 31.

7. *instinctu* clearly means here "instigation."

10. *firmissima*. "The strongest." The four places were Milan, Novara, Ivrea, Vercelli.

12. *per ipsos*. Apparently by the inhabitants of the places mentioned.

13. *latissima Italiae pars*. The valley or plain of the Po, far wider than any other part of Italy.

15. *et Germanorum vexillis*. Some understand this of troops of German

horse, quoting ii. 11; but it seems simpler to take it as equivalent to "detachments," smaller bodies than the *cohortes*.

15. *ala Petriana*. Probably so named after its founder, one of the family of Petra, illustrious Roman knights. It is mentioned again, iv. 49. The name occurs in an inscription of Hadrian's time found near Sheffield, in Yorkshire; see C.I.L. vol. 1112, Priv. Vet. xxx.

16. *Raeticis iugis*. The ranges which separate Eastern Switzerland from the Tyrol.

16. *Noricum* was the district bounded on the north by the Danube, on the south by the Eastern Alps. It lay between Raetia and Pannonia, and comprised the districts of Styria, Eastern Tyrol, Salzburg, and part of Austria. For the phrase *in certa* (or *cetera*) *victoriae praemia cessuros*, see i. 27, "inermes provinciae in pretium belli cessurae erant."

16. *adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem*. The MSS. read *urbi*; the alteration was made by Freinsheim. The same name occurs in Ann. xi. 35; Noricum, being a minor imperial province, was governed by a procurator.

21. *Poenino itinere*, *i.e.* by the route over the Great St. Bernard.

itinere subsignanum militem et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus transduxit.

71. Otho interim contra spem omnium non deliciis neque desidia torpescere: dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita; eoque plus formidinis afferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reditura. Marium Celsum
5 consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum saevitiae militum subtractum, acciri in Capitolium iubet. Clementiae titulus e viro claro et partibus invisio petebatur. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ultro imputavit. Nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed, ne hostis metum

22. *subsignanum militem et grave legionum agmen.* The *subsignanus miles* are the regular legionary troops contrasted with the auxiliary forces sent on in advance. They are attached to the *signa* of the maniples, while detachments have only *vexilla*; see iv. 33, where the *subsignanus miles*, the soldiers of the regular legion, are contrasted with the *auxilia*. For *hibernis Alpibus*, cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 41, "Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpes." *Grave legionum agmen*—the advance of the legions was encumbered by a baggage-train, which the auxiliary forces dispensed with. Only one legion has yet been mentioned as under Caecina's command, the 21st, but probably he had detachments from other legions as well; hence the plural.

71. 1. *non deliciis—torpescere* = "does not fritter away his time in dalliance and sloth."

2. *dissimulata luxuria.* *Dissimulare* has here its proper sense of pretending that what does exist does not exist. *falsae virtutes* = "virtues that were feigned and vices that were certain to return."

4. *Marium Celsum.* He has been already twice mentioned, once as summoned by Galba to attend the council, in which he proposed to proclaim Piso his successor, i. 15; and in i. 45, as withdrawn by Otho under pretence of imprisonment from the angry clamours of the soldiers for his death. At a still earlier date, in Ann. xv. 25, he appears as the commander of the 15th legion in Pannonia, intended for the support of Corbulo in the East.

6. *titulus.* "A name for." The editors quote Ov. Trist. i. 1, 53, "donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore, quaerendique mihi nominis ardor erat," and

Met. iv. 645, "et hunc praedae titulum Iove natus habebit."

8. *exemplum ultro imputavit.* "Went on beyond this to claim the example he had set as a merit;" he had given a pattern of loyalty which Otho might well wish to have copied by others. For the meaning of *imputare*, see chaps. 9, 38.

9. *nec Otho quasi ignosceret.* The negative here qualifies, not the principal, but the subordinate clause—"and Otho, not as though pardoning him." Heraeus compares iv. 16, "nec diu certato (and after that the contest had lasted for no long time) Tungrorum cohors signa ad Civilem transtulit." See Madvig, § 458, note 2.

9. *sed, ne hostem metueret.* The Florentine MSS. read "sed ne hostem (or hostis) metueret, conciliationi (or conciliationis) adhibens." Out of this no precise sense can be got, though it might possibly mean "employing reconciliation in order to avoid fear from his enemies." The Bodleian has "ne hostis metum reconciliationis adhiberet." Various corrections have been made. Heraeus, following Nipperdey, reads, "deos testes mutuae reconciliationis adhibens." Meiser proposes, in the new edition of Orelli, "sed, ne hostem metueret, consiliatorem adhibens." The objection to the first of these is its wide departure from the MS. text; to the second that *consiliator* (a sharer in his counsels) is not found elsewhere, and the *ne hostem metueret* (that he might not have to fear him as an enemy) is forced, and the words do not go well with what follows. Perhaps the simplest way out of the difficulty is to read with Ritter *sed ne reconciliationis metum adhiberet*, and to translate "and that he might not attach to the reconciliation any fear of him (Otho) as his

reconciliationi adhiberet, statim inter intimos amicos habuit et 10
mox bello inter duces delegit. Mansitque Celso velut fataliter
etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix. Laeta primoribus
civitatis, celebrata in volgus Celsi salus ne militibus quidem
ingrata fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus, cui irascebantur.

72. Par inde exultatio disparibus causis consecuta impe-
trato Tigellini exitio. Sophonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus,
foeda pueritia, impudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et
praetorii et alia praemia virtutum, quia velocius erat, vitiis
adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam, virilia scelera, 5
exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone, quaedam ignaro
ausus ac postremo eiusdem desertor ac proditor. Unde non
alium pertinacius ad poenam flagitaverunt, diverso affectu,
quibus odium Neronis inerat et quibus desiderium. Apud
Galbam Titi Vinii potentiā defensus praetextantis servatam ab 10
eo filiam. Haud dubie servaverat non clementia, quippe tot
interfectis, sed effugium in futurum, quia pessimus quisque
diffidentia praesentium mutationem pavens adversus publicum
odium privatam gratiam praeparat; unde nulla innocentiae
cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensior populus, addita ad 15
vetus Tigellini odium recenti Titi Vinii invidia, concurrere ex
tota urbe in Palatium ac fora, et ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in
circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis vocibus strepere, donec
Tigellinus accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremæ necessita-
tis nuntio inter supra concubinarum et oscula et deformes 20
moras sectis novacula faucibus infamem vitam foedavit etiam
exitu sero et inhonesto.

enemy." This involves the least departure from the MSS., and gives a fair though somewhat awkward sense.

13. *celebrata in volgus*. "Approved by the general voice." The *in* seems to have the sense of "looking towards them, in its bearing on them;" so Ann. i. 28, "grati in volgus;" Ann. ii. 59, "in volgus grata."

72. 1. *disparibus causis*. It is Tacitus's custom to omit the *de* with *causis*.

2. *Sophonius Tigellinus*. See above, c. 24, note on line 2. When he attained the *praefectura vigilum* we do not know, but he became *praefectus praetorii* on Burrus's death, 62 A.D., Ann. xiv. 51, "cohortibus imposuerat...Sophonium Tigellinum, veterem impudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus."

11. *non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium*. The alteration in case is quite in Tacitus's manner; *quippe* does not occur in earlier writers with an ablative absolute.

15. *sed vices impunitatis*. "But they secure one another impunity by turns." One criminal shelters another, hoping in his turn to receive shelter from that other.

17. *in Palatium ac fora*. The *fora* referred to are probably the three mentioned in Martial, iii. 38, 4—the Forum Romanum, F. Iulii Caesaris, F. Augusti.

19. *Sinuessanas aquas*. The baths were situated on the edge of Campania and Latium, and were much resorted to by Roman men and women. Narcissus had retired there to take the waters when Claudius was murdered, Ann. xii. 66.

73. Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et adversa dissimulantis principis fama periculo exempta est. Magistra libidinum Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum
 5 famem populo Romano haud obscure molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam Othonem Vitellium illaesa, mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent.

74. Crebrae interim et muliebribus blandimentis infectae ab Othone ad Vitellium epistolae offerebant pecuniam et gratiam, et quemcumque quietis locum prodigae vitae legisset. Paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrimque et indecora
 5 simulatione: mox quasi rixantes stupra et flagitia in vicem obiectavere, neuter falso. Otho, revocatis quos Galba miserat legatis, rursus ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam easque quae Lugduni agebant copias specie senatus misit. Legati apud Vitellium remansere, promptius
 10 quam ut retenti viderentur. Praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii legatis Otho adiunxerat, remissi, antequam legionibus miscerentur. Addidit epistulas Fabius Valens nomine Germanici exercitus ad praetorias et urbanas cohortes de viribus partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes; increpabat ultro, quod
 15 tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.

75. Ita promissis simul ac minis temptabantur, ut bello

73. 1. *Calvia Crispinilla*. Dio, lxi. 12, gives a dark picture of her. She was renowned for her evil influence on Nero, and also for her rapacity.

2. *et adversa dissimulantis—fama*. The ablative is descriptive of the *frustrationibus*, "excuses which brought ill odour on the prince who connived at them."

4. *Clodium Macrum*; for him, see c. 7.

5. *famem—molita*. Josephus says that Rome was dependent on Africa for its corn-supply for eight out of the twelve months, on Egypt for the other four.

6. *consulari matrimonio subnixa*. "Supported by her marriage with a consular." Who her husband was is not known.

7. *mox potens pecunia et orbitate*. She was at once wealthy and childless, and this fact gave her great influence with those who hoped to inherit her wealth. See Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 28; Juv. iii. 128-30.

74. 1. *et muliebribus blandimentis*

infectae. "Tainted by blandishments fit only for women." *ab Othone* is a rendering of the Greek *παρά Οθωνος*. Dio (lxiv. 10) and Suetonius (Oth. 8) declare that he went the length of offering to share the empire with Vitellius.

3. *legisset*. In the oratio recta this would be *legeris*.

4. *mollius*. "In mild terms."

5. *in vicem = inter se*. One against the other.

8. *easque quae Lugduni agebant copias, i.e. the Ala Tauriana and the 1st legion*, see above, chaps. 59 and 64.

10. *per simulationem officii*. "Under pretence of serving as a bodyguard." They were really sent to tamper with the troops.

15. *tanto ante*. This is, of course, a mere rhetorical exaggeration. Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor less than a fortnight before Otho.

75. 1. *ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri*. *Ut* is here equivalent to the

impares, in pace nihil amissuri; neque ideo praetorianorum fides mutata. Sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in urbem missi. Utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis impune, per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani novitate vultus, omnibus in vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius litteras ad Titianum fratrem Othonis composuit, exitium ipsi filioque eius minitans, ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. Et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone incertum an metu: Vitellius victor clementiae gloriam tulit.

76. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius iurasse in eum Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones. Idem ex Hispania adlatum laudatusque per edictum Cluvius Rufus, set statim cognitum est conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quanquam ab Iulio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. Nusquam fides aut amor: metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. Longinquae provinciae et quicquid

Greek *ὅς*, and so = "on the ground that." Heraeus, however, supposes that *ita* should be supplied with *amissuri*, then *ut* and *ita* will point a contrast: "That while inferior in war they should lose nothing if they remained at peace."

2. *neque ideo*. "And yet not for all that;" see Ann. i. 12, "nec ideo iram eius lenivit."

4. *utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis impune*. The adverbs are predicates. This use is not classical but frequent in the Silver Age. Ag. 13, "conatus frustra fuissent." Furn. Int. v. 66.

5. *mutua ignorantia fallentibus*. When, as in Rome, many were ignorant of one another, it was easy for the strangers to escape detection; in Vitellius's camp where all the soldiers knew one another (*omnibus in vicem gnaris*) Otho's emissaries were soon discovered. The reading *gnaris* is thus to be preferred to the *ignaris* of the MS.

7. *ad Titianum fratrem*. His name was Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, and he was Otho's elder brother. He was consul in 52 A.D. with Faustus Sulla for his colleague (Ann. xii. 52), and in 63-64 A.D., he was proconsul in Asia and had Agricola for his quaestor, Ag. 6.

76. 1. *ex Illyrico*. Illyricum was the name of the whole region lying north-east

of the Adriatic and included Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia.

2. *iurasse in eum*. The more usual formula is *iurasse in verba eius*. There were seven legions in all in this district, viz. two in Dalmatia, the 11th Claudia and the 14th Gemina Martia Victrix; two in Pannonia, the 13th Gemina and the 7th Galbiana; and three in Moesia, the 3d Gallica, the 7th Claudia, and the 8th Augusta.

3. *idem ex Hispania adlatum*. In Spain there were stationed the 6th Victrix, and 10th Gemina.

3. *Cluvius Rufus*. For what is known of him, see c. 8, second note on line 2.

5. *ne Aquitania quidem*. The south-west district of France. Vindex had been its governor.

8. *provinciam Narbonensem*. South-east France, including Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

9. *quicquid armorum mari dirimitur*. "Whatever armed forces have the sea between us and them." The expression is, perhaps, suggested by Aen. vii. 226, "vel si quem extenta plagarum quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui." In Ann. ii. 43 we have, "provinciae quae mari dividuntur,"—Britain, Africa, Asia, are probably meant. *manebat*. The singular is used because the last

- 10 armorum mari dirimitur penes Othonem manebat, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Iudaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Syriae legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere; simul Aegyptus omnesque versae in Orientem provinciae nomine eius tenebantur. Idem Africae obsequium, initio Carthagine orto: neque expectata Vipstani Aproniani proconsulis auctoritate Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt) epulum plebi ob laetitiam recentis imperii obtulerat, et populus
20 pleraque sine modo festinavit. Carthaginem ceterae civitates secutae.

77. Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis, Vitellio quidem ad capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus erat, Otho ut in multā pace munia imperii obibat, quaedam ex dignitate rei publicae, pleraque contra decus ex praesenti usu properando.
5 Consul cum Titiano fratre in kalendas Martias ipse; proximos

nominative is in the singular; so ii. 70, "et erant quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret."

11. *grande momentum*. See c. 59, 5. In nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus. "In the name of the city, and in the halo round the senate." Ritter seems right in his contention that it is impossible to draw a distinction between the meaning of *praetexto* and *praetextu*, both sometimes mean "splendour," both sometimes "pretext." The city and senate of Rome never ceased to exercise a certain fascination over the provincials and the subject states.

12. *Iudaicum exercitum*. Heraeus alters this into *Iudaicum* maintaining that *Iudaicum* would mean not the army of Judaea, but a Jewish army; the change is not necessary. The army of Judaea consisted of the 5th Macedonica, the 10th Fretensis and the 15th Apollinaris. The Syrian legions were the 4th Scythica, the 6th Ferrata and the 12th Fulminatrix.

15. *tenebantur*. "Were kept in allegiance;" so iii. 12, "quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebantur."

16. *Vipstani Aproniani*. Caius was his praenomen. He is often mentioned in the Arval inscriptions, and we learn from one of these that he was one of the Arval Brothers, along with Salvius Titianus, brother of the emperor. He had been consul with Fonteius Capito in 59 A.D., Ann. xiv. 1.

18. *partem se rei publicae faciunt*. "Force themselves into public positions." This was an offence which Tacitus, representing the true Roman feeling, could not brook. He comments bitterly on it, Ann. xiv. 39; G. 25.

20. *pleraque sine modo festinavit*. "The people hurried on beyond all due bounds" the usual festivities which greet the accession of an emperor. Both *festino* and *propero* are used transitively by Tacitus, as by the poets and Sallust, see i. 48; ii. 57.

77. 1. *sic distractis*. Heraeus inserts *in partes*. This gives the sense, but is unnecessary.

2. *ad capessendam principatus fortunam*. "In order to reach the position of emperor."

3. *munia imperii obibat*. "Performed the duties of an emperor." Cicero does not often use *munia*. *Obibat* governs *quaedam* in the same line.

4. *pleraque — properando*. The gerund stands here for the present participle.

5. *consul — in kal. Martias ipse*. Generally a new emperor became *consul ordinarius* for the first four months of the new year after his accession. So Galba and Vinius had become consuls on the 1st of January. When they were murdered on the 15th it became necessary to appoint *consules suffecti* and Otho and his brother were nominated; they

menses Verginio destinat ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum. Iungitur Verginio Pompeius Vopiscus praetexto veteris amicitiae; plerique Viennensium honori datum interpretabantur. Ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae mansere, Caelio ac Flavio Sabinis in Iulias, Arrio 10 Antonino et Mario Celso in Septembres; quorum honori ne Vitellius quidem victor intercessit. Sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit aut recens ab exilio reversos nobiles adulescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solacium recoluit. Redditus Cadio Rufo, 15 Pedio Blaeso, Saevino Pontio senatorius locus. Repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant: placuit ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri maiestatem, cuius tum odio etiam bonae leges peribant.

did not, however, as we gather from an inscription of the Arval Brothers, enter on their office till January 26th, and were appointed then only for the first half of the Nundinum till the end of February, so as to make room for Verginius and Vopiscus.

8. *Viennensium honori datum.* It appears from this that he was a native of Vienne. The Viennese had been keen partisans of Vindex and then of Galba, chaps. 65 and 66.

9. *ceteri consulatus.* Nero had selected the two Sabini as consuls for the second Nundinum, or period of four months, in the year 69 A.D., Galba Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus for the third. These appointments Otho retained, but halved the time for which they were to hold office; so that while he and his brother held office till March 1st, Verginius and Vopiscus were consuls in March and April; the two Sabini from May 1st to July 1st; Antoninus and Celsus from July 1st to September 1st. From September 1st Vitellius nominated Valens and Caecina to hold office for two months. Caecina was deposed one day before the expiration of his term, and succeeded for that day by Roscius Regulus, iii. 37. For the final two months of the year, from November 1st onwards, C. Quinctius Atticus and Cn. Caecilius Simplex received the appointment, iii. 68; iii. 73. There were thus no fewer than fifteen consuls within this one year 69 A.D.

10. *Cnello ac Flavio Sabinis.* Their full names are Cael. Arulenus Flavius Sabinus and T. Flavius Sabinus. Not much is known of them; they were re-

latives of Vespasian, and the first a celebrated jurisconsult; for the second, see ii. 36, second note on line 6, and ii. 51.

10. *Arrius Antoninus* was the maternal grandfather of the emperor Antoninus Pius; he lived on till the reign of Nerva, and is said to have expressed pity for him when chosen emperor. Pliny praises his Greek poems. *Marius Celsus* has been already described, c. 71.

13. *honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis.* "To old men who had held high office (*i.e.* the consulship or praetorship) as the crowning point of their official rank." The emperor practically filled up vacancies in the different priestly colleges, having the right of commending candidates for the vacant posts.

15. *In solacium recoluit.* "Endowed them afresh with,—to console them for the miseries of exile." *Cadius Rufus* had been found guilty of extortion in Bithynia, Ann. xii. 22.

16. *Pedius Blaesus* had been turned out of the senate for the same offence in Cyrene, Ann. xiv. 18.

17. *placuit ignoscentibus, i.e.* to Otho and the senate. *videri maiestatem.* "Should be thought of as treason." The proper title of the crime is *crimen maiestatis minutae*, similar short titles being often used. The odium, which these charges of treason involved on those who brought them, made those who incurred them to be regarded as innocent victims, and thus undermined the force of the good laws against extortion. For the history of the crime of *maiestas*, see Ann. i. 72, 3; Furn. Int. viii. p. 121.

78. Eadem largitione civitatum quoque ac provinciarum animos adgressus Hispalensibus et Emeritensibus familiarum adiectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciae Baeticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova iura
 5 Cappadociae, nova Africae, ostentui magis quam mansura. Inter quae necessitate praesentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata ne tum quidem immemor amorum statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum reposuit. Creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse spe vulgum alliciendi. Et
 10 fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent; atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tanquam nobilitatem ac

78. 1. *eadem largitione*. With the same liberality with which he had granted restoration to the senate or pardon, Otho proceeded to win the goodwill of the provincials.

2. *Hispalis*, in the province of Baetica, on the river Baetis (Guadalquivir), is now Seville. *Emerita*, founded by Augustus in the province of Lusitania, is now Merida. It is situated on the river Anas (Guadiana).

2. *familiarum adiectiones*. The addition of such extra families sent from Rome or Italy increased the power and importance of the colonies to which they were sent. Orelli quotes Liv. xliii. 17, "postulantibus Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerum colonorum augerent, mille et quingentae familiae ex SC scriptae." The families were ordinarily those of veterans, Ann. xliii. 31; xiv. 27.

3. *Lingonibus universis*. If by these are meant the well-known Lingones in Gaul, they come in somewhat oddly, for two reasons: (1) all the other peoples mentioned in this connexion are peoples of Spain; and (2) the Gallic Lingones had warmly espoused the cause of Vitellius, see c. 54. It is possible, however, that this fact may not yet have become known at Rome, or that Otho may have thought a timely gift might win them back; for the Spaniards themselves, after first joining him, had gone round and declared for Vitellius. If they are the Gallic people, there is special force in *universis*, the chiefs having received the franchise some time earlier. The Lingones may, however, be a Spanish people, not elsewhere mentioned, and to suppose them so is safer than arbitrarily to alter the reading of M., as some editors have done.

4. *Maurorum civitates*. The towns of Tingis and Lixus. The province of Baetica would be benefited by the addition to it of these states in two ways: (1) the inhabitants of the Moorish towns would have to attend the law-courts held in Baetica; and (2) the revenues of the province would be increased by their contributions.

5. *Cappadocia*. It is situated north of Cilicia, south of Pontus, west of Armenia, and east of Lycaonia and Galatia. Cappadocia had only lately been constituted a province by Tiberius. See Ann. ii. 42; xiii. 8.

5. *ostentui magia*. "More by way of show," for they were speedily abolished. H. reads *ostentata*; the reading of M. is *ostentat*, which Ritter corrects into *ostenta*.

7. *statuas Poppaeae*. These had been overthrown by an outbreak of the mob in 62 A.D., Ann. xiv. 61.

9. *agitavisse*. "To have thought about." The word is a favourite with Tacitus. See i. 12; ii. 1; Ann. i. 5.

9. *spe vulgum alliciendi*. The populace had always had a regard for Nero. See c. 4. He had debauched them by his shows and gifts of food.

10. *proponerent*. "Set up in public." The editors quote Plin. N. H. xxxv. 6, "tabulam picturae proposuit praelii in latere curiae."

11. *tanquam—adstruerent*. "As if they were bestowing on him a title of honour and distinction." Neroni Othoni agrees with *ei*. In English we insert the actual cry "Nero Otho;" in Latin what is cried is governed by the verb. So Cic. Phil. ii. 30, "Ciceronem exclamavit." He called out "Cicero"—quoted by Godley.

decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni acclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudore.

79. Conversis ad civile bellum animis externa sine cura habebantur. Eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens, priore hieme caesis duabus cohortibus, magna spe Moesiam inruperant, ad novem milia equitum, ex ferocia et successu praedae magis quam pugnae intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio 5 adiunctis auxiliis repente invasit. Apud Romanos omnia proelio apta: Sarmatae dispersi aut cupidine praedae graves onere sarcinarum et lubrico iterum adempta equorum pernecitate velut vincti caedebantur. Namque mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos. Nihil ad pedestrem 10 pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit. Sed tum umido die et soluto gelu neque conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis et catafractarum pondere. Id principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegimen, ferreis lamminis aut praeduro 15 corio consertum, ut adversus ictus impenetrabile, ita impetu

12. in suspenso tenuit. "Left the question hung up."

79. 1. externa sine cura habebantur. "Foreign relations were neglected." The phrase is almost repeated in Ann. xi. 8, "summaque imperii ambigua, minora sine cura habere."

2. Rhoxolani. Their exact position seems somewhat uncertain. By Orelli (following Strabo, vii. 3, 17) they are placed between the Borysthenes and Tanais; by others further west and south, in what is now Bessarabia.

3. M. has ad Moesiam. This has been defended on the ground that Moesia was the final point which their incursion reached; by Orelli *ad* is transposed and coupled with *novem milia*. Heraeus reads *magna spe adacti. ex ferocia et successu*. "From the confidence of success."

5. tertia legio. It was called Gallica. It appears from ii. 74 that this legion had only lately been moved from Syria into Moesia. See also Suet. Vesp. 6, from which passage we learn that the whole legion had not been shifted, but only the greater part of it.

7. aut cupidine praedae graves onere sarcinarum. "Or in their eagerness for booty hampered by the weight of their baggage;" the *cupidine praedae* explains how these light soldiers came to

be *graves onere sarcinarum*. There is no need, as some editors have done, to transpose the *aut*; *cupidine praedae dispersi aut graves onere sarcinarum*. For the phrase *lubrico iterum*, cf. Ann. i. 65, "*lubrico paludum*." The phrase *vinctae legiones* occurs in the same passage of legions which have become entangled in marshy ground.

9. namque mirum dictu, ut sit. For this use of *ut* for "how," cf. Ann. i. 61, "*referebant—ut signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit*."

12. obstiterit. "Can resist." For this potential use of the conjunctive, see Madvig, § 350 a, b.

13. quos praelongos—regunt. The inclusion of the adjective in the relative clause is intended to fix attention upon it. In English we should say, "Their swords and poles of extraordinary length, which they poise in either hand."

14. et catafractarum pondere. Their horses slipped not only from the thaw, but also (*et*) from the weight of the coats of mail. These pliant coats of mail, which covered the whole body, formed partly of steel plates and partly of skin, are described by Amm. Marc. xvi. 10, 8. He says that they made those who were clothed in them look more like statues than men.

16. ut adversus—ita. These words point a contrast. "While—still."

hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum. Simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facilis lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio
 20 inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est) comminus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui proelio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur. Ibi saevitia hiemis ac volnerum absumpti. Postquam id Romae compertum, M. Aponius Moesiam obtinens triumphali statua, Fulvus Aurelius et Iulianus Tettius ac
 25 Numisius Lupus legati legionum consularibus ornamentis donantur, laeto Othone et gloriam in se trahente, tanquam et ipse felix bello et suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rem publicam auxisset.

80. Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta seditio prope urbi excidio fuit. Septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iusserat; armandae eius cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. Is quo magis
 5 vacuus quietis castris iussa exequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario iubet. Tempus

18. *facilis lorica*. "Unencumbered by his breastplate." The *facilis* properly belongs to the *lorica*, but is transferred to the wearer of it.

19. *lanceis*. It appears from this passage, and also from ii. 29, and iii. 27, that lances at this time were carried by the Roman soldiers as well as the *pilum*.

20. *inermem* is used of the absence of defensive armour.

22. *Ibi saevitia hiemis ac volnerum absumpti*. M. reads *hic mia*; Döderlein altered this into *saevitia hiemis ac*. Heraeus reads *saevitia hiemis ac vi volnerum*.

23. *M. Aponius*. His name is Apolinus Saturninus, iii. 5; see also ii. 85, 96. *triumphali statua*. This was a statue adorned with bay and clad in a triumphal robe, the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*. The receiving such statues was the nearest approach to a triumph which a commander under the Empire could receive, a proper triumph being restricted to the emperor himself, under whose auspices all campaigns were carried on.

24. *Fulvus Aurelius*. Legate of the 3d legion, grandfather of Antoninus Pius.

24. *Iulianus Tettius*. Legate of the 7th legion, Claudia. See ii. 85; iv. 39, 40.

25. *Numisius Lupus*. Legate of the 8th legion, Augusta. See iii. 10.

25. *consularibus ornamentis*. The *toga praetexta* and *sella curulis*.

27. *suis ducibus*. In classical Latin this would have been *per suos duces et exercitus*, but Tacitus often employs the instrumental ablative, even of persons. The generals were his because he was the commander-in-chief.

80. 1. *unde*. Probably = *a quo (initio)*; it might, however, mean "from a quarter whence." In this case it will refer to the praetorians, for they, as having put Otho on the throne, were the last quarter to be regarded as formidable to him.

2. *septumam decumam cohortem*. Probably a cohort of Roman citizens like the one already mentioned as stationed at Lyons, c. 64. Suetonius, Claud. 25, says that Claudius stationed two such cohorts, one at Puteoli, the other at Ostia, to guard against fires. Suetonius, Oth. 8, gives a slightly different account of the origin of the outbreak. He says that the arms of the cohort were to have been transferred to the Classarii, and that this roused suspicion. Tacitus's account is, however, so circumstantial that it is to be preferred.

4. *magis vacuus quietis castris*. "More undisturbed when the camp was quiet." The soldiers, after the guards were set, would all be in their tents. For *vacuus*, see Dial. 7, "apud vacuos et adulescentes."

in suspicionem, causa in crimen, affectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit; et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles et tribunos centurionesque prodicionis arguit, tanquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, 10 pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum, volgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant, rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis urbem ac Palatium petunt. 15

81. Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis voltum intueri: utque evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem 5 mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus et praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat et abire propere omnes e convivio iussit. Tum vero passim magistratus proiectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta et, ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere. 10

82. Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palatii coercitus, quo minus convivium inrumperent, ostendi sibi Othonem expos-

8. evaluit. "Grew into." For this use of *evalere*, see Ann. xiv. 58, "multa secutura quae adusque bellum evalescerent." affectatio quietis. "The elaborate preparations for quiet."

10. tanquam. "On the ground that the slaves of the senators."

11. in occasionem praedarum. "Having an eye to the opportunity for plunder." In expresses the object they had in view. Cf. iii. 47, "corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque."

13. nox abstulerat. "Night had rendered impossible the loyal services of the well-disposed." The plural is used because these loyal services would have been rendered by many.

15. insidentes equis. The horses would be partly those of the baggage train, partly the horses of the small body of cavalry attached to each cohort.

81. 1. celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque. The adjective

governs the ablative, "largely attended by the leading men and women." The habit of women attending these banquets was of recent introduction. Plutarch (Oth. 3, 4) says there were eighty senators present; cf. Dio, lxiv. 9. From these accounts we gather that the troops from Ostia were joined by the praetorians in the city, and Tacitus's subsequent narrative confirms this.

4. modo formidine detegi. "To have their hollow pretences exposed by their fear."

7. praefectos praetorii. Plotius Firmus, and Licinius Proculus, i. 46.

8. miserat—iussit. The difference in tense expresses a difference in time. He let (Plutarch tells us) the senators out by a different door to that by which the soldiers had entered.

12. incertas latebras. "Obscure, unknown, unobvious hiding-places." Ann. iii. 42, "Florus incertis latebris victores frustratus."

tulantes, vulnerato Iulio Martiale tribuno et Vitellio Saturnino praefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt. Undique arma et
 5 minae, modo in centuriones tribunosque, modo in senatum universum, lymphatis caeco pavore animis, et quia neminem unum destinare irae poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus, donec Otho contra decus imperii toro insistens precibus et lacrimis aegre cohibuit, redieruntque in castra inviti neque
 10 innocentes. Postera die velut capta urbe clausae domus, rarus per vias populus, maesta plebs; deiecti in terram militum voltus ac plus tristitiae quam paenitentiae. Manipulatum adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus praefecti, ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius. Finis sermonis in
 15 eo, ut quina milia nummum singulis militibus numerarentur. Tum Otho ingredi castra ausus. Atque illum tribuni centurionesque circumsistunt, abiectis militiae insignibus otium et salutem flagitantes. Sensit invidiam miles et compositus in obsequium auctores seditionis ad supplicium ultro postulabat.

83. Otho, quanquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque remedium praesentis licentiae posceret, volgus et plures seditionibus et ambizioso imperio

82. 3. Iulio Martiale tribuno. He was a tribune of the praetorians. See c. 28, note on line 1.

4. praefecto legionis. Probably the *legio classica prima Adiutrix* which was the only entire legion stationed at this time in Rome. This is the first mention in an historical writer of the office of *praefectus legionis*, and no mention of it occurs in inscriptions till the time of Marcus Aurelius. He seems to have been *praefectus castrorum* and the deputy of the *legatus legionis*. In later times the term was used in place of *legatus legionis*. Ritter, holding that the office had not yet come into existence, would omit the word *legionis*, thinking it to have been inserted by a copyist.

6. neminem unum destinare irae poterant. "They were unable to fix upon any definite individual as the object of their wrath."

9. neque innocentes. They had wounded Martialis and Saturninus.

10. rarus populus—maesta plebs. Note the contrast. The respectable population and the rabble; cf. above, c. 4.

14. mitius aut horridius, i.e. the one more gently, the other more roughly; for use of *horridus*, see ii. 74. "horridi sermone."

15. quina milia nummum = over £45.

16. atque illum. *Atque* = at once, as in Georg. i. 202, "si brachia forte remisit, atque illum in praecipit pronus rapit alveus amni."

17. abiectis militiae insignibus. The tribune wore a golden ring, a tunic with a stripe, and a sword-belt elaborately adorned; the centurion had his vine-stick.

17. otium here = discharge. They would no longer command soldiers so mutinous.

18. sensit invidiam miles. "The soldiers felt the discredit cast on them and settling down to obedience to orders (*compositus in obsequium*) demanded of their own accord, etc."

83. 1. quanquam turbidis rebus. This use of *quanquam* with the ablative absolute, though not unfrequent in Tacitus, is not found in classical writers.

3. volgus et plures. "The common herd, who were in the majority." Cf. c. 19, "medii ac plurimi;" c. 25, "volgus et ceteros."

3. ambizioso imperio. "A rule which depended on popular favour for its support." Cf. ii. 12, "Suedius Clemens ambizioso imperio regebat."

laeti, per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum impellerentur, simul reputans non posse principatum scelere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit: "neque ut affectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt), sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis et erga me modum caritatis. Tumultus proximi initium non cupiditate vel odio, quae multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra acrius quam consideratius excitavit. Nam saepe honestas rerum causas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consecuntur. Imus ad bellum. Num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? tam nescire quaedam milites quam scire oportet. Ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinae habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum iuberi expediat. Si, cur iubeantur, quaerere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidit. An et illic nocte intempesta rapiuntur arma? unus alterve perditus ac temulentus (neque enim plures

5. *simul reputans*. This balancing and heaping up of the clauses represents the different feelings by which Otho's mind was successively swayed.

7. *postremo ita disseruit*. Tacitus may have either heard this speech, or had it reported to him by those who were present. In c. 15 he only says, "Galba locutus fertur." Of Piso's speech he says, c. 29, "in hunc modum adlocutus," not professing apparently to give the precise words. Whereas of Otho's previous speech, he says, c. 36, "ita coepit."

10. *sed veni*. This postponement to the second clause of the principal verb, which belongs to both, is a trick of style which Tacitus has copied from the poets; so Ann. i. 35, vi. 29.

10. *temperamentum*. "The restraint." *in discordiam*. "To mutinous conduct."

14. *nimia pietas vestra*. The omission of the adversative particle emphasises the contrast.

14. *acrius quam consideratius*. Another reading is *considerate*; the meaning is the same, if the latter can stand, which is doubtful, viz. "with more zeal

than discretion." Cf. ii. 24, "avidius quam consultus;" iv. 40, etc.

18. *ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas*. "Do the exigencies of events, and the pressure of opportunities?" For this division of duties between general and soldiers, compare Antonius's speech iii. 20, "divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia, militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire, duces providendo consultando cunctatione saepius quam temeritate prodesse ut pro virili parte armis ac manu victoriam iuverit, ratione et consilio propriis ducis artibus, profuturum;" see also Liv. xlv. 34. A passage from which Tacitus has probably copied.

21. *tantum iuberi*. "Should receive simply as orders."

21. *si—liceat—intercidit*. The indicative present is used to express the certainty of the result. *Si liceat* generalises the hypothesis, so Hor. Od. iii. 37, "si fractus illabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruinae."

23. *an et illico*. "When we have actually set out for war." Referring to *imus ad bellum* above. *nocte intempesta*. At the dead of night "when no man can work."

- 25 consternatione proxima insanisse crediderim) centurionis ac tribuni sanguine manus imbuet, imperatoris sui tentorium inrumpet?

84. Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione pateferi occasio etiam adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus eius eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes inprecentur, quid
5 aliud quam seditionem et discordiam optabunt? ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur, hinc confusi pedites equitesque in exitium ruamus. Parendo potius, commilitones, quam imperia ducum sciscitando res militares continentur; et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen
10 quietissimus. Vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et virtutis vestrae regimen relinquit. Paucorum culpa fuit, duorum poena erit: ceteri abolete memoriam foedissimae noctis. Nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat. Caput imperii et decora omnium provinciarum
15 ad poenam vocare non hercule illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant: ulline Italiae alumni et Romana vere iuventus ad sanguinem et caedem depoposcerit ordinem, cuius splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium praestringimus? nationes aliquas occupavit Vitellius,

25. consternatione. "Panic." crediderim. "Can I believe;" another potential subjunctive; cf. c. 79, note on line 12.

84. 1. vos quidem istud pro me. Sc. facistis.

3. et satellitibus eius. Spoken contemptuously.

5. ne miles centurioni (depends on *imprecentur*). hinc. "That, as a consequence of this;" *ut* has to be supplied with *confusi ruamus* from the preceding *ne*.

7. commilitones. He seeks by this word to identify himself with the praetorians.

8. res militares continentur. "Military efficiency depends;" so Cic. p. Sest. § 92, "iudicia quibus omne ius continetur."

8. et fortissimus. Cf. here again Aristotle's description of the brave man, Eth. iii. 7, 12.

13. nec—audiat. Tacitus constantly uses *nec* for *neu*, e.g. ii. 86, "nec speciem adulantis expaveris;" Ann. i. 43, "neque enim di sinant."

14. caput imperii et decora omnium provinciarum. The senate still counted

as the supreme council of the empire, and it was the glory of all the provinces in so far as the most distinguished of the provincials could be summoned into it. Otho by these high-sounding titles tries to win over the goodwill of the senate, which notwithstanding never forgave him the murder of Galba, its chosen representative. See above, c. 76, "sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus."

15. quos cum maxime—Germani. *Cum maxime* = "at this very moment." See c. 29, note on line 14. By *Germani* he implies that the armies of Germany are not so much Roman as German.

16. ulline Italiae alumni. The praetorians were recruited in Italy itself.

17. depoposcerit. This and *audeant* above are again instances of the potential subjunctive, "can any," etc.

19. praestringimus. "We outshine, eclipse, throw into the shade." The older editors and many MSS. read *perstringimus*, but this does not seem, as they assumed, equivalent to *praestringimus*.

imaginem quandam exercitus habet: senatus nobiscum est. 20
 Sic fit ut hinc res publica, inde hostes rei publicae constiterint.
 Quid? vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et
 congestu lapidum stare creditis? muta ista et inanima inter-
 cidere ac reparari promisca sunt: aeternitas rerum et pax
 gentium et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. 25
 Hunc auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum
 et a regibus usque ad principes continuum et inmortalem, sicut
 a maioribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus. Nam ut ex
 vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascuntur."

85. Et oratio apta ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum
 animos et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures quam in
 duos animadverti iusserat) grate accepta, compositique ad
 praesens qui coerceri non poterant. Non tamen quies urbi
 redierat: strepitus telorum et facies belli, militibus ut nihil in 5
 commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos occulto habitu et
 maligna cura in omnes, quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua
 insignis claritudo rumoribus obiecerat. Vitellianos quoque
 milites venisse in urbem ad studia partium noscenda plerique

21. hinc, *i.e.* on our side. inde, on their side, the side of the Vitellians; so Ann. xiii. 38, "ideo artum inde numerum finire et hinc maiorem offerri."

22. quid? vos—creditis? Perhaps taken from Liv. v. 54.

23. muta ista—promisca sunt. This is an imitation of a Greek construction, where the adjective agrees with the subject of the sentence, instead of with the infinitive, *ταῦτα πάλιν ἐρεῖται καὶ ἀποκαθίσταται*. "It is all one whether these fall into ruin or are repaired."

26. hunc auspicato. "With all due auspices." So iii. 72, "sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus conditam." It was somewhat of a fiction that the senate was founded by Romulus; it grew up like the *γερονσία* in Greece from the council of elders with which the primitive kings surrounded themselves. For *sicut*—*sic*, cf. Ag. 31, "ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere fundatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur."

28. ut ex vobis senatores. The tribunes were constantly made senators. In the other clause there may be a reference to the *principes* being also *principes senatus*.

85. 1. et oratio ad perstringendos. So M. Orelli, holding that this construction can hardly stand, inserts *apta* which might easily have dropped out with *o* preceding and *per* following. *severitatis modus*, "the strictly limited severity." *compositique ad praesens*. "Were pacified for the moment." Cf. c. 82.

5. strepitus telorum et facies belli. "There was the din of arms, the look of war." For this use of *facies*, see ii. 32; Ann. i. 49; Verg. Aen. vi. 104. It is probably best to omit the *et* before *militibus*, and to regard the ablative absolutes which follow as explaining or defining wherein the din of arms and look of war consisted. This is Orelli's explanation. Heraeus, retaining *et*, connects the ablative absolute with the following sentence, *Vitellianos* etc., putting a full stop at *facies belli* and a comma only at *obiecerat*. In this he follows Ruperti. *Plerique credebant* becomes thus the apodosis.

6. occulto habitu et maligna cura in omnes. These are descriptive ablatives. The soldiers donned civilian dress, and kept up a system of espionage on all.

9. ad studia partium noscenda. "To ascertain the feeling of parties."

10. secreta domuum. "The privacy of home."

10 credebant. Unde plena omnia suspicionum et vix secreta
domuum sine formidine. Sed plurimum trepidationis in
publico, ut quemque nuntium fama adtulisset, animum vol-
tumque conversis, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere pro-
peris viderentur. Coacto vero in curiam senatu arduus rerum
15 omnium modus, ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas;
et privato Othoni nuper atque eadem dicenti nota adulatio.
Igitur versare sententias et huc atque illuc torquere, hostem
et parricidam Vitellium vocantes, providentissimus quisque
volgaribus conviciis, quidam vera probra iacere, in clamore
20 tamen et ubi plurimae voces, aut tumultu verborum sibi ipsi
obstreptentes.

86. Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus volgata:
in vestibulo Capitolii omissas habenas bigae, cui Victoria
institerat; erupisse cella Iunonis maiorem humana speciem;
statuam divi Iulii in insula Tiberini amnis sereno et immoto
5 die ab Occidente in Orientem conversam; prolocutum in
Etruria bovem, insolitos animalium partus et plura alia rudibus
saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae nunc tantum in metu

12. *animum voltumque conversis.*

This so-called Greek accusative is to be explained by the fact that the accusatives still express the object of the verb, even when the verb has been altered into the passive. As Tacitus seems in other passages only to employ this accusative when the participle is in the nominative, some editors have altered *conversis* here into *conversi*. If *conversis* be retained, it is probably ablative, not dative, as Orelli thinks.

14. *arduus rerum omnium modus.* "It was hard to hit the mean in the different courses; silence would be construed into contumacy, liberty would excite suspicion, flattery would be thrown away on one so lately a flatterer himself."

18. *parricida* means a traitor, one who attacks his fatherland. So Catiline was called, Sall. Cat. 31; Ann. iv. 34, "hinc ipsum Cassium, hinc Brutum nunquam latrones et parricidas—nominat."

19. *volgaribus conviciis.* "General abuse," such as had no special significance.

20. *aut—obstreptentes.* "Or drowning their own meaning in a torrent of words."

86. 1. *diversis auctoribus.* From authorities in different quarters. For these prodigies, see Plut. Oth. 4, Dio, lxiv. 7.

2. *omissas habenas bigae.*

The reins had fallen from the hands of the figure of Victory, which stood on a *biga* on the *area Capitolina*. *Biga* is used in the singular only in later writers. Orelli quotes Suet. Tib. 26, "unius bigae adiectione;" Stat. Silv. iii. 4, 46, "tollit olorinaque iubet considerare biga." By the *vestibulum Capitolii* is meant the *area Capitolina*, the level space on which the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus stood.

3. *erupisse cella.* For *erumpo* with simple ablative, cf. Ann. xii. 7, "qui erumperent curia." The *cella Iunonis* was one of the three *cellae* of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the two others being those of Jupiter himself and of Minerva.

4. *sereno et immoto die.* These words are inserted to show that the change of position was the effect neither of storm nor earthquake. The turning round of the statue was held to presage the transfer of empire from the West to the East. *Tiberini amnis.* Servius says that the river was so called in all religious *formulae*.

7. *in metu audiuntur.* "Are heard of in moments of fear." For *metus*, meaning "a time of fear," see Ann. xv. 44, "quod prospere aut in metu sacra-verat."

audiuntur. Sed praecipuus et cum praesenti exitio etiam futuri pavor, subita inundatione Tiberis, qui inmenso aucto, proruto ponte sublicio ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo iacentia et plana urbis loca, sed secura eiusmodi casuum implevit. Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti. Fames in vulgus inopia quaestus et penuria alimentorum. Corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum fundamenta, dein remeante flumine, dilapsa. Utque primum vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum quod paranti expeditionem Othoni campus Martius et via Flaminia iter belli esset obstructum, a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis in prodigium et omen imminentium cladum vertebatur.

87. Otho lustrata urbe et expensis belli consiliis, quando Poeninae Cottiaeque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis exercitibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam aggredi statuit, classe valida et partibus fida, quod reliquos caesorum ad pontem

8. cum praesenti—futuri pavor. Either because these inundations of the Tiber were regarded (as Pliny tells us, N. H. iii. 5, 55) as prophetic of evil, or because the unusual height of the flood inspired fear that the inundation might be repeated.

10. pontē sublicio. This was built entirely of wood with moveable planks, because of the difficulty which had been encountered in breaking it up when Horatius defended it. Being constructed of wood it has entirely disappeared. It connected the city with the Janiculum, Liv. i. 33; v. 40.

11. iacentia. "Low-lying." So Verg. Aen. i. 224, "despicens mare velivolum terrasque iacentes."

11. secura—casuum. So Verg. Aen. vii. 303, "securus pelagi;" Curtius, ix. 9, 8, "securi casus eius, qui supervenit ignaris."

13. inopia quaestus et penuria alimentorum. Many of the shops lay in the low-lying quarters, the *forum boarium*, the *forum olitorium*, etc.; and besides this, Plutarch (Otho 4) tells us that the bakers' quarter was destroyed, and, perhaps, the storehouses for corn.

14. insularum fundamenta. These *insulae* were the dwellings of the poor, as distinguished from the private houses (*domus*) of the rich. They were often four stories high or more, and were let out in lodgings, each family occupying a flat or part of a flat.

17. campus Martius et via Flaminia. As Otho had to march north, his way would lie across the Campus Martius and then by the Via Flaminia. Suetonius, Oth. 8, says that the road was flooded as far as the 20th milestone, i.e. the whole Tiber valley was filled with the flood. *obstruotum* agrees with *iter*, the last nominative.

18. a fortuitis—vertebatur. "The fact that Otho's march was thus impeded, was divorced from its accidental or natural causes, and construed into a prodigy and omen of coming disasters." There is a somewhat similar use of *ab* in Ann. iv. 20, "nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit," where Nipperdey explains *ab* as "regardless of."

87. 1. lustrata urbe. To do away with the effects of the prodigies. The lustration consisted of the sacrifice by the *pontifex maximus* of a bull, a sheep, and a pig, which were previously led round the *pomoerium*.

1. quando. "Since." The routes by the Pennine and Cottian Alps, the Great St. Bernard and Mont Genève, were the ordinary routes at this time into Transalpine Gaul. For their occupation by the Vitellians, see above, chaps. 66 and 70.

3. Narbonensem Galliam. This could be attacked by sea. The fleet was stationed at Portus Foroiulensis, Fréjus, itself situated on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis.

4. reliquos caesorum. The survivors

- 5 Mulvium et saevitia Galbae in custodia habitos in numeros legionis composuerat, facta et ceteris spe honoratoris in posterum militiae. Addidit classi urbanas cohortes et plerosque e praetorianis, vires et robur exercitus atque ipsis ducibus consilium et custodes. Summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, 10 Suedio Clementi primipilaribus, Aemilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat, permissa. Curam navium Moschus libertus retinebat ad observandam honestiorum fidem immutatus. Peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus rectores destinati. Sed plurima 15 fides Licinio Proculo praetorii praefecto. Is urbanae militiae impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus bonos et modestos anteibat.

of the slain at the Pons Mulvius. On these, see c. 6, note on line 7. in custodia habitos. The MSS. have in custodiam habitos, which is not impossible, being = "cast into prison and kept there."

5. in numeros legiones. Into the cadres of a legion, i.e. he formed them into centuries, maniples, cohorts, etc., though each of these was only a skeleton.

6. honoratoria. Service in the legions or even in the praetorians; service in the marines being comparatively looked down upon.

7. urbanas cohortes. Of these there were at this time four. They ranked after the praetorians.

9. consilium et custodes. A council of war. Et has here, as often in Tacitus, an adversative force. "Their council of war and their guards as well."

10. Suedio Clementi—primipilaribus. It appears from an inscription that Suedius Clemens had had the command of the forces in Egypt. Primipilaribus denotes that they had held the position of primipili in their respective legions.

10. Aemilio Pacensi. For his position as tribunus urbanae cohortis, see 20, 12.

11. curam navium. His duty would be to refit any triremes that got damaged and to see to the rowers, and superintend other arrangements connected with the ships.

13. immutatus. This is the reading of one Florentine MS.; the other MSS. have initalus, invitatus. If immutatus be kept, it means that he was appointed to the office under Nero, and kept it still,

which is also implied in retinebat. Heraeus suggests minister datus. Cf. Suet. Nero 47, "praemissi libertorum fidiissimi Ostiam ad classem praeparandam. ad observandam honestiorum fidem." He was retained by Otho in his office with a view to keeping a watch on the loyalty of men more honourable than himself." Had a new commander of the fleet been appointed, he might not have been willing to undertake such a task.

13. Suetonius Paulinus (Caius). In the capacity of legatus pro praetore he had subdued Mauretania in 41 A.D., having been the first Roman to cross the range of the Atlas (Dio, lx. 9). In 42 A.D. he was consul suffectus. In 61 A.D. he was appointed by Nero to the command in Britain, and succeeded in conquering Anglesey and quelling the British revolt under Boadicea, Ag. 14-16; Ann. xiv. 29-39. In 66 A.D. he was consul ordinarius, Ann. xvi. 14.

14. For Marius Celsus, see chaps. 14 and 71. Annius Gallus has not been previously mentioned. He had been consul suffectus in 64 A.D. He was one of Otho's commanders on the Po, ii. 11, 33, and was subsequently sent into Upper Germany by Mucianus, iv. 68; v. 19. For Licinius Proculus, see i. 46.

15. urbanae militiae impiger. So Ann. iii. 48, "impiger militiae." Ann. xi. 18.

17. ut cuique erat. "The qualities for which they were severally distinguished."

18. anteibat. "Outstripped." It is

88. *Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus. Multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire iubet; in quis et Lucium Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis. Igitur motae urbis curae; nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus. Primores senatus aetate invalidi et longa pace desides, segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas, ignarus militiae eques, quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidī. Nec deerant e contrario qui ambitione stolidā, conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumenta belli mercarentur. Sapientibus quietis et rei publicae cura; levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus spe vana tumens; multi afflicta fide in pace usi turbatis rebus alacres et per incerta tutissimi.*

89. *Sed volgus et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis; quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, secuta tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. Nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarum composuit,*

not used with an accusative by the older prose writers.

88. 1. *sepositus*. "Was banished." See c. 13. *colonia Aquinā*. Aquinum, now Aquino, in Latium. Plutarch, Galb. 23, says that Dolabella had been pressed upon Galba for adoption; he subsequently returned to Rome, and was put to death by Vitellius, ii. 63, 64. *neque arta custodia neque obscura*. He was put in charge of a magistrate at Aquino.

5. *secum expedire iubet*. "Orders to join him in the expedition." For this use of *expedire*, cf. 10, 7.

6. *eodem quo ceteros cultu*. "Treated in the same way as the rest."

8. *nullus ordo*. The *ordines* are enumerated: *primores senatus, nobilitas, eques*.

8. *metu aut periculo*. A sort of hendiadys for *metu periculi*.

12. *qui—quidam*. There is a sort of anacoluthon here; *mercarentur* should have been inserted after *equos*, and *quidam* have begun a new sentence.

16. *afflicta fide in pace usi*. This is Meiser's correction of the reading of the MSS. *multi afflicta fides*. Heraeus suggests *anxii*. For *afflicta fide usi*, Meiser quotes Sall. Jug. iii. 2, "*fluxa fide usus*." "Having experienced a complete loss of credit."

89. 1. *et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus*. "The people untouched by the overwhelming burden of public anxieties." Heraeus inserts *imperii* after *magnitudine*, but this seems unnecessary. For the indifference to public affairs manifested by the people at large, see i. 1, "*primum inscitia reipublicae ut alienae*;" ii. 90, "*volgus vacuum curis*."

3. *quae motu Vindicis, i.e. mala quas*. For the temporal use of the ablative, see ii. 5, "*exitu Neronis*." For the circumstances of the revolt of Vindex, see above, c. 8.

6. *res Caesarum composuit*. "Organised the power of the Caesars."

procul et in unius sollicitudinem aut decus populus Romanus bellaverat; sub Tiberio et Gaio tantum pacis adversa *ad rem publicam* pertinere; Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta
 10 simul audita et coercita; Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classesque et, quod raro alias, praetorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti; Oriens Occidensque et quicquid utrimque virium est a tergo: si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello materia. Fuere qui
 15 proficiscenti Othoni moras religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium afferrent: aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque exitiosam; et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat.

90. Pridie idus Martias commendata patribus re publica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum in fiscum conversas revocatis ab exilio concessit, iustissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed festinata iam pridem exactione usu sterile.
 5 Mox vocata contione maiestatem urbis et consensum populi ac senatus pro se attollens adversum Vitellianas partes modeste

8. *tantum pacis adversa*—*pertinuere*. By *pacis adversa* are meant delations, exiles, and the other misfortunes which accrued from the tyranny of the emperors. *ad rem publicam pertinere*. "Descended on;" so c. 30, "ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt;" iv. 52, "prosperis et alii fruuntur, adversa ad iunctissimos pertineant." The MSS. read *reipublicae*, and *ad rem publicam* is Meiser's correction. Ritter rejects *reipublicae* altogether; Nipperdey reads *reipublicam perculere*.

9. *Scriboniani*. This revolt of Scribonianus took place in 42 A.D. Suetonius, Claud. 13, thus describes it, "bellum civile movit M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, Dalmatiae legatus; verum intra quintum diem oppressus est;" see also Ann. xii. 52, "pater Scriboniani Camillus arma per Delmatiam moverat."

13. *est a tergo*. "Were in the background, remained to be reckoned with," i.e. when the first combat was decided. It was not yet known what line they would adopt.

14. *ducibus aliis*. For a repetition of this judgment, see ii. 38, "quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella ignavia principum factum est."

15. *religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium*. The 12 *ancilia* were brought forth from their place of custody

either in the Temple of Mars or the Curia of the Salii on March 1st; they were retained for the use of the Salii for thirty days, being carried about by them at intervals with songs and dances, and were only put back (*condebantur*) in their place at the end of the month. As Otho set out on March 14, they would have been brought out and not yet restored. This, Suetonius (Otho 8) tells us, was considered unlucky.

17. *Caecina*.—*Alpes transgressus*. We should render this in English, "Caecina's crossing of the Alps."

90. 1. *pridie idus Martias*, i.e. on the 14th. Suetonius says that he did not set out till March 24, but it seems hardly likely that he would have handed over the administration of the empire to the senate so long before.

2. *reliquias Neronianarum sectionum*. This may mean either the sales, which were described in chap. 20, of the property of those whom Nero had enriched, or the sales which took place under Nero of the property of those whom he had condemned. In any case, *reliquiae* means what remained over, still unsold. Plutarch (Oth. 1) seems to imply that the sales referred to are those that took place under Nero.

3. *concessit*. "Granted as a gift." *exactio*. "The realising of the property."

disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum quam audaciam increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit, quando, ut in consiliis militiae Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque volgi ex more adulandi nimiae et falsae: quasi dictatorem Caesarem aut imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant, nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii: ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio et vile iam decus publicum. Profectus Otho quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.

9. *quando*. Tacitus inserts this to explain how he had come to speak of *scriptor orationis*.

11. *Galeri Trachali*. His praenomen was Marcus; he had been consul in 68 A.D. with Silius Italicus. Quintilian has much to tell us about him.

11. *Othonem uti credebatur*. Her-aeus, thinking this construction can hardly stand, encloses *Othonem* in brackets; but the accusative with the infinitive after the passive of *credo* is found above, c. 50, in Ann. ii. 59 and xiv. 48; though Tacitus more often employs the nominative and infinitive, which of course would be the construction here were *Othonem* omitted.

12. *genus ipsum orandi noscerent*. "Professed to recognise his very style." Ann. i. 39, 62.

13. *latum et sonans*. "Copious and sonorous." *Latum* is contrasted with *ad-*

strictum. For the use of *latum*, Orelli quotes Cic. Brutus 120, "nam ut Stoicorum astrictior est oratio aliquantoque contractior quam aures populi requirunt, sic illorum liberior ac latior quam patitur consuetudo iudiciorum et fori." Quintilian, x. 1, 119, praises these kinds of qualities in Trachalus. He had a very fine voice, great fluency, and good action.

14. *nimiae et falsae*, "Overdone and unreal."

15. *imperatorem Augustum*. Augustus adopted *imperator* as a prefix or praenomen in the year 40 B.C.

16. *ex libidine servitii*. "From a passion for servitude." Others take *servitii* as equivalent to an adjective *servili*.

17. *ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio*. "As in the slaves of a private family, each was urged on by his own private motives," i.e. of currying favour with his master.

LIBER SECUNDUS

CHAPTERS 1-9

AFFAIRS IN THE EAST—EARLY MONTHS OF 69

1. Titus is despatched to Rome to offer congratulations to Galba, but returns on receiving at Corinth news of the latter's death. 2. On his way back he stops at Cyprus to visit the temple of Paphian Venus. 3. Origin and nature of the cult. 4. The priest promises him success in his undertakings; forces at the disposal of Vespasian and Mucianus respectively. 5. Character of the two commanders; they agree to throw in their lot together. 6. The soldiers under their command begin to grow restive; 7. but the two generals settle to postpone for the present active measures. 8. Achaia and Asia are alarmed by the appearance of a pretended Nero; 9. but he is seized by the governor of Galatia and Pamphylia and put to death.

CHAPTER 10

AT ROME VIBIUS CRISPUS ATTACKS ANNIUS FAUSTUS

CHAPTERS 11-16

CAMPAIGN IN THE DISTRICT OF THE ALPES MARITIMAE—MARCH 14, AND FOLLOWING DAYS

11. Enumeration of Otho's forces. 12. Expedition of the fleet into the Alpes Maritimae. 13. The Othonians plunder the town of Albintimilium. 14. Valens sends some troops to the assistance of the natives. 15. Defeats are inflicted on both sides and the combatants draw off from one another. 16. Decumus Pacarius makes an abortive attempt to draw over Corsica to the side of Vitellius.

CHAPTERS 17-45

CAMPAIGN ON THE PO—MARCH 14, APRIL 15

17. Caecina's army advance to the Po, and his vanguard crosses it. 18, 19. Spurrina's troops clamour to be led against them, but retire the next day within their fortifications. 20. Caecina crosses the Po, and advances to the attack of Placentia. 21, 22. He lays siege to it, but is repulsed and forced to recross the Po and retire to Cremona. 23. Annus Gallus follows him with the 1st legion (Adiutrix), and takes up his position at Bedriacum; mutinous disposition of the Othonian troops; Otho's brother Titianus made commander-in-chief.

24. Caecina places his troops in ambush at a place called *Ad Castoris*; arrangements made by the Othonians to meet him. 25. The Vitellians are in their turn drawn into an ambush and defeated. 26. General belief that their camp might have been taken but for the treachery or cowardice of Paulinus. 27. The news of this defeat suppresses a mutiny on the point of breaking out in Valens's camp at *Ticinum*. 28, 29. Origin and history of the mutiny. 30, 31. The two armies of Valens and Caecina effect a junction; rivalry between the generals; Otho holds a council of war. 32. Paulinus urges a policy of delay. 33. Otho himself, Titianus, and Proculus are in favour of immediate action; Otho retires to *Brixellum*. 34. The Vitellians begin to construct a bridge over the *Po* in the neighbourhood of *Cremona*. 35. Skirmish between Otho's gladiators and Caecina's troops who are making the bridge. 36. The gladiators are defeated, and Macer, their general, superseded. 37. Rumour that the two armies wished to fraternise and agree on some other emperor. 38. Origin and growth of personal ambitions at Rome. 39. The Othonians advance four miles from *Bedriacum* and there fortify their camp. 40. They set out to march past the camp of the Vitellians to the confluence of the *Adda* and the *Po*. 41. The two armies come in sight of one another, and the battle is begun by the defeat of some of the Vitellianist cavalry. 42, 43. The battle is fought stubbornly for some time, but in the end the Othonians are broken and routed. 44. They fly to their camp; danger of the generals. 45. The next day the vanquished sue for and obtain peace.

CHAPTERS 46-51

DEATH OF OTHO

46. When the news reaches Otho, his soldiers entreat him not to despair; 47. but Otho announces his intention of living no longer. 48. His kindness to his attendants and nephew. 49. At daybreak he falls on his sword and dies; his funeral. 50. His parentage and history. 51. The soldiers wish again to proclaim *Verginius* emperor; he refuses and escapes.

CHAPTERS 52-73

VITELLIUS'S MARCH TO ROME—MAY AND JUNE

52. Danger of the senators left by Otho at *Mutina*. 53. They retire to *Bologna* and prepare to accept *Vitellius* as emperor. 54. A freedman of *Nero* spreads false news of a victory of the Othonians. 55. At Rome the cause of *Vitellius* is at once embraced with enthusiasm. 56. The victorious army spreads plunder and rapine through Italy. 57. News of the battle of *Bedriacum* is brought to *Vitellius*. 58, 59. The two *Mauretaniae* come over to *Vitellius*, *Albinus* their praetor being slain; *Vitellius* advances to *Lyons*, and there meets the chiefs of the victorious and vanquished armies; he entitles his infant son *Germanicus*. 60. *Vitellius* shows clemency to the Othonian leaders. 61. *Mariccus*, a *Boian* Gaul, stirs up a fanatical revolt and is put to death. 62. *Vitellius* gives himself up to gluttony and the enjoyments of the table. 63, 64. He has *Dolabella* executed. 65. *Cluvius Rufus*, governor of Spain, and *Trebellius Maximus*, governor of Britain, join *Vitellius* after he has left *Lyons*. 66. The 14th legion is sent back into Britain; a conflict nearly breaks out between them and the *Batavian* cohorts. 67. The praetorian cohorts are dismissed; most of the other vanquished legions are sent back to their winter quarters. 68. At *Ticinum*

a military *émeute* occurs and Verginius is once more in danger. 69. Vitellius dismisses the German and Gallic auxiliaries to their own homes; many of them are disbanded. 70. Vitellius visits and inspects the field of Bedriacum. 71. He gathers round him the remains of Nero's court and appoints consuls for the rest of the year. 72. A slave giving himself out as Scribonianus Camerinus is taken and crucified. 73. A scout brings word that the East is favourable.

CHAPTERS 74-86

MOVEMENT IN THE EAST—JULY

74. 75. Hesitation of Mucianus and Vespasian. 76, 77. Mucianus at last urges Vespasian to become a candidate for the throne. 78. Vespasian's resolution is confirmed by favourable omens and predictions. 79. He is proclaimed emperor first, on July 1, at Alexandria, and then, July 2, by his own soldiers. 80. Mucianus makes a formal announcement of this to the people of Antioch assembled in the theatre. 81. The whole of the East swears allegiance to him; a council of war is held at Berytus. 82. Measures resolved on for prosecuting the war. 83. Mucianus begins his march towards Italy. 84. Steps taken to raise money. 85. The Moesian legions throw in their lot with Vespasian. 86. The Pannonian legions are induced by Antonius Primus, the Dalmatian by Cornelius Fuscus, to do the same.

CHAPTERS 87-101

VITELLIUS'S ENTRY INTO AND RECEPTION IN ROME—AUGUST

87. Vitellius continues his advance through Italy at the head of great forces and a still larger retinue. 88. Massacre of civilians seven miles from the city. 89. Vitellius's imposing entry into Rome. 90. He addresses the Senate and people and accepts the name of Augustus. 91. He attends the circus and theatre, and takes part in the debates of the Senate. 92. Jealousy and quarrels of Caecina and Valens. 93. Demoralisation of the soldiers. 94. Vitellius humours them in everything. 95. He sacrifices to the shades of Nero; extravagance of the emperor and his freedmen. 96. News reaches him of the revolt of the 3d legion; the tidings are suppressed. 97. Reinforcements sent for from the provinces come in but slowly. 98. The plans of Vitellius are reported to Vespasian, but little information as to Vespasian's movements reaches Rome. 99. Caecina and Valens are ordered to set out for the seat of war; wretched appearance of Caecina's army. 100. Caecina's forces; he plans treachery with Caecilius Bassus, commander of the fleet at Ravenna. 101. Reasons for his treachery; loyalty to Vitellius of the common soldiers.

March
A.D. 823
D. 70

1. *Struebat iam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum initia
causasque imperio, quod varia sorte laetum rei publicae aut*

1. *in diversa parte terrarum.* Hitherto the parts of the empire which had come under the view of the historian had been either the capital itself or the western portions of the empire—Spain, Gaul, and Germany; now he turns to the East.

2. *imperio.* Dependent on *initia causasque*, like i. 67, "initium bello

fuit;" perhaps, however, the use of *struebat* makes the dative more natural.

2. *varia sorte.* The MSS. read *varie ortum*. The emendation is due to Lipsius, and has been generally accepted by later editors. Cf. c. 95, "misera civitas varia et pudenda sorte agebat."

2. *laetum rei publicae aut atrox.* "Fortunate for the republic, or destruc-

atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Iudaea incolumi adhuc Galba missus a patre causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus iuventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. Materia sermonibus senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax, decor oris cum quadam maiestate, prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa et inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum etiam fortuita. Ubi Corinthi, Achaiae urbe, certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbae et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque affirmarent, anxius animo paucis amicorum adhibitis cuncta utrimque perlustrat. Si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti ac se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, set incerta adhuc victoria et concedente in partes patre filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus rem publicam susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.

2. His ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes

tive to it." The reigns of Vespasian and Titus were the former, that of Domitian the latter.

4. *missus a patre*. King Agrippa was sent along with him and prosecuted his journey to Rome. Hegesippus says that Vespasian wished to ascertain Galba's opinion about the Judaic war. Suetonius, Galb. 23, adds that Vespasian believed that Galba had despatched assassins from Spain to make away with him.

5. *officium — ferebat*. "Alleged a visit of courtesy," the paying of his respects. For this use of *officium*, see i. 74, Ann. i. 24; for *ferebat*, see c. 26, Ann. iv. 40.

8. *Intemperantia civitatis*. "The impatience of the state." See on this, i. 12.

10. *fortuna*. "Position." Ov. Trist. iii. 4, 25, "crede mihi, bene qui latuit bene vixit; et intra fortunam debet quisque manere suam." With this description of Titus, cf. Suet. Tit. 3, "in puero statim corporis animique dotes splenduerunt magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus forma egregia, et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae."

11. *prosperae Vespasiani res*. The two latter words are wanting in some MSS., and so some editors omit them

and alter *prosperae* into *prosperae*, connecting it with *praesaga responsa*. The change, however, does not give nearly so good a sense.

11. *praesaga responsa*. "Prophetic utterances," whether of oracles or soothsayers, etc. Suetonius, Vesp. 5, enumerates many such prophetic inspirations.

12. *loco ominum etiam fortuita*. Cf. i. 86, "a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis in prodigium et omen vertebatur."

13. *Achaeae urbe*. This is not inserted to explain the position of Corinth to his readers, for with that they must have been acquainted, but merely to intimate the furthest point to which his journey reached. See Ann. v. 10, "Euboecam Aegaei maris insulam et Peiraeum Atticae orae."

15. *anxius animo*. Cf. c. 65, "laetiam voltu ferens animo anxius."

16. *nullam officii — suscepti*. "There could be no gratitude for a visit of respect originally undertaken to do honour to another."

2. 1. *iactatum spes victi*. The desire for terseness has made the expression somewhat harsh. Ernesti would read *iactatur* or *iactatus*, but this is unnecessary.

vicit. Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum.

5 Laetam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior. Igitur oram Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Suriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit
10 indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere.

3. Conditorem templi regem Aeriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam

2. *desiderio Berenices reginae.* This is the Bernice of the *Acts of the Apostles*. She was great grand-daughter of Herod the Great, grand-daughter of Aristobulus, daughter of Agrippa Major, and sister of Agrippa Minor. She married first her uncle Herod Agrippa, king of Chalcis, and afterwards Polemon II, king of Pontus and Cilicia. She twice visited Rome, but had to be dismissed by Titus on account of the indignation of the people. It was while living with her brother that she visited Festus, Acts xxv. 13, 23; Suet. Tit. 7.

5. *suo quam patris imperio moderatior.* This is confirmed by Dio, lxxvi. 18, and Suet. Tit. 7.

6. *igitur oram—praevectus.* Starting from Corinth he would coast along Attica and Euboea, then strike across the Aegean for the coast of Asia Minor, and descending that coast and leaving it on the left, would reach Rhodes and Cyprus. From this latter island he sailed across the open sea to Syria. By *laeva maris* must thus be understood the sea off the south coast of Asia Minor, which would be on his left as he voyaged towards Syria. *inde Suriam audentioribus spatiis petebat.* Ann. ii. 78, "lato mari pergere in Suriam iubet." For *praevectus*, see Ann. ii. 6, "Germaniam praevectitur;" H. iv. 71.

8. *atque illum.* *Atque* has in this connexion almost the sense of thereupon. For *incessit*, see v. 23, "Civilem cupido incessit navalem aciem ostentandi."

10. *haud fuerit longum.* "It may 'edious';" the hypothesis is under-

stood (if the reader will permit). So we have Ann. xiv. 56, "non decorum fuerit," and xv. 41, "haud promptum fuerit." *initia religionis.* "The origin of the cult." *templi ritum.* The temple is situated on the south-west extremity of the island of Cyprus. It has been lately excavated.

8. 1. *Aeriam.* He is mentioned in Ann. iii. 62 as the founder of the temple of Paphian Venus, "exim Cyprii tribus de delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aerias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae, et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent." Tacitus is, however, the only author who has preserved the record of this earlier tradition. He is also the only writer who mentions Aerias as a name of the Paphian Venus, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ix. part 2, p. 176. As against Tacitus, Herodotus, i. 105, says that the Paphian temple was founded from Ascalon, and Pausanias mentions Agapenor as its founder.

3. a. *Cinyra.* He is frequently mentioned in ancient authors; first by Homer, who describes him as giving Agamemnon a breastplate, Il. λ 20. Pliny tells us that Anacreon ascribed to him a life of 150 years, N.H. vii. 43, 153. Pindar, Pyth. ii. 15, says that the Cyprians have many stories to tell about Cinyras, whom Apollo of the golden locks dearly loved. Arnobius, v. 19, describes him as the founder of the rites of Venus. Ovid mentions him as father of Adonis, Met. x. 298. He was famed for his wealth.

3. *conceptam mari*, i.e. 'Ἀφροδίτη

mari huc adpulsam, sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posterī caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, set mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus, quanquam in aperto, madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens; et ratio in obscuro.

4. Titus spectata opulencia donisque regum, quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati

ἀδελυομένη. huc adpulsam, so Pompinus Mela, ii. 7, and Lucan, Phars. viii. 456, "tum Cilicum liquere solum, Cyproque citatas immisere rates, nullas cui praetulit aras undae diva memor Paphiae, si numina nasci credimus, aut quemquam fas est coepisse deorum."

4. accitam (sc. esse). "Was imported from a distance."

5. Cilicem Tamiram. The Tamiradae were described by Hesychius as priests in Cyprus. Cicero, de Div. i. 1, 2, tells us that the Cilicians were famous for divination by the flight and the songs of birds.

5. familiae utriusque posterī, i.e. the Cinyradae and the Tamiradae.

7. stirpem antecelleret. Tacitus uses *antecello* with an accusative also, Ann. xiv. 55; and *praeello*, Ann. ii. 43; *praeminuo*, Ann. iii. 56. regium genus are the Cinyradae, peregrina stirps, the Tamiradae. A descendant of the Cinyradae is mentioned by Plutarch as still living in Alexander's time.

9. hostiae. These victims were slain, not in sacrifice, but only for the sake of divination; or there may have been two altars (as the recent explorers suggest), one for incense, the other for sacrifice. This was the case in the Temple at Jerusalem. All writers—from Homer downwards—mention the burning of incense on the altar of Paphian Venus.

10. certissima fides haedorum fibris. "The entrails of kids are regarded as the most certain indications." For this use of *fibris* for *extis*, see Verg. Aen. x. 176, "cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent."

11. precibus et igne puro altaria

adolentur. "The altars are honoured by prayers and fire free from blood." For the use of *adoleo*, which, meaning properly "to increase" (though others explain it "to render fragrant by burning"), seems to have gained a derivative sense of burn, see Verg. Aen. iii. 547, "Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores;" Aen. vii. 71, "castis adolet dum altaria taedis;" Lucr. iv. 1237, "adolent altaria donis;" Tac. Ann. xiv. 30, "cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant."

12. quanquam in aperto. "Though in the open air." Pliny, N. H. ii. 96, 210, says "celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cuius quandam aream non impluit." Polybius, xvi. 12, tells us that the same tradition prevails in other places, but he disbelieves it.

13. continuus orbis. It is conical-shaped. This is attested by the authority of other writers; the extreme simplicity of the image is a proof of its great antiquity. It may have been, as the image of Artemis at Ephesus almost certainly was, a meteoric stone. The metae were the conical-shaped pillars round which the race turned in the stadium. Servius says, on Verg. Aen. i. 724, "apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici vel, ut quidam volunt, metae colitur."

4. 2. laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus. This is partly ironical, but the Greeks were much more prolific than the Romans in a mythology which explained the origin of their race. For the construction, see i. 63, "stratis per vias feminis puerisque quaeque alia placamenta." We have to supply *auditis* here.

adtingit, de navigatione primum consuluit. Postquam pandi
viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat
5 caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdotis id nomen
erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere
deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens petito
secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus
suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum
10 fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Iudaicum Vespasianus obpugnatione
Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob in-
genium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis
virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut
15 supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae
bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et
proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis
roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra
quies et inexperti belli dolor. Auxilia utrique cohortium
20 alarumque et classes regesque ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

4. *per ambages interrogat*. "Asks in dark phrases." He did not wish his person to be known, and so does not put his question directly. Suetonius, Tit. 5, says "adito Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est."

6. *ubi — videt*. *Ubi*, and even *postquam*, are used by Tacitus with the present indicative, iv. 32, 57; Ann. iv. 12.

6. *magnisque consultis adnuere*. "The goddess gives her assent to the great questions put to her." So iv. 65, "consulta responsaque," i.e. the questions put and the answers given.

8. *ad patrem*. His father was at this time at Caesarea, on the coast of Palestine.

9. *ingens rerum fiducia*. *Fiducia* is nominative, "a great ground of confidence." For an abstract term thus put in apposition with a person, see the next chapter, "praecipua concordiae fides Titus;" and iv. 85, "praecipua Victoriae fides dux hostium."

11. *profligaverat*. "Had brought almost to a close." For this use of the word, see Cic. ad Fam. xii. 30, 2, "profligato iam bello et paene sublato;" Liv. xxi. 40, 11, "bellum commissum ac profligatum conficere;" Tac. H. iii. 50, "sufficere cohortes alaeque et e legionibus lecti . . . iam bello videbantur."

12. *ob ingenium montis*. *Ingenium* is rarely used of inanimate objects before Tacitus, but not seldom by him, e.g. Ann. vi. 41, H. i. 51, etc. Jerusalem was built, not on a single mountain, but on two, or even four hills; cf. ii. 81, and v. 11.

13. *quam quo*. "Than that there remained any strength over." See Cic. ad Fam. x. 3, 4, "haec amore magis impulsus scribenda ad te putavi quam quo te arbitrarer monitis et praeceptis egere." *Quam quo* thus = *quam eo quod*.

14. *tres, ut supra memoravimus, Vespasiano legiones*. He refers to i. 10. The legions were the 5th Macedonica, the 10th Fretensis, the 15th Apollinaris, quattuor. The four that Mucianus had were the 3d Gallica in part, the 4th Scythica, the 6th Ferrata, and the 12th Fulminatrix.

19. *inexperti belli dolor*. *Labor* is the reading of M., but it is not satisfactory for two reasons—(1) it repeats *labor* from the previous clause; (2) *inexperti belli labor* is an oxymoron scarcely to be tolerated. Orelli proposes *dolor*, this is not very satisfactory; *honor* might possibly be suggested. Ritter suggests *calor*, Rhenanus *ardor*. *Inexperti* is passive, "which had not been experienced."

20. *et classes regesque*. The fleets were those of Pontus, Syria, and Egypt. The kings would be Antiochus, king of

5. Vespasianus acer militiae anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum 5 modum supergressa extollebant; aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utriusque vitiis solae virtutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic Syriae, ille Iudaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu demum 10 Neronis positus odiis in medium consulere, primum per amicos, dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat, natura atque arte compositus alliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni centurionesque et volgus militum industria licentia, per virtutes per voluptates, ut cuique 15 ingenium, adsciscebantur.

6. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitibus, ut adsolet, nuntiis et

Commagene; Agrippa, king of a part of Palestine; Sohaemus, king of Sophene.

5. 1. *acer militiae*. So Vell. i. 3, "*acer belli iuvenis*;" Tac. H. iii. 43, "*strenuus militiae*;" i. 87, "*urbanae militiae impiger*." The genitive is a genitive of respect.

1. *locum castris capere*. This was considered the part of a good general, Ag. 20, "*contracto exercitu, multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare*."

2. *noctu diuque*. An archaic form used by Sallust and copied by Tacitus here, and in Ann. xv. 12.

3. *oblo fortuito*. "Taking the food that came readiest to hand," *τῷ τυχεύοντι*.

5. *Mucianum*. With what is said here should be compared what had been said in i. 10.

6. *aptior sermone*. "More skilled in speech, or conversation." Cf. c. 86, "*sermone promptus*."

6. *dispositu provisuque civilium rerum*. "In the management and foresight of civil affairs." He was not as much of a soldier as Vespasian, but more of a statesman. For *civiles res*, see Ag. 39, "*studia fori et civilium artium decus*;" Ann. iii. 75, "*studia civilia*." Cicero uses *peritus* with *iure*; Tacitus copies this.

10. *exitu—Neronis*. "On the death of Nero." For this ablative of time, see i. 89.

11. *in medium consulere*. "Concerted common measures." In c. 37, we have, "*in medium consultarent*."

13. *aboleverat*. "Had succeeded in abolishing." The pluperfect is used to express a completed result, and usually one brought about suddenly. See c. 25, "*a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerat eques*." Verg. Aen. ii. 254, "*et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat a Tenedo, tacitae per amica silentia lunae, litora nota petens, flammam cum regia puppis extulerat*."

16. *adsciscebantur*. "Were won over." So c. 8, "*militum quosdam ex Oriente commeantium adscivit*."

6. 1. *antequam Titus adventaret*. On this use of the imperfect conjunctive in place of the indicative in historical narratives, see Madvig, § 360 c.

2. *praecipitibus—nuntiis*. The reading of M. is *precibus* and this has been variously emended into *praecipitibus* and *pernicibus*. In ii. 41, we have, "*praecipites exploratores*;" in iii. 40, "*pernicibus nuntiis*." So the parallel passages are pretty evenly balanced, but *praecipitibus* is to be preferred as nearer to the reading of M.

- tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus Oriens tunc primum parabat. Namque olim validissima inter se
 5 civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant; auditique saepius in Syria Iudaeaque Caesares quam inspecti. Nulla seditio legionum; tantum adversus Parthos minae, vario eventu. Et
 10 proximo civili bello turbatis aliis inconcussa ibi pax; dein fides erga Galbam. Mox, ut Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum ire volgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii praemia, penes ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere. Septem legiones statim et
 15 cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Iudaeaque; inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones, hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quicquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur; Asia et ceterae provinciae nec virorum inopes et pecunia opulentae; quantum insularum mari cingitur, et parando interim bello secundum
 20 tutumque ipsum mare.

7. Non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus

3. *tarda mole civilis belli.* "A civil war being a weighty and difficult matter to embark upon." *Moles* expresses that a thing is both weighty and difficult. *validissima inter se civium arma.* "The fiercest armed conflicts of the citizens had been in the West." He refers of course to the conflicts of Marius and Sulla, Sertorius and Pompey, Caesar and the Pompeians in Spain.

7. *auditi saepius—quam inspecti.* The last Caesar who had visited the East was Germanicus, yet the East had ever been effusive in its loyalty to the reigning emperor.

9. *adversus Parthos minae, vario eventu.* Cf. Ann. xv. 27, "multa Romanis secunda quaedam Parthis evenisse."

10. *proximo civili bello.* The outbreak of Vindex and the successful uprising of Galba against Nero are here referred to.

12. *raptum ire.* "Are going to seize on." So Ann. iv. 1, "quo facinore dominationem raptum irit expediam."

14. *circumspicere.* "Regard, reckon up." Cf. c. 74, "Vespasianus procul vel iuxta sitas vires circumspectabat."

14. *septem legiones.* Four in Syria under Mucianus, three in Judaea under Vespasian.

15. *inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones.* "On the one side they were bordered by Egypt with its two legions." Down to the reign of Tiberius, from the time of Julius Caesar, Egypt had had three legions, Suet. Jul. c. 76; but one of them was removed by Tiberius and there had been only two quartered there ever since, Tac. Ann. iv. 5; H. iv. 26. The two legions at present in Egypt were the 3d Germanica and the 22d Deiotariana.

17. *quicquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur.* "All the armed forces which are stationed on the Armenian frontier." Cappadocia was not garrisoned till the time of Vespasian.

18. *pecunia opulentae.* This is Ritter's correction for *pecuniae* of the MSS., which he rejects because of the cacophony, and also because *opulentus* is found with a genitive only once, Hor. Od. i. 17, 16; and in Ann. iii. 76, Tacitus himself uses it with an ablative.

19. *secundum tutumque.* It is favourable because it gives them the means of bringing up supplies, and safe, for the enemy have no fleet to speak of.

7. 1. *impetus.* "Enthusiasm."

aliis placuit expectari. Bello civili victores victosque, numquam solida fide coalescere; nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. Rebus secundis etiam egregios duces inolescere: discordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriam; 5 et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria perituum. Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis; optimus quisque amore rei publicae, multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res. Ita boni malique causis diversis, studio pari bellum 10 omnes cupiebant.

8. Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae, velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e Ponto sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex Italia citharae et 5 cantus peritus, unde illi super similitudinem oris propior ad fallendum fides, adiunctis desertoribus, quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus et militum quosdam ex

2. bello civili victores victosque numquam solida fide coalescere. This is Heraeus's correction of a notoriously corrupt passage. The reading of M., so far as it can be made out is *bellū cum in*, which has been variously emended. The simplest emendation, perhaps, is to read, as Ritter does, *bellantibus aliis placuit expectari bellum cum his*. Meiser (in the new edition of Orelli) suggests *bellum ruere in victos victoresque*, "war is the ruin of conquerors and conquered." This, though preserving the *in*, is rather far from the MS. Pichena suggests *belli exitum*, taken with the preceding words *expectari belli exitum*.

5. discordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriam. The *his* are Otho and Vitellius. Madvig reads *discordia militis, ignavia, luxuria*.

7. distulere Vespasianus — consilia. The meaning is: "All agreed to defer the war, Vespasian and Mucianus having only lately, their friends and companions having long, agreed upon concerted action." Though the sentence as it stands is harsh, it is not harsher than Tacitus might have written. The inferior MSS. have a considerable number of variations, and different attempts have been made to emend the reading, but

none very successfully. The *ceteri* are the friends of Mucianus and Vespasian.

9. ambiguae domi res. "The shaky condition of their own private concerns."

8. 2. velut here means "on the ground that." A sense in which Tacitus generally uses *tanquam*, though *velut* is also but more rarely found.

2. super exitu. "Respecting the death." We should have had in classical Latin *de*. Tacitus uses *super* elsewhere thus, e.g. iv. 40, "consulendum tali super re principem respondit;" and Ann. xi. 23. This use is common in Vergil; cf. Georg. iv. 559; Aen. i. 29, 750, etc.

4. in contextu operis dicemus. This promise is not fulfilled in that part of the *Histories* which is still extant. Suetonius, Ner. 57, records the appearance of another pretended Nero, 88. A.D. Zonaras mentions one in the reign of Titus.

6. propior ad fallendum fides. Heraeus reads, with some of the MSS. and many of the editors, *propior*, but no change is necessary. "He got more ready credence, and so more readily deceived."

9. Cythnum insulam. Now called Thermia. One of the more southerly and westerly of the Cyclades; it had been famous for its gold.

10 Oriente commeantium adscivit vel abnuentes interfici iussit et
 spoliatis negotiatoribus mancipiorum valentissimum quemque
 armavit. Centurionemque Sisennam dextras, concordiae insig-
 nia, Syriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem variis
 artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna clam relicta insula trepidus
 15 et vim metuens aufugeret. Inde late terror; multi ad celebri-
 tatem nominis erecti rerum novarum cupidine et odio prae-
 sentium. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit.

9. Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati
 regendas Galba permiserat. Datae e classe Misenensi duae
 triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam
 tenuit; nec defuere qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent.

5 Is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum
 invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat. Trier-
 archi nutantes seu dolo adloquendos sibi milites et paratis
 omnium animis reversuros firmaverunt. Sed Asprenati cuncta
 ex fide nuntiata; cuius cohortatione expugnata navis et inter-
 10 sectus quisquis ille erat. Corpus insigne oculis comaque et
 torvitate vultus in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

10. In civitate discordi et ob crebras principum mutationes
 inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta parvae quoque res magnis
 motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia potentia ingenio

11. mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit. The Cyclades, and particularly Delos, were notorious for their traffic in slaves.

12. dextras, concordiae insignia. For this see i. 54, note on line 2.

14. donec with the subjunctive expresses a result aimed at or intended, Madvig, § 360 b.

17. gliscentem. A favourite word with Tacitus. See ii. 83, iv. 25, etc.

9. 1. Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias. Pamphylia lay along the south coast of Asia Minor, west of Cilicia. It was originally part of the province of Cilicia; Augustus had made it into a separate province. Claudius attached it to the newly-formed province of Lycia, and finally Galba had placed it under the command of the governor of Galatia. Galatia and Pamphylia were at this time both Caesarian provinces.

3. ad prosequendum, cum quibus—tenult. *Ad prosequendum* is variously explained (1) to act as his, Asprenas's, escort; (2) to follow the fugitive. The former is probably to be preferred.

Ruperti reads *ad persequendum eum*. For *tenere* in the sense of "to reach a port," see Ag. 38, "classis Trutulensem portum tenuit."

5. in maestitiam compositus. "Assuming an air of sadness."

6. ut eum—sisterent. In the classical authors *eum* would have been *se*, as it refers to the principal subject of the sentence.

8. firmaverunt. According to Tacitus's usage, the simple for the compound form *adfirmaverunt*. Cf. Ann. i. 81.

10. corpus. This has been altered by some editors into *caput*, but there is force in Orelli's contention that the verb *pervectum* suits *corpus* better than *caput*; and in Ann. ii. 14, we have "*corpus ut visu torvum*."

10. 3. Vibius Crispus—inter bonos. His praenomen was Caius. He was a native of Vercellae, and had already been *consul suffectus* under Nero, probably in 57 A.D. and *curator aquarum* from 58 A.D. He is praised by Quintilian, v. 13, 6; x. 1; and by Tacitus, Dial. 8 and 13, for his speaking; Juvenal, Sat. v. 81, says

inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Annium Faustum equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat. Nam recens Galbae principatu censuerant patres, ut accusatorum causae noscerentur. Id senatus consultum varie iactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum retinebat adhuc terrores. Et propria vi Crispus incubuerat delatorem fratris sui pervertere traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut indefensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. Contra apud alios nihil aequae reo proderat quam nimia potentia accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum censebant. Et valere primo dilataque in paucos dies cognitio; mox damnatus est Faustus, nequaquam eo assensu civitatis, quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant, nec poena criminis sed ultor displicebat.

11. Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium eius e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quattuor legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis intervallis

of him, "cuius erant mores, qualis facundia, mite ingenium," giving a somewhat more favourable estimate of his character than does Tacitus. He managed, by his adroitness and by ever swimming with the stream to live, in spite of being a trusted councillor of Domitian, to a good old age, Suet. Dom. 3, and Tac. H. iv. 41.

5. *delationes factitaverat*. Cicero speaks of one *qui accusationem factitaverit*, Brut. 130.

6. *recens Galbae principatu*. Altered by Nipperdey into *recenti*. The change is hardly necessary, for *recens* is used elsewhere as an adverb, though apparently only with a participle or adjective. If *recens* be read, it will mean "early in the reign of Galba."

7. *ut accusatorum causae*. This decree is referred to in the speech of Curtius Montanus, iv. 42, "elanguimus, patres conscripti, nec iam ille senatus sumus qui occiso Nerone delatores et ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat."

8. *varie iactatum*. "Having had various fortunes." What the metaphor is is not quite clear. Some explain it "was tossed about," as Cic. de Off. iii. 80, "iactabatur nummus sic ut nemo scire posset quid haberet." Others compare "haec magnis utrimque contentionibus iactata,"

H. iv. 8, where the sense seems to be "banded about," which may be the meaning here.

9. *retinebat adhuc terrores*. Meiser's suggestion in the new edition of Orelli. Heraeus follows Halm, and reads *retinebantur adhuc terrori set*. The reading of M. is *retinebat adhuc terroris et*. This might be taken (if *adhuc* be altered into *adhuc*), "It retained yet some of its terror and;" but it is doubtful whether *retineo* as a verb can govern a genitive. A good many editors since Rhenanus read *retinebatur*. *Ad hoc terroris*, or something equivalent.

10. *Incubuerat delatorem fratris sui pervertere*. The brother referred to is Vibius Secundus, whose condemnation for extortion is mentioned, Ann. xiv. 28. For *incubuerat pervertere*, see Verg. Georg. iv. 249, "incumbent generis lapsi sarcire ruinas."

13. *aeque—quam*. Post-classical for *aeque ac*. Cf. v. 3, "sed nihil aequae quam inopia aquae fatigabat."

18. *cum praemio*. "With profit." Tacitus hints that he had thus made his great wealth.

11. 2. *fuere quattuor legiones*. Two in Dalmatia, two in Pannonia.

3. *bina milia praemissa*. Apparently 2000 from each legion, 8000 in all.

sequebantur, septima a Galba conscripta, veteranae undecima
 5 ac tertia decima et praecipui fama quartadecumani rebellione
 Britanniae compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut
 potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides et erecta in
 Othonem studia. Sed quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia
 tarditas inerat. Agmen legionum alae cohortesque praevenie-
 10 bant. Et ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque
 praetoriae cohortes et equitum vexilla cum legione prima, ac
 deforme insuper auxilium, duo milia gladiatorum, sed per civilia
 arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. His copiis rector
 additus Annii Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas
 15 Padi ripas praemissus, quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceci-
 derant, transgresso iam Alpes Caecina, quem sisti intra Gallias
 posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum
 lecta corpora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus, veterani e prae-
 torio, classicorum ingens numerus. Nec illi segne aut corruptum

4. *septima a Galba conscripta*, i.e. the Septima Galbiana, not Claudiana, stationed in Pannonia; the 11th was stationed in Dalmatia, the 13th in Pannonia, and the 14th in Dalmatia.

5. *rebellione Britanniae compressa*. That under Boadicea was suppressed by Paulinus, 61 A.D. Ann. xiv. 29; Ag. 15. This 14th legion was called, in honour of its victories in Britain, "Gemina Martia Victrix;" how it came at this time to be in Dalmatia is not quite certain; it may either have got so far on its way to take part in the war in the East at the time of Nero's death, or, according to another view, Nero may have summoned it to Rome on the news of Vindex's rising, and Galba have sent it down to Dalmatia, thinking it an element of danger in the proximity of the capital.

6. *addiderat—ut potissimos*. Nero had summoned them either for the war against the Albani or to suppress the rising of Vindex. They were zealous for Otho, regarding him as Nero's avenger.

8. *sed quo plus—tarditas inerat*. For the suppression of *eo* and the substitution of the positive for the comparative in the latter clause, see i. 14, "quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat;" Ann. i. 74, "quantoque incautius effererat, paenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum."

9. *alae cohortesque*. The squad-

rons of horse and cohorts of the allies attached to each legion.

11. *equitum*. Of cavalry belonging to the praetorians. The *vexilla* were small bodies of troops serving under a *vexillum*, Ann. i. 24.

11. *legio prima*, i.e. *legio prima Adiutrix classicorum*. See i. 6 and 31.

13. *etiam severis ducibus*. E.g. by Decimus Brutus, Appian, iii. 49.

13. *rector additus*. "Was attached as commander." For Annii Gallus, see i. 87. He was one of the three commanders-in-chief of Otho's forces.

14. *Vestricio Spurinna*. See below, c. 18. He is praised by Pliny as a good general, Epp. ii. 7; and as a poet, iii. 1, 10.

14. *ad occupandas Padi ripas praemissus*. Both banks of the Po were to be occupied—the south bank in order to prevent the Vitellians from crossing, the north in order to keep open communications with the Pannonian and Dalmatian forces.

15. *prima consiliorum*. "His original plan," apparently, of occupying the Alps.

18. *veterani e praetorio*. Praetorians who had served their sixteen years and been discharged, and were only called out on special emergencies.

19. *classicorum*. They had not yet been formed into a regular legion, i. 87.

luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est et ante signa pedes ire, 20
horridus incomptus famaеque dissimilis.

12. Blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et naves
maiore Italiae parte penitus usque ad initium maritimarum
Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Nar-
bonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium
Pacensem duces dederat. Sed Pacensis per licentiam militum 5
vinctus, Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas, Suedius Clemens
ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae
corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus. Non Italia adiri nec loca
sedesque patriae videbantur: tanquam externa litora et urbes
hostium urere vastare rapere, eo atrocius, quod nihil usquam 10
provisum adversum metus. Pleni agri, apertae domus; occur-
santes domini iuxta coniuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli
malo circumveniebantur. Maritimas tum Alpes tenebat pro-
curator Marius Maturus. Is concita gente (nec deest iuventus)
arcere provinciae finibus Othonianos intendit, sed primo impetu 15

20. *pedes ire*. This is Madvig's correction for *pedestre*. *Ire* is an historical infinitive co-ordinated with the verb *usus* (*est*). To go on foot at the head of their troops was the ancient custom of the Roman commanders.

21. *horridus incomptus*. Juvenal, however, ii. 102, tells us that he took with him a looking-glass, "*res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli*."

12. 2. *penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpium*, *i.e.* to the very farthest confines of Italy. The Maritime Alps were not regarded as a part of Italy, but as a separate province, and were placed by Augustus, like the other border districts of Italy, under the command of a procurator. The province of the Maritime Alps was a small district on each side of the Var, interposed between Italy proper and Gallia Narbonensis. Momm-
sen, P. R. E. vol. i. pp. 17-18.

5. *duces dederat*. Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Aemilius Pacensis had been already mentioned, i. 87, for the command of the naval expedition.

5. *Pacensis* had only had the command of a city cohort, and was looked down upon by the soldiers as a carpet knight; the other two had been merely centurions, and so were held in little estimation.

7. *ambitioso imperio*. A rule which aimed at, because it depended on, popu-

lar favour. See i. 83, "*volgus et plures seditionibus et ambitioso imperio laeti*."

7. *ut—corruptus*. "While weakly yielding as far as the restraints of discipline were concerned, was yet," etc. In i. 35 we have the opposite expression, "*adversus blandientes incorruptus*."

8. *non Italia adiri*. "You would have thought it was not Italy nor the haunts and homes of their fathers which were being visited." Tacitus may have known those who had seen the havoc; he certainly had heard of it from his relations.

11. *adversum metus* means "against such fearful surprises." Orelli compares below iv. 5, "*constans adversus metus*."

12. *securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur*. There are two ways of taking this: (1) in the secure enjoyment of peace they were at the same time (*et*) overtaken by the horrors of war; or (2) they were lured to their destruction by the fancied security of peace and by the horrors of war combined, where *securitate* and *malo* are both instrumental ablatives. The first is to be preferred.

14. *Marius Maturus*. He would seem to have been appointed by Galba, but had probably already joined the cause of Vitellius and remained faithful to it when most others had deserted it, iii. 42.

15. *intendit*. This verb with the infinitive occurs again, Ag. 18.

caesi disiectique montani, ut quibus temere collectis, non castra, non ducem noscitantibus neque in victoria decus esset neque in fuga flagitium.

13. Irritatus eo proelio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albintimilium. Quippe in acie nihil praedae, inopes agrestes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum; sed calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. Auxit
5 invidiam praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quae filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent eoque per cruciatus interrogarent, ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens latere respondit, nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constan-
tiam vocis egregiae mutavit.

14. Imminere provinciae Narbonensi in verba Vitellii adactae classem Othonis trepidi nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere; aderant legati coloniarum auxilium orantes. Duas Tungrorum cohortes, quattuor equitum turmas, universam Treverorum alam
5 cum Iulio Classico praefecto misit, e quibus pars in colonia Foroiuliensi retenta, ne omnibus copiis in terrestre iter versis vacuo mari classis adceleraret. Duodecim equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus adversus hostem iere, quibus adiuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium, et quingenti Pannonii
10 nondum sub signis. Nec mora proelio, sed acies ita instructa,

13. 2. *Albintimilium*. Called by Strabo *Ἀλβιον Ἰντερμηλίον*; it is now called Ventimiglia. The people about are called by Tacitus, Ag. 7, "Intemelios." In this raid the mother of Tacitus's father-in-law Agricola was slain on her own property. Tacitus (*loc. cit.*) describes the Intemelii as a part of Liguria.

6. *credidissent*. "Had come to believe, were persuaded."

14. 1. *in verba Vitellii adactae*. For this expression, see Ann. i. 34, "in verba eius adegit;" and ii. 73, "adac-
tum in verba eius Orientem nuntia-
vere."

3. *aderant legati coloniarum*. "Close after them came representatives of the colonies." There were many Roman colonies in this district, such as Forum Iulii, Aquae Sextiae, Narbo Martius, Arelate, Baeterrae, Arausio.

3. *duas Tungrorum cohortes*. The Tungri occupied a district in the south-east of Belgium, in the neighbourhood of the modern Spa, called by Pliny Fons Tungrorum, N. H. xxxi. 8. The country at this time occupied by the Tungri

seems to have been previously occupied by the Eburones.

4. *universam Treverorum alam cum Iulio Classico*. This was a squadron of native Gallic cavalry, but drilled and disciplined by Roman officers. Julius Classicus played a great part in the revolt of Civilis. We have a full account of him in iv. 55. In Ann. iii. 42, the *ala Treverorum* is mentioned as tempted by Florus to join in the revolt of 21 A.D. against the Romans.

7. *vacuo mari*. "Over a sea left undefended, unprotected." This sense of *vacuus* occurs elsewhere in Tacitus, e.g. iii. 2, "vacuumque Illyricum mare;" iii. 47, "vacuo mari eludens;" it comes from its sense of "masterless," "unoccupied."

9. *Ligurum cohors vetus loci auxilium*. "The long standing police of the district." All these smaller provinces were defended by a native militia. The Pannonian recruits had probably joined Vitellius before the legions had declared for Otho.

10. *nec mora proello*. "Nor was the engagement long deferred."

ut pars classicorum mixtis paganis in colles mari propinquos
exsurgeret, quantum inter colles ac litus aequi loci praetorianus
miles expleret, in ipso mari ut adnexa classis et pugnae parata
conversa et minaci fronte praetenderetur: Vitelliani, quibus minor
peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis iugis, cohortes den- 15
sis ordinibus post equitem locant. Treverorum turmae obtulere
se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a
latere saxis urgeret apta ad iaciendum etiam paganorum manus,
qui sparsi inter milites, strenui ignavique, in victoria idem
audebant. Additus percussis terror inventa in terga pugnantium 20
classe. Ita undique clausi deletaeque omnes copiae forent,
ni victorem exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui
fugientibus.

15. Nec Vitelliani quanquam victi quievere: accitis auxiliis
securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt.
Caesi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum apud navis, donec
sidente paulatim metu, occupato iuxta colle defensi, mox
irrupere. Atrox ibi caedes et Tungrarum cohortium praefecti 5
sustentata diu acie telis obruuntur. Ne Othonianis quidem
incruenta victoria fuit, quorum inprovidi secutos conversi equites
circumvenerunt. Ac velut pactis indutiis, ne hinc classis inde
eques subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani retro Antipolim

11. *mixtis paganis*. The *paganis* are here contrasted with the soldiers as countrymen, civilians. See i. 53; ii. 88; iii. 24; iv. 20. For *exsurgeret*, used in the sense of "stretching up a hill," see iv. 23, "pars castrorum in collem leniter exsurgens."

13. *ut adnexa classis praetenderetur*. "That the fleet closely linked with it, was stretched along the coast for its defence." The *ut* follows *ita instructa, conversa et minaci*. "Their bows turned to the shore and threatening the enemy." The usual custom was for the ships to be drawn up with their bows seaward.

15. *Alpinos*. By these we must understand the *Ligurum cohortes* referred to above.

20. *additus percussis terror*. Here, as elsewhere, Tacitus is not quite clear in his account of the battle. The fleet could hardly be on their rear if the cavalry advanced from the interior. Tacitus, however, means that they came along the coast from Forum Iulii, and so encountered the enemy posted on the hills and the infantry in the valley in front; in which

case the fleet might very well have taken them in the rear.

21. *forent*. In Cicero we should have had *essent*, but this form occurs also in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, Ag. 16, "quod nisi Paulinus—subvenisset amissa provincia foret."

22. *obtentui fugientibus*. Either "a covering for the fugitives;" or less likely, "what gave the fugitives an excuse for their flight." For *obtentus* in the sense of a covering, see Verg. Aen. xi. 66, "exstructosque toros *obtentu* frondis in-umbrant." Tacitus uses the verb *obten-dere* in this sense, iii. 56.

15. 1. *accitis auxiliis*. From Colonia Foroiuliensis, where they had been left. See c. 14.

3. *perrupta castra*. "Their camp was broken into;" so iv. 34. *sidente*. The simple, as often in Tacitus, for the compound *resistente*. *irrupere*. "They made a sally."

7. *quorum*. This genitive depends on *inprovidi secutos*; it is a partitive genitive, there being only some of the whole number who followed in this rash fashion.

9. *Antipolim*. A colony from

- 10 Narbonensis Galliae municipium, Othoniani Albigaunum interioris Liguria⁹ revertere.

16. Corsicam ac Sardiniam ceterasque proximi maris insulas fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit. Sed Corsicam prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli nihil in summam profutura, ipsi exitiosa.

- 5 Namque Othonis odio iuvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani auxilio, etiam si provenisset. Vocatis principibus insulae consilium aperit et contra dicere ausos, Claudium Pyrrhicum trierarchum Liburnicarum ibi navium, Quintium Certum equitem Romanum, interfici iubet. Quorum morte
10 exterriti qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperitorum turba, in verba Vitellii iuravere. Sed ubi dilectum agere Pacarius et inconditos homines fatigare militiae muneribus coepit, laborem insolitum perosi infirmitatem suam reputabant: insulam esse quam incolerent et longe Germaniam
15 viresque legionum, direptos vastatosque classe etiam quos cohortes alaeque protegerent. Et aversi repente animi, nec tamen aperta vi: aptum tempus insidiis legere. Digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops balineis interficitur; trucidati et comites. Capita ut hostium ipsi inter-
20 sectores ad Othonem tulere; neque eos aut Otho praemio

Marseilles, now Antibes. It enjoyed Latin rights.

9. interioris Liguria⁹. "Belonging to the more inland part of Liguria." So Ann. v. 10, "Piraeum Atticae orae." Albigaunum is now Albenga.

16. 3. adflixit. "Plunged in misfortune." The word occurs again, c. 33, "is primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit."

3. procuratoria. Though Corsica and Sardinia were originally senatorial provinces, in consequence of the prevalence of brigandage they had been taken over by the emperor in 6 A.D. In 66 A.D. Nero restored them to the senate, but they continued still to be governed by a procurator.

4. tanta mole—profutura. "Where the scale of the war was so vast, would have had no effect upon the main issue." M. reads in summa, which Orelli, on the strength of Ann. xiii. 38, was inclined to retain. But the reading in the passage cited is doubtful, and elsewhere we have uniformly in summam. The alteration, however, of profutura into the more usual profectura seems needless.

8. Liburnicarum ibi navium. The Liburnicae naues were long and narrow ships modelled after the Illyrian pirate ships. They were first employed in the Roman navy after the battle of Actium. Ibi is equivalent to an adjective; circum, iuxta, etc. are employed in the same way.

11. in verba Vitellii iuravere. The emperor himself, or his representative, repeated the oath and the soldiers repeated it after him, hence the origin of the phrase, Ann. i. 7.

12. inconditos. "Undisciplined," used to a rough and so a free life.

15. direptos vastatosque classe. Referring to the inhabitants of the Ligurian coast.

17. qui Pacarium frequentabant, i.e. the people of Corsica, whether natives or Romans, who attended his court, as distinct from the comites who had come with him from Rome. See Ann. v. 10.

18. balineis. Probably a temporal ablative, "at the time of his bath," like comitiis, ludis, gladiatoribus.

affecit aut puniit Vitellius, in multa conluvie rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.

17. Aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent, sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (namque et praemissae a Caecina cohortes advenerant) tenebatur. Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam; intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque. Quo successu Vitellianus miles non iam flumine aut ripis arcebatur: inritabat quin etiam Batavos Transrhenanosque Padus ipse; quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi raptis quibusdam exploratoribus ita ceteros terruere, ut adesse omnem Caecinae exercitum trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent.

18. Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam optinebat) necdum venisse Caecinam et, si propinquaret, coercere intra munimenta militem nec tres praetorias cohortes et mille

21. maioribus flagitiis permixtos. "This case got mixed up with, and so escaped detection among, greater crimes." We have a somewhat similar thought more clearly expressed in Ann. xvi. 8, "mox Neronem circa summa scelera distentum quasi minores evasere."

17. 1. aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat. M. reads *bellumque*, which has been altered into *bellum quod* by Heraeus, who takes *bellum* as nominative to *aperuerat*. This does not improve the sense. For *aperuerat Italiam*, see Ag. 22, "hic tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit." Cicero (Phil. vii. 2) uses the somewhat similar phrase, "ut reserare nos exteris gentibus Italiam iuberet." In H. iii. 5 there occurs the phrase "transmittere in Italiam bellum;" and Ann. ii. 6, "transmittendum ad bellum opportuna."

4. faciles, incuriosos. The adjectives express the result of the verb. For *faciles occupantibus*, "a ready prey to invaders," cf. Ann. ii. 27, *facilem inanimibus*. *Incuriosus* generally governs a genitive in Tacitus, but in Ann. xiv. 38 it is used, as here, with a dative: "serendis fructibus incuriosus." The phrase means "careless which are the better," i.e. of the two combatants.

6. praemissae a Caecina cohortes.

They were cohorts of Gauls, Lusitani, Britons, some detachments of Germans, and the Petrine squadron of horse, i. 70.

7. capta Pannoniorum cohors. For this, see above (ii. 11). The Vitellians had the great tactical advantage of moving on the inner circle. Ticinum is now Pavia.

10. inritabat—Padus ipse. The sight of the Po stirred them up to show their skill in swimming, for which they were famous. See iv. 12; Ann. ii. 8.

13. trepidi ac falsi. "Bearers of false tidings in their panic."

18. 1. certum erat Spurinnae is used by a kind of zeugma in two different senses; coupled with the first infinitive it means "he had ascertained," with the two others, "he had resolved." Spurinna had been mentioned above, c. 11, as sent with Annius Gallus to hold the banks of the Po. Pliny speaks of him in his *Letters* as a general of distinction, recording in ii. 11 that he had a triumphal statue erected to him for successes against the Bructeres.

2. coercere. Would have been in classical Latin rather *continere*.

3. mille vexillarii. These are soldiers detached from their proper regiments, and serving for a time under a *vexillum* of their own; hence their name.

- vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exercitui obicere.
 5 Sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus correptis signis vexillisque
 ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare spretis centurionibus tribu-
 nisque: quin prodi Othonem et accitum Caecinam clamitabant.
 Fit temeritatis alienae comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox
 velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio
 10 mitesceret.

19. Postquam *non iam* in conspectu Padus et nox appete-
 bat, vallari castra placuit. Is labor urbano militi insolitus
 contundit animos. Tum vetustissimus quisque castigare credu-
 litatem suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu
 5 Caecina patentibus campis tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset.
 Iamque totis castris modesti sermones, et inserentibus se cen-
 turionibus tribunisque laudari providentia ducis, quod coloniam
 virium et opum validam robur ac sedem bello legisset. Ipse
 postremo Spurinna non tam culpam exprobrans quam rationem
 10 ostendens relictis exploratoribus ceteros Placentiam reduxit
 minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propug-
 nacula addita, auctae turres, provisa parataque non arma modo
 sed obsequium et parendi amor, quod solum illis partibus defuit,
 cum virtutis haud paeniteret.

5. *indomitus* has here the sense of ungovernable, as in iv. 35.

7. *quin* is here for *quinetiam*. The MSS. insert before *quin prodi, providentiam ducis laudari*, but these words have clearly crept in from the next chapter. They make no good sense here, and the variations in the MSS. (some reading *tribunisque providentiam ducis laudantibus*) show that the copyists felt the difficulty. Plutarch tells the story of the mutinous conduct of the troops at greater length. The readiness of the Roman soldiers, at this time, to fancy themselves betrayed is a marked feature of the history.

10. *mitesceret*. Livy uses this word of a mutiny, v. 15, "mitescere intestinae discordiae coeptae."

19. 1. *non iam in conspectu Padus*. This is Meiser's correction of *in conspectu* in M. Heraeus suggests *e conspectu*. The difficulty in the original reading is that Placentia is itself on the Po; the garrison, therefore, would be alarmed, not when they were in sight of, but when they lost sight of, the river.

3. *contundit animos*. "Cows their spirit," a strong expression. Cicero uses

it in connexion with *frangere*, Phil. xiii. 29. The legionaries would, of course, be still quite familiar with such duty; it was only the "city soldiery," of which Otho's army was so largely composed, to whom it would seem strange.

5. *patentibus campis*. The country round Placentia is very flat and open; they had strayed some way from their base, though on which side of the river is not quite clear—most probably they had crossed the river and were making their way through the level fields to the north of it.

8. *virium et opum validam*. "Strong in resources and wealth." So Ann. iv. 21, "orandi validus." The genitive in such cases is a kind of extension of its use after such adjectives as *plenus*, etc. *Virium* refers to population, perhaps also to position. *Opum* covers resources of all kinds. *robur ac sedem* is almost a hendiadys = "a strong base of operations."

9. *rationem ostendens*. "Explaining his plan of operations." So c. 26, "apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata."

11. *propugnacula* are battlements; the technical term for them would be *pinnae*.

14. *cum—paeniteret*. "Since with

20. At Caecina velut relictæ post Alpes sævitia ac licentia modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, bracas, barbarum tegimen, indutus, togatos alloqueretur. Uxorem autem eius Saloninam, quanquam in nullius iniuriam 5 insigni equo ostroque veheretur, tanquam laesi gravabantur, insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acerbis oculis introspicere modumque fortunæ a nullis magis exigere quam quos in æquo viderunt. Caecina Padum transgressus, temptata Othonianorum fide per colloquium et promissa, isdem 10 petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus iactata sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiæ magno terrore vertit, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore.

21. Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani exercitus artibus transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo

their valour no fault could be found;" Liv. viii. 23, "minime paenitere se virium suarum si bellum placeat;" Ag. 33, "neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit."

20. 2. *modesto agmine*. "A well disciplined march." in *superbiam* trahebant. "Construed as pride;" with the notion that it was not the natural interpretation to put on his conduct.

3. *versicolori sagulo, bracas—indutus*. The plaid and the breeks were then, as now, the national costume of the Celts. See v. 23; Caes. B. G. v. 42. Gallia Transalpina was sometimes called Gallia Bracata. The construction *bracas indutus* is frequent enough in poetry; the accusative comes from the action of the verb being still regarded as retained, even when the verb has passed into the passive voice. *barbarum tegimen*. "A barbarian dress." Ritter and Heraeus bracket these words, partly on the ground that Tacitus never uses the contracted form *tegmen* (which most of the MSS. give) for *tegumen*, partly that he nowhere else puts another word in apposition with the Greek accusative, as here.

5. *uxorem autem*. Heraeus and other editors have altered this into *uxoremque eius*, on the ground that Tacitus never uses *autem* in narrative, but only in speeches. It is not, however, safe to alter a well-attested reading on the strength of such a generalisation; nor is it necessary to insert *quod* before *quanquam*

with Classen, since *in nullius iniuriam* becomes by its position virtually the predicate of the sentence. For *gravari*, "to be angry with," governing an accusative, see Ann. iii. 59, "gravaretur aspectum civium senex imperator." Sen. de Clem. i. 131, "at illum acerbum et sanguinarium necesse est graventur stipatores sui;" Hor. Od. iv. 11, 27.

9. *quos in æquo viderunt*. "Whom they have seen in the same position as themselves;" literally "on a level with themselves." Ann. ii. 44, "virtus ducum in æquo."

10. *isdem petitus*. "Attacked in turn by the same acts." So iv. 56, "iisdem quibus petebatur, grassari."

12. *iactata sunt*. "Were bandied about." A neuter plural after two feminine nominatives, because neither of the subjects are personal, Madvig, § 214 c.

13. *ut—fore*. The sentiment is repeated, Ag. 18, "non ignarus instandum famæ ac prout prima evenissent, terrorem caeteris fore;" Ann. xii. 31, "gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni."

21. 1. *impetu magis*. *Impetus* seems here to have the sense of a desultory or hasty attack; the arts of a veteran army are caution and prudence.

2. *aperti*. "Unprotected;" generally of a part unprotected by armour, here of a force which has no adequate defensive means at its disposal for conducting a siege.

- vinoque praegraves. In eo certamine pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus situm extra muros conflagravit, sive ab oppugnantoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes et missilem ignem in obsessos iaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum paria regerunt. Municipale volgus pronum ad suspiciones fraude inlata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret.
- 10 Quocumque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum, reddita securitate, tanquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, maerebant. Ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus Caecina, et nox parandis operibus absumpta. Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas subfodiendis muris protegendisque obpugnatoribus,
- 15 Othoniani sudes et immensas lapidum ac plumbi aerisque moles perfringendis *operibus* obruendisque hostibus expediunt. Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria et diversae exhortationes hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium decus attollentium; illi ut segnem
- 20 et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant. Simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesve uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur.

22. Vixdum orto die plena propugnatoribus moenia, fulgentes armis virisque campi; densum legionum agmen, sparsa

3. *pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus*. In English we should say "the amphitheatre, a noble work."

6. *dum paria regerunt*. M. reads *reportans gerunt*. The above is Meiser's correction. Heraeus suggests *dum retro transgerunt*, "while they return the fire of the enemy across the amphitheatre." Gronovius, followed by many editors, *retorta ingerunt*. The present with *dum* is equivalent to a present participle, see iii. 71.

8. *invidia et aemulatione*. "The envy which comes of rivalry." The words are also coupled together, iii. 65; ii. 101. *moles*. "Massive structure."

10. *in levi habitum*. "It was thought light of." Repeated, Ann. iii. 54, "in levi habendum."

13. *absumpta*. M. has *adsumpta*, which might mean "was spent in addition to the day."

13. *pluteos cratesque et vineas*. These were different kinds of protective devices adopted by the besiegers—the

first are mantlets, to protect them in front; the second are shelters to protect them on the sides; and the third pent-houses, to shelter them above.

16. *operibus*. The defensive works for their own protection erected by the besiegers. It is a correction of the editors for *hostibus*.

17. *pudor*. "Shame at the thought of yielding." *gloria*. "Desire of the glory of conquering;" it might, however, refer to pride in the glory of past victory. Cf. Ann. i. 43, "quos iam pudor et gloria intrat." The whole sentence brings out the true nature of the struggle, a conflict between the praetorians and the legionary troops.

22. *uberioribus inter se probris*. "They were stirred against one another by mutual reproaches, a more fruitful theme than the praises either had to bestow on their own chiefs."

22. 2. *densum legionum agmen*. A difficulty has been raised because in i. 61 it was stated that Caecina had only

auxiliorum manus altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis incessere, neglecta aut aevo fluxa comminus adgredi. Ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo ictu adversus temere 5 subeuntes cohortes Germanorum cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros scuta quatientium. Legionarius pluteis et cratibus tectus subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas: contra praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt. Pars subeun- 10 tium obruti, pars confixi et exsanguis aut laceri: cum augeret stragem trepidatio eoque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere infracta partium fama. Et Caecina pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus isdem castris adsideret, traiecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. 15 Tradidere sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum compluribus classicis et Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae in Batavis genitus, ille primipilaris et Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

23. Spurrinna comperto itinere hostium defensam Placentiam, quaeque acta et quid Caecina pararat, Annium Gallum per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium Placentiae

one complete legion with him, the 21st; but though Tacitus says that this was the backbone of his force, he mentions that he had detachments also from other legions, so that his whole army amounted to 30,000 men; there would thus be ample material out of which to construct two legions.

4. aevo fluxa. "Crumbling from age." *Aevo* is used for variety's sake instead of *vetustate*.

5. librato magis et certo ictu. "With a better directed and more secure aim." They had the advantage of shooting from above, and also from a position of comparative safety.

6. cantu truci. For this fierce song of the Germans called *barditus*, see G. c. 3. The Germans did not belong to the legions, but to the auxiliary troops whom he has just mentioned. In the next sentence the legionaries are contrasted with them. *nudis corporibus* does not mean that their bodies were bare, but that they were lightly clad and had no defensive armour.

8. instruit aggerem. "Lays a causeway up which the attack on the walls may be the better made." In this sense, Ann. ii. 81, the phrase "peti

aggerem," "materials for the construction of such a mound or causeway are to be sought," is used. For *molitur portas*, see Ann. i. 39, "*moluntur fores*" = "try to break in the gates."

10. pars subeuntium obruti. For this use of the plural verb with a collective noun, see Madvig, § 215 a. *exsanguis*. "Bleeding to death."

15. adsideret. "Lie idly in." Like *προκαθίζεσθαι*, Thuc. i. 26.

15. Cremona was north, Placentia south of the Po. Hence *traiecto rursus Pado*. He had crossed the river once to besiege Placentia, he recrossed it to attack Cremona. Cremona lies northeast from Placentia, and east of the junction of the Adda with the Po.

16. Turullius, or as the name is otherwise spelt, Turrilius Cerialis is not otherwise known. For the classic of whom Otho had brought a large number with him, see above, chaps. 11 and 17.

17. Iulius Briganticus was nephew to Civilis the Batavian chief, but opposed him, iv. 71, and died fighting against him, v. 21. *hic* refers to him, *ille* to Cerialis. *ordines* — *duxerat*. "Had been a centurion under him."

ducebat, diffusus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium et
 5 vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent. Ubi pulsum
 Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre coercitam legionem
 et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam Bedriaci
 sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus
 iam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque.

- 10 Isdem diebus a Marcio Macro haud procul Cremona
 prospere pugnatum. Namque promptus animi Marcius trans-
 vectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente
 effudit. Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia et ceteris Cremonam
 fugientibus caesi qui restiterant. Sed repressus vincentium
 15 impetus, ne novis subsidiis firmati hostes fortunam proelii
 mutarent. Suspectum id Othonianis fuit omnia ducum facta
 prave aestimantibus. Certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus,
 procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium
 Celsum aliosque quos Otho praefecerat variis criminibus in-
 20 cesserant. Acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta
 interfectores Galbae: scelere et metu vecordes miscere cuncta,
 modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem
 litteris; qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens trepida-

23. 4. ducebat. The tense implies that he had already started, and was now on his way.

4. diffusus paucitati. This is a correction for *paucitate* of M. *ne—parum tolerarent*. "They should prove unequal to withstanding."

7. Bedriaci. The name is variously spelt; some MSS. give *Bebriaci*. Suetonius gives *Betriacum*, Plutarch *Βηβριακόν*, Josephus *Βηβριακόν*; Juv. ii. 106, "Bebriaci campo spoliū affectare Palati." It is situated nearly due east of Cremona, and about half way between it and Mantua, not on the Po but north of it, near the junction of the two streams Ollenus and Clusius. It is much nearer to Cremona than to Verona. Gallus, advancing from Verona, halts at Bedriacum, as the object of his march was accomplished, the siege of Placentia having been raised, and at Bedriacum the legions coming from Illyria would be able to join him.

8. duabus cladibus. He refers to the defeat of the Othonians by Vitellius, of the Vitellians by the generals of Vespasian.

11. promptus animi. For this genitive of relation, as it is called, we may compare i. 53, "animi inmodicus." The

genitive expresses the thing in point of which the term is applied to the person. Roby regards this particular genitive as originally a locative, § 1168.

12. in adversam, i.e. the left or north bank of the Po.

14. vincentium. Not the victorious gladiators only, but the whole body of the Othonians.

17. prave aestimantibus. "Who put a bad construction on." This mutual distrust of generals and soldiers was the ruin of the cause of the Othonians.

19. aliosque quos. This is Meiser's correction of the reading of M. *nam eos quoque*. Heraeus, following Urlichs, reads *nam eos copias Otho praefecerat*; Ritter would reject the parenthesis as altogether spurious. There is in it a reference to i. 87. The others referred to are Spurius and Macer. *inceaserant*. This, the reading of M., has been altered by Heraeus and others into *incesebant*. The change is unnecessary, for the pluperfect here, as elsewhere, denotes the promptitude with which the attacks were made. Such a use of the pluperfect is sufficiently frequent. See above, c. 5.

23. humillimo cuique. "All the

bat, rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa melior. Igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit. 25

24. Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregie gestae. Angebant Caecinam nequiquam omnia coepta et senescens exercitus sui fama. Pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxiliis, etiam per concursum exploratorum, crebra magis quam digna memoratu proelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, recipere gloriam avidius quam consultius properabat. Ad duodecimum a Cremona (locus Castorum vocatur) ferocissimos auxiliarium imminentibus viae lucis occultos componit; equites procedere longius iussi et irritato proelio sponte refugi festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiae coerentur. Proditum id Othonianis ducibus, et curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpserunt. Tertiae decimae legionis vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinere; dextra fronte 15

lowest of the people." bonos. Tacitus understands by them those who had a real regard for the republic.

25. Titianum fratrem. He had been nominated consul along with Otho himself, i. 77. He seems not to have arrived at once, at least he did not take the command at once.

24. 1. interea. Before Titianus arrived to take over the chief command. Annian Gallus is not mentioned, because he was at this time laid up in consequence of a fall from his horse. See below, c. 33.

2. angebant Caecinam. Translate "Caecina was galled by the ill-success of all his projects and the waning repute of his army."

4. etiam per concursum—inferior. "Worsted even in the chance encounters of the skirmishers, conflicts more frequent than deserving of mention." proelia is in apposition with concursum and explains it.

6. Illuc concederet. "Should fall to his (i.e. Valens's) share." Illuc is for in illum. It is so used again, iv. 79, "namque et Civilis illuc (i.e. in illos) intenderat;" Ann. i. 3, "illuc cuncta vergere" = in illum.

8. locus Castorum vocatur. This was a temple of Castor and Pollux. Suetonius, Oth. 9, calls it "ad Castoris," Orosius, "Castores." Such a temple, e.g. the

one at Rome, is often called Castorum; it was situated twelve miles east of Cremona, in the direction of Mantua, ferocissimos has simply the sense of "the bravest." occultos componit = componit ita ut occultis essent. Componit has the sense of his doing it quietly and stealthily.

10. irritato proelio sponte refugi. "After drawing on the enemy to battle and then voluntarily retiring." Refugi is of course an adjective.

12. curam has here, as elsewhere in Tacitus, the sense of "command," e.g. Ann. xiii. 20, "mandata ei cohortium praetorianarum cura."

13. tertiae decimae legionis vexillum. "A detachment of the 13th legion." This vexillum was an advanced guard, which is mentioned as having been despatched in c. 11. The main body of the legion was hurrying up from Pannonia.

14. in sinistro, i.e. as the forces were facing west on the south side. The via was the via Postumia, which in this low-lying district was carried on a raised causeway, hence the phrase agger viae which is itself taken from Vergil, Aen. v. 273. altis ordinibus. Their front on the causeway was necessarily narrow; hence they were drawn up deep.

15. dextra fronte. On the north side of the road; the force here was strengthened, because it was on this side

prima legio incessit cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus: super hos e praetorio auxiliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.

25. Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus doli prudens repressit suos: Vitelliani temere exsurgentes cedente sensim Celso longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur. Nam a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa
 5 frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites. Signum pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paulino pediti datum: cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent, compleri fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem iubebat, satis cito incipi victoriam ratus, ubi provisum foret, ne
 10 vincerentur. Ea cunctatione spatium Vitellianis datum in vineas nexu traducum impeditas refugiendi, et modica silva adhaerebat, unde rursus ausi promptissimos praetorianorum equitum interfecere. Volneratur rex Epiphanes inipigre pro Othone pugnam ciens.

that the enemy's ambush lay. *prima legio*. This legion—the *prima Adiutrix*—had come with Otho from Rome.

18. *cumulus prospera*. "To give them additional weight if victorious, or to serve them as a reserve if in difficulties."

25. 2. *Vitelliani temere exsurgentes*. These were those whom Caecina had placed in ambush in the wood which overhung the road.

3. *ultro*. "In their turn."

4. *nam a lateribus cohortes—equites*. There are two difficulties here; how did the cohorts appear on the flanks, the legions in the centre, when at the close of the last chapter their position is stated as just the reverse? What are the legions referred to, as only one (the 1st) has been mentioned? In the first place the *cohortes* are not the praetorian cohorts but auxiliaries attached to the detachment of the 13th and to the 1st legion respectively. In the second place the praetorian cohorts in the centre seem to have hung back, while the legionary troops on the wings advanced, and closing up, formed a fresh front in advance of the praetorian cohorts. The two legions are the 1st and part of the 13th. The horsemen who took the enemy in the rear were partly the cavalry mentioned at the end of the last chapter 1000 strong, partly the 500 cavalry stationed on the left, whom Celsus

had caused temporarily to retire behind the legionary troop. These seem to have made a detour on either flank (*subito discursu*, cf. Verg. Aen. v. 580, "*discurrere pares*," of cavalry manoeuvres) and so got behind the enemy.

6. *cunctator natura et cui*. Tacitus is fond of this conjunction of a relative clause with a descriptive adjective. See i. 10, "*apud collegas variis illecebris potens, et cui expeditius fuerit trahere imperium quam obtinere*."

8. *aperiri campum, i.e. by cutting down trees, clearing away shrubs and brushwood, and the interlacing tendrils of the vines*.

10. *in vineas nexu traducum impeditas*. The vines in the plain of Lombardy are trained from tree to tree, and the tendrils and long shoots of the vines make a considerable barrier.

12. *rursus ausi* has a sort of pregnant meaning, "plucking up heart to advance again."

13. *rex Epiphanes*. He was not actually king, but son of Antiochus, king of Commagene. The term *rex* is applied loosely to all the members of the royal house. The father, Antiochus, is mentioned, Ann. xii. 55; xiii. 7, 37; xiv. 26; H. ii. 81; v. 1. What had brought the son at this time to Rome is not certain.

14. *pugnam ciens*. The phrase is repeated, Ann. iii. 41; it is poetical.

26. Tum Othonianus pedes erupit. Protrita hostium acie
 versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant. Nam Caecina non simul
 cohortes, sed singulas acciverat; quae res in proelio trepida-
 tionem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam validos pavor fugientium
 abriperet. Orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi duce- 5
 rentur: vinctus praefectus castrorum Iulius Gratus, tanquam
 fratri apud Othonem militanti prodicionem ageret, cum fratrem
 eius, Iulium Frontonem tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine
 vinxissent. Ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes
 occursantes, in acie pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu 10
 Caecinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset,
 utrisque in partibus percrebuerit. Timuisse se Paulinus fere-
 bat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles
 recens e castris fessos adgrederetur et percussis nullum retro
 subsidium foret. Apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in volgus 15
 adverso rumore fuit.

27. Haud proinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum com-
 pulit quam ad modestiam composuit; nec solum apud Caecina-
 cinam, qui culpam in militem conferebat seditioni magis quam
 proelio paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis copiae (iam enim
 Ticinum venerat) posito hostium contemptu et recuperandi 5
 decoris cupidine reverentius et aequalius duci parebant.
 Gravis alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque

26. 1. erupit. "Charged." The word is, perhaps, borrowed from Verg. Aen. xi. 608, "iamque intra iactum teli progressus uterque substitit; subito erumpunt clamore." In Ann. i. 65 we have *prorupit* in the same sense.

6. praefectus castrorum. For this office, see Ann. i. 20, 23, etc. He had the command of the camp, and made all the arrangements for pitching it, etc. For his relation to the *praefectus legionis*, see i. 82, note on line 4.

7. fratri. If the dative be retained (but Orelli would alter it into an ablative) it must be explained as a *dativus commodi*, "in his brother's interests, through affection for his brother." *prodicionem ageret*. "He was playing a treacherous part."

9. apud fugientes occursantes, in acie pro vallo. These asyndetons between cognate, but contrasted, words are frequent in Tacitus.

13. tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, *i.e.* after fighting the battle, to

cover the twelve miles which separated them from Caecina's camp at Cremona. *timeo* has a double construction, with the accusative first and then with *ne*.

14. et percussis nullum. For *neque ullum* in c. 38 we have *et nunquam*.

16. adverso rumore. "It excited unfavourable comments." Ann. xiv. 11, "Seneca adverso rumore erat." In Ann. iii. 29 we have the opposite phrase "*haec secundo rumore*." In *volgus*. "As far as the generality were concerned," see above i. 71, "*celebrata in volgus Celsi salus*."

27. 2. ad modestiam composuit. "Reduced to a state of discipline." This is constantly the sense of *modestia* when applied to soldiers in Tacitus.

7. alioquin. Nearly = nevertheless. It is a sort of correction. The word is hardly so used elsewhere; in Ann. iv. 37 and below, iii. 32, its use is different.

7. altiore initio repetam. He had left the troops of Valens in i. 66, nearly at the foot of the Alps; he resumes his narrative from that point.

enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quarta
 10 decima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas rettulimus, superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coercitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam
 15 iactantes. Contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum duci corrupta iurgiis aut rixis disciplina; ad postremum Valens e petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabat.

28. Igitur nuntio adlato pulsam Treverorum alam Tun-
 grosque a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri, simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes turbidas ac, si una forent, praevalidas dispergendi, partem Batavorum ire in
 5 subsidium iubet. Quod ubi auditum volgatumque, maerere socii, fremere legiones. Orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio; veteres illos et tot bellorum victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex acie abduci. Si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior sit, omnes illuc sequerentur; sin victoriae
 10 columen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos ut corpori validdissimos artus.

29. Haec ferociter iactando, postquam inmissis lictoribus Valens coercere seditionem coeptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa iaciunt, fugientem sequuntur. Spolia Galliarum et Viennen-

9. bello Neronis. At the time of the revolt of Vindex.

12. The reference in *rettulimus* is to i. 59 and 64.

13. *coercitos a se quartadecimanos*, i.e. to throw in their lot with the cause of Vitellius. *ablatam Italiam*. What is the exact reference in these words does not appear. Heraeus thinks that they had retarded the 14th from coming up to Nero's assistance, and this is probably right. *atque omnem—sitam*. Tacitus had said of these himself, "grande momentum sociae aut adversae," i. 59.

15. *corrupta—disciplina*. "Discipline is undermined by wranglings and quarrels."

28. 1. *pulsam Treverorum alam*. For the description of this, see ii. 14.

7. *illos*, i.e. the Batavians.

9. *sin victoriae columen—verteretur*. M. reads *sin victoriae sanitas, sustentaculum, columen*. Meiser omits *sanitas sustentaculum* as a gloss ex-

plaining *columen*. In support of the omission, he quotes a passage from Lutatius Placidus, where the words *sanitas, sustentaculum* occur as an explanation of *columen*. Heraeus omits *sustentaculum*, and reads *partiumque columen*, but this is mere conjecture.

10. *non abrumpendos—artus*. Orelli quotes Ov. Trist. i. 3, 74, "et pars abrumpi corpore visa meo est;" Curtius vi. 9, 19, "videbar enim mihi partem viscerum meorum abrumpere."

29. 3. *spolia Galliarum et Viennensium aurum*. Tacitus, i. 66, had already described the general belief entertained by the soldiers, that Valens, in addition to the money given to the soldiers by the people of Vienne, had received on his own account a further great sum. *pretia laborum suorum*. M. inserts *et* before *pretia*; it is better omitted. Elsewhere, e.g. Ag. 12, H. iv. 32, Tacitus speaks of the spoils of the conquered as the rewards of war.

sium aurum, pretia laborum suorum, occultare clamitantes, 5
 direptis sarcinis tabernacula ducis ipsamque humum pilis et
 lanceis rimabantur. Nam Valens servili veste apud decurionem
 equitum tegebatur. Tum Alfenus Varus praefectus castrorum
 deflagrante paulatim seditione addit consilium, vetitis obire
 vigilias centurionibus, omisso tubae sono, quo miles ad belli
 munia cietur. Igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se 10
 attoniti et id ipsum, quod nemo regeret, paventes: silentio
 patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis veniam quaerebant.
 Ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolumis Valens
 processit, gaudium miseratio favor: versi in laetitiam, ut est
 volgus utroque inmodicum, laudantes gratantesque circumdatum 15
 aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt. Ille utili moderatione non
 supplicium cuiusquam poposcit; ac ne dissimulans suspectior
 foret, paucos incusavit, gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus
 quam ducibus licere.

30. Munientibus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae
 pugna adlatum et prope renovata seditio, tanquam fraude et
 cunctationibus Valentis proelio defuissent. Nolle requiem, non
 expectare ducem, anteire signa, urgere signiferos: rapido 5
 agmine Caecinae iunguntur. Inprospera Valentis fama apud
 exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos se tanto pauciores integris
 hostium viribus querebantur, simul in suam excusationem et

8. *vetitis—omisso*. The two ablatives absolute explain what his plan was. *obire vigilias*, "To make the rounds." It was one of the duties of the *praefectus castrorum* to see that this was done, and also that sentinels were duly posted.

12. *patientia*. Lipsius suggests *poenitentia*, but the change is not necessary; the quiet way in which they took what had been done was a proof of their willingness to return to discipline.

14. *gaudium miseratio favor*. The asyndeton is used partly to give rapidity to the narrative, partly to emphasise the mixture of feeling.

15. *utroque*. "In either direction," *i.e.* in apprehension or joy. *Utroque* is an adverb, as in Livy, i. 24, "*auctores utroque tradunt*." Cf. i. 69—translate, "With the want of self-restraint in either direction usual with a mob."

16. *aquilis signisque*. The eagles of the 5th and 1st legions, the colours of the cohorts; cf. i. 36, "*medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent*."

18. *paucos*. He pretended that the fault rested only with a few, as Otho had done, i. 84; Lipsius's suggestion, *paucis, i.e. paucis verbis*, is unnecessary.

30. 1. *munientibus castra apud Ticinum*. It was at this point, c. 27, that Tacitus had left them when he began his digression about the previous mutiny.

2. *tanquam*, as almost always in the *Historiae*, "on the ground that." *fraude*. "By treachery."

5. *inprospera Valentis fama*. "An unfavourable impression of Valens prevailed among the army of Caecina."

6. *tanto pauciores*. They were only 30,000, while Valens's troops numbered 40,000. Valens's numbers had, moreover, since been increased by the accession of the 1st legion and the Ala Tauriana from Lugdunum.

7. *et—attonentes*. This clause is co-ordinate with the clause in *suam excusationem*. So i. 14, "*et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur*."

adventantium robur per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et quanquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Caecinam inclinabant, super benignitatem animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore aetatis, proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. Hinc aemulatio ducibus : Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant. Sed condito odio eandem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistulis sine respectu veniae probra Othoni obiectantes, cum duces partium Othonis quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia abstinerent.

31. Sane ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere, minus Vitellii ignavae voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur. Addiderat huic terrorem atque odium caedes Galbae : contra illi initium belli nemo inputabat. Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu saevitia audacia rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur.

Coniunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora, quin totis viribus certarent : Otho consultavit, trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret. Tunc Suetonius Paulinus dignum fama sua ratus, qua nemo illa tempestate

9. prope duplicatus. "Valens had nearly twice as many legions and auxiliaries;" this is somewhat of an exaggeration. Each had to start with one complete legion, Valens the 5th, Caecina the 21st. Besides this Valens had detachments from three other legions, the 1st, 15th, and 16th; Caecina from two others, the 4th and 22d; but since starting, Valens had been joined at Lugdunum by the 1st Italica and the Ala Tauriana, i. 61, 64.

13. et quodam inani favore. "A certain ill-grounded popularity," one for which they could give no intelligible reason. For Caecina's character, see i. 53.

14. ut foedum ac maculosum—inridebant. Tacitus is fond of the conjunction of these two words, see i. 7; Ann. xiii. 33. The words refer to the closely associated vices of avarice and lust. Caecina—ille—inridebant. Where a verb is used with two distinct nominatives in earlier writers, it follows the number of the latter nominative; in Tacitus it is usually put in the plural.

15. eandem utilitatem fovere. "They forward the same interests." sine respectu veniae. "Without one backward glance towards pardon."

31. 1. quo. "In which," i.e. in their respective deaths. ignavae voluptates. Those of gluttony and sloth.

4. contra—inputabat. All the world knew that he had been almost forced into it by the importunity of Caecina and Valens. Vitellius himself would never have undertaken it.

5. sibi inhonestus. M. reads *sibi inhonestus*. This has been variously corrected; *sibimet hostis* Rhenanus, *sibi infestus* Heinsius, *inhonestus* Victorius. The last makes the best, though not the most direct, antithesis.

8. penes Vitellianos. "So far as the Vitellians were concerned," i.e. so far as it lay in their power, rested with them.

10. fortunam experiri. "To stake his fortunes on the issue of a battle." So Caes. B. G. i. 31.

11. dignum fama sua ratus. Tacitus not unfrequently uses the other form, *fama sui*, e.g. H. iii. 3, and some editors

militaris rei callidior habebatur, de toto genere belli censere, festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem disseruit :

32. Exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae tumeant et deserere Rhени ripam inrupturis tam infestis nationibus non conducat. Britanicum militem hoste et mari distineri ; Hispanias armis non ita redundare ; provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso proelio contremuisse ; clausam Alpibus et nullo maris subsidio transpadanam Italiam atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam ; non frumentum usquam exercitui, nec exercitum sine copiis retineri posse. Iam Germanos, quod genus militum apud hostis atrocissimum sit, tracto in aestatem bello fluxis corporibus mutationem soli caelique haud toleraturos. Multa bella impetu valida per taedia et moras evanuisse. Contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida, Pannoniam Moesiam Dalmatiam Orientem cum integris exercitibus, Italiam et caput rerum urbem senatumque et populum, numquam obscura nomina, etiam si aliquando obumbrentur ; publicas privatasque opes et inmensam pecuniam inter civiles discordias ferro validiorem ; corpora militum aut Italiae sueta aut aestibus. Obiacere flumen Padum, tutas viris murisque urbes ; e quibus nullam hosti cessuram Placentiae defensione exploratum. Proinde duceret bellum. Paucis diebus quartamdecimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Moe-

have proposed, against the authority of the MSS., to make the change here.

11. *qua nemo*. He had made a name for himself by two exploits, by crossing the Atlas range the first of all Roman generals, Dio, lx. 9 ; Plin. N. H. v. 1 ; and by his conduct of the war in Britain, where, in a dangerous crisis, he had saved the Roman dominion, Ann. xiv. 29-39 ; Ag. 5 and 14. His advice on the present occasion was undoubtedly wise.

32. 2. *tumeant*. "Are seething ;" Plin. Pan. 28, "tumentibus plebis animis ;" Cic. ad Att. xiv. 4, "tument negotia."

2. *et — non conducat*. For *et non* in the earlier writers we should have had *neque*. *Non conducat*—"it will not be to the Vitellian interest."

4. *non ita redundare*. "Are not so very well off for." There were in Spain the 6th Victrix and the 10th Gemina.

5. *provinciam Narbonensem*. For the events alluded to, see above, chaps. 12-16.

6. *et nullo maris subsidio*. "And

was bereft of all support from the sea ;" this clause is co-ordinate with *clausam*. The sea was commanded by Otho's fleet.

10. *fluxis corporibus*. "As their bodies grew enfeebled." The Romans had a great contempt for the German incapacity to stand heat, see G. 4.

13. *Dalmatiam*. Many of the MSS. read *Delmatiam* for *Dalmatiam*.

15. *numquam obscura nomina*. Tacitus had himself spoken of them, i. 55, as "obliterata iam nomina," but they were still a power to conjure with. See above i. 76, "sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus."

18. *aestibus*. "Times of heat," "periods of heat ;" this is the meaning of the plural.

18. *obiacere flumen Padum*. They were at this moment north of the Po, at Bedriacum, but he proposes to retire behind it. This would have been easy.

21. *quartamdecimam*. It was hastening to Otho's support from Dalmatia. Tacitus had already described it, c. 11, "et praecipui fama quartade-

sicis copiis adfore : tum rursus deliberaturum, et si proelium placuisset, auctis viribus certaturos.

33. Accedebat sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus ; idem placere Annio Gallo paucos ante dies lapsu equi adflicto missi, qui consilium eius sciscitarentur, rettulerant. Otho pronus ad decertandum ; frater eius Titianus et praefectus praetorii
 5 Proculus imperitia properantes fortunam et deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore conatibus testabantur, neu quis obviam ire sententiae auderet, in adulationem concesserant. Postquam pugnari placitum, interesse pugnae imperatorem an seponi melius foret dubitavere. Paulino et Celso iam non
 10 adversantibus, ne principem obiectare periculis viderentur, idem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere, ut Brixellum concederet ac dubiis proeliorum exemptus summae rerum et imperii se ipsum reservaret. Is primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit. Namque et cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium et
 15 speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit et remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces, et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse non nisi militibus credit, imperia ducum in incerto reliquerat.

34. Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in civili

cumani rebellione Britanniae compressa. addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides et erecta in Othonem studia."

21. cum Moesicis copiis. The *cum* has dropped out of M. The *Moesicae copiae* were the 7th Claudia, the 3d Gallica, the 8th Augusta ; at this time they had reached Aquileia.

33. 4. praefectus praetorii Proculus. He held the command jointly with Plotius Firmus, both having been selected by the soldiers. See i. 46.

5. numen Othonis. There was a tendency ever since the time of Augustus to deify the emperor even in his lifetime, e.g. Hor. Od. iv. 5, 34, "Laribus tuum miscet numen ;" Ov. Trist. v. 10, 52, "Caesaris offenso numine."

6. neu quis—in adulationem concesserant. "And to prevent anyone . . . they had betaken themselves to flattery." This use of *neu* to couple two principal verbs together is not classical ; in classical Latin it is employed only to couple two subordinate final clauses. The plu-perfect *concesserant* is used to mark the fact that they had had recourse to flattery,

before they proceeded to discuss the question whether Otho should join the army or no.

11. ut Brixellum concederet. "That he should retire to Brixellum." Brixellum is south of the Po, in the neighbourhood of Modena ; it is now called Bersello. Tacitus's language here seems to imply that Otho had originally advanced to Bedriacum, and Plutarch expressly states that this was so. Suetonius, however, says that he halted at Brixellum.

12. summae rerum et imperii. This probably means "the chief direction of affairs and the supreme command." Others understand it "the general direction of the affairs of the empire."

18. in incerto reliquerat. M. reads *et ut Otho*, so some editors suggest *et Otho, ut cui*. He had not settled the relative position of the different commanders, nor their relation to the soldiers under their charge. Others understand it "had weakened their influence" since he had himself done everything at the bidding of the soldiers. *dum credit* is nearly equivalent to the present participle.

34. 1. ut in civili bello. "As usually

bello, transfugiis: et exploratores cura diversa sciscitandi sua non occultabant. Quieti intentique Caecina ac Valens, quando hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiae est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, incohato ponte transitum Padi simulantes adversus obpositam gladiatorum manum, ac ne ipsorum milēs segne otium tereret. Naves pari inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabibus conexae, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, iactis super ancoris, quae firmitatem pontis continerent; sed ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut augescente flumine inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. Claudebat pontem inposita turris et in extremam navem educta, unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant saxaque et faces iaculabantur.

35. Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes Germani nando praelabebantur. Ac forte plures transgressos completis Liburnicis per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur, sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad

happens in a civil war." Cf. i. 4, "ut erga principem novum et absentem." This use of *ut* is frequent in Tacitus, rare in earlier writers.

2. cura diversa sciscitandi. "In their anxiety to discover the enemy's plans."

6. simulantes adversus gladiatorum manum, ac ne. The band of gladiators was stationed on the south bank of the Po, under the command of Marcus Macer, c. 23. *Ac ne* is used here, as elsewhere by Tacitus, to introduce an additional motive, e.g. Ann. i. 47, "ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur." It is coupled, as here, with a participle, iii. 46, "Cremonensis victoriae gnarus ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret."

7. segne otium tereret is introduced, for the sake of variety, in place of the more usual *otio tempus tereret*.

8. utrimque. "At either end," i.e. at bow and stern.

9. iactis super ancoris. *Super* may either mean "resting on," or anchors being "further" cast out. In the second case it equals *insuper*.

10. non extenti fluitabant. These words must be taken closely together. "Drifted about, not taut."

11. inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. "The ships as they rose might preserve their order unbroken."

12. in extremam navem educta. "Carried out to," i.e. from the left bank, but others explain it, "raised to a great height on," and this is doubtless the usual sense of *educta* in Tacitus.

14. iaculabantur. Plutarch (Otho 10) says that they succeeded in setting fire to the bridge, and driving the enemy back with loss.

35. 1. et erat. This island was opposite the village of Spinadesco, just west of Cremona and fronting the point where the Adda joins the Po.

1. in quam — Germani praelabebantur. Some editors take *gladiatores* as an accusative *κατὰ σύνεσιν* after *praelabebantur* (cf. the use of *praevehi*, *praeferre*), and understand it that the Germans swimming outstripped the gladiators who were making their way toilsomely in ships. If such a construction is impossible we should have to supply with *molientes* some verb from *praelabebantur* like *contendebant*. *molientes*. "Making their way painfully or with effort." *Perlabebantur*, the reading of Halm, followed by Heraeus, seems unnecessary, and spoils the force of *molientes*. The Germans referred to are the Batavians, who were renowned for their powers of swimming. See iv. 12; Ag. 18; Ann. ii. 8.

3. Liburnicis. These were the light swift boats adopted by Augustus in the Roman navy after the sea-fight at Actium.

5 proelia, militibus, nec perinde nutantes e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa volnera derigebant. Et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros aut comminus mergere. Quae cuncta in oculis utriusque
10 exercitus quanto laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius Othoniani causam auctoremque cladis detestabantur.

36. Et proelium quidem abruptis quae supererant navibus fuga direptum: Macer ad exitium poscebatur, iamque volneratum eminus lancea, strictis gladiis invaserant, cum intercurso tribunorum centurionumque protegitur. Nec multo post
5 Vestricius Spurinna iussu Othonis relicto Placentiae modico praesidio cum cohortibus subvenit. Dein Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum Otho rectorem copiis misit, quibus Macer praefuerat, laeto milite ad mutationem ducum et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.

37. Invenio apud quosdam auctores pavore belli seu fastidio utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent vel senatui permitterent

5. *neo perinde—derigebant.* "Nor could they direct their blows to as good effect from the unsteady decks of the ships, as from the sure footing of the bank." The phrase *volnera derigebant* is taken from Verg. Aen. x. 138, "Te quoque magnanimae viderunt, Ismare, gentes volnera derigere."

7. *propugnatoresque.* We must understand by this word the *ἐπιβάται*, the soldiers taken on shipboard; in this case they were gladiators.

8. *ultro.* The meaning of this word is that they were not content with defending themselves, but proceeded to take the aggressive.

8. *scandere foros aut comminus mergere.* "To climb the gangways or sink them with their hands." For this use of *comminus*, see Verg. Georg. i. 104, "quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva insequitur?"

9. *utriusque exercitus.* Not the whole of both armies, but the band of gladiators belonging to Otho's force on the one side, those of the Vitellians who were engaged in constructing the bridge on the other.

36. 1. *abruptis*, i.e. being snatched out of the hands of the Germans who were trying to board or sink them.

6. *cum cohortibus.* The cohorts of the praetorians.

6. *Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum.* Not Vespasian's brother, but another man of the same name mentioned in i. 77. For the dative *copiis* after *rectorem*, see i. 22.

8. *laeto milite ad.* The MSS. read *et ad*, but Orelli omits *et*; Heraeus suggests *et modestiore ad*, Ritter *prono ad*, Sirker *mitigato*. *Laeto ad*, "joyful at," is unusual.

37. 1. *invenio apud quosdam auctores.* Who these were we have no precise means of knowing; one of them may have been the rhetor Secundus, mentioned in Plut. Otho 9; another Cluvius Rufus, Plut. Otho 8 and 10. Plutarch mentions the same rumour and attaches more credit to it than does Tacitus. He thinks that the fear of being superseded drove Otho to hurry on the decisive battle.

3. *dubitasse exercitus, num.* *An* would be more regular, but Tacitus often substitutes *num*, e.g. c. 83, "ambiguus consilii, num omissa Moesia Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italian mare clauderet."

4. *in medium consultarent.* "Should take common counsel." See ii. 5, note on line 11.

legere imperatorem, atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac
 moras suasisse, praecipua spe Paulini, quod vetustissimus consu-
 larium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expedi-
 tionibus meruisset. Ego ut concesserim apud paucos tacito
 voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem principem
 pro pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetitur, ita neque Paulinum,
 qua prudentia fuit, sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam volgi
 moderationem reor, ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant
 bellum pacis caritate deponerent, neque aut exercitus linguis
 moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere aut
 legatos ac duces, magna ex parte luxus egestatis scelerum sibi
 conscios, nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis principem
 passuros.

38. Vetus ac iam pridem insita mortalibus potentiae cupido
 cum imperii magnitudine adolevit erupitque. Nam rebus
 modicis aequalitas facile habebatur: sed ubi subacto orbe et
 aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis securas opes concupiscere
 vacuum fuit, prima inter patres plebemque certamina exarsere.
 Modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac
 foro temptamenta civilium bellorum, mox e plebe infima C.
 Marius et nobilium saevissimus Lucius Sulla victam armis
 libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius

6. praecipua spe Paulini. "Paulinus's hopes mounting the highest."

6. vetustissimus consularium. This was not quite exact, as Otho's brother was his senior; but he had been consul twice before, in 42 A.D., and in 65 A.D., according to Borghesi.

7. gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset. For an account of them, see Ann. xiv. 29-39.

12. ut qui pacem belli amore—bellum pacis caritate. This elaborate antithesis and balancing of phrases is not, the critics say, in Tacitus's ordinary manner.

13. linguis moribusque dissonos. The German armies mainly talked German; the praetorians were at once envied and looked down on by the regular troops.

16. obstrictumque meritis suis. Some of the inferior MSS. read *moribus*, a mistake. The meaning of *meritis* is "by the benefits they had done him in putting him on the throne."

38. 1. vetus ac iam. This parenthetical account of the rise of personal ambitions at Rome is copied from, and in

the style of Sallust. erupitque. "Broke its husk." Such seems to be the metaphor.

3. facile habebatur. "It was easily maintained, it galled no one."

4. aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis. Free states like Carthage, Numantia, Corinth; kings such as Perseus, Antiochus. Heraeus here and elsewhere reads *excisis* for *excisis*.

4. securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit. "Men were left with leisure to covet wealth which they could enjoy in safety." Heraeus compares Sall. Hist. Fr. i. 12, "postquam remoto metu Punico simulates exercere vacuum fuit plurimae turbae et ad postremum bella civilia orta sunt."

6. modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi. In the first phrase he alludes to Tiber. and Caius Gracchus Saturninus—in the second to Opimius, Scaurus, Cinna, etc.

7. e plebe infima. He was a *novus homo*, the son of a yeoman at Arpinum.

9. in dominationem verterunt. Cf. Ann. i. 1, "non Cinnae, non Sullae, longa dominatio."

10 occultior, non melior, et numquam postea nisi de principatu
quaesitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis
civium legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte
posituri bellum fuerint. Eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum
rabies, eadem scelerum causae in discordiam egere. Quod
15 singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum
factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio
longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

39. Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titi-
anum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum;
Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani
nomine ducum alienae culpa praetendebantur; tribuni centurio-
5 nesque ambigui, quod spretis melioribus deterrimi valebant;
miles alacer, qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exequi
mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo
imperite, ut quanquam verno tempore anni et tot circum amni-
bus penuria aquae fatigarentur. Ibi de proelio dubitatum,
10 Othone per litteras flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut im-

9. *On. Pompeius occultior, non mellior.* Pompey never assumed supreme power, but as commander-in-chief after the passing of the Manilian Law and as one of those who formed the first triumvirate, he exercised it. The phrase *et numquam* for *nec unquam* is characteristic of the Silver Age. *quaesitum* is for *certatum*, as in Ann. ii. 74, "inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum."

13. *eadem illos deum ira.* Tacitus here, as in i. 3, maintains that the gods concerned themselves with the punishment of human crime, though not with the promotion of human happiness.

14. *quod singulis velut ictibus.* This is a view which Tacitus uniformly maintains; see i. 89, "si aliis ducibus bellatum foret, longo bello materia."

17. *venio.* This, practically the reading of M., has been altered by Heraeus to *redeo*. The change is hardly necessary, for Tacitus so studied variety that he may have substituted the less suitable for the more suitable phrase.

39. 1. *honor imperii penes Titianum — vis ac potestas.* "The titular command rested with Titianus, the reality of power with Proculus." Proculus had been selected by the soldiers themselves, and was trusted, and to some extent, obeyed by them.

3. *inani nomine — praetendebantur.* "Screened, by the empty title of commander, the blunders of others." Titianus and Proculus alleged, when anything went wrong, that they had the authority of Celsus and Paulinus for doing it.

5. *ambigui.* "Wege in doubt;" others take it passively, "were an uncertain quantity."

6. *interpretari.* "To put their own construction on," "to assign reasons for."

7. *ad quartum a Bedriaco.* Plutarch says fifty stadia, which would give six miles; but his computation of distances in this part does not always agree with Tacitus.

7. *adeo imperite, ut.* If Plutarch has not here copied from Tacitus, they must have drawn from the same source, for Plutarch states the same fact in almost identical words: Oth. 11, *προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βητριάκου ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευεν οὕτως ἀπειρώς καὶ καταγελάστως ὥστε τῆς μὲν ὥρας ἐαρινῆς οὐσης, τῶν δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίων πολλὰ ῥάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀενάους ἔχοντων, ὁδοὶ σπάνει πείσθαι.* The common authority from whom they most likely both drew was Cluvius Rufus; but Plutarch mentions besides him C. Pliny, the orator Secundus, and Mestrius Florus, an eye-witness of the battle of Bedriacum.

perator pugnae adesset poscentibus; plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant. Nec proinde diiudicari potest quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.

40. Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum sedecim inde milium spatio distantes petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obicere hosti non omissuro, quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus aut incom-

5

11. copias trans Padum agentes. These were Otho's own guards at Brixellum, and the gladiators under the command of Flavius Sabinus.

40. 1. non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti. "Setting out, not as for a battle, but for a campaign." The two ideas are elsewhere contrasted by Tacitus, G. 30, "alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum." The difference would be that they would encumber themselves with baggage, tents, etc., in setting out for a campaign, not so for battle. The disadvantage which the Othonians suffered from this cause is referred to below, and c. 41; the Vitellians, on the other hand, are described in c. 45 as "expediti et tantum ad proelium egressi."

1. confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum. The confluence of the Po and the Adda is five or six miles west of Cremona. That their immediate object should have been to make for this point, exposing themselves to all the dangers of a flank attack as they passed Cremona, Mommsen regards as impossible. He thinks that Tacitus has mixed up the possible ultimate goal and the immediate object of their march. Their immediate object, he considers, must have been to sever the enemy's communication with the north, while keeping open their own communications with Illyricum and Dalmatia. In order to do this they would have to advance to some point north of Cremona; and this, he thinks, was what was immediately intended. At the same time their object could only be fully secured by the complete investment of Cremona, and to effect this it would be necessary to seize the confluence of the Adda and the Po. To do this was their ultimate object, and so they started equipped as for a campaign. Nipperdey, feeling the same difficulty as Mommsen, would meet it in a different way. He

considers that the difficulty arises from the words *Padi et Aduae* having crept unwarrantably into the text, and he, accordingly, encloses them in brackets. The *confluentes fluminum* which Tacitus refers to, he believes to be the confluence of some stream east of Cremona, probably the Caneta, with the Po. But Tacitus could hardly have used the phrase *confluentes fluminum* of the confluence of two unmentioned streams.

2. sedecim inde milium spatio distantes. The confluence of the Adda and Po is considerably more than sixteen miles from where the Othonians were then encamped. They were encamped four miles from Bedriacum. Cremona was distant about twenty miles from Bedriacum, sixteen therefore from where they were encamped. But the junction of the Adda and the Po is five miles farther on. An attempt has been made to understand *inde* of the confluence, and to take *distantes* as nominative, but this would be very forced. This mistake as to the distance lends some countenance to Mommsen's theory, that Tacitus has misconceived the whole position.

4. non omissuro. M. reads *amissuro*. This was altered by Orelli into *admissuro*; he proposed to supply *errorem* with it. *Omissuro* is now adopted by Meiser and by Heraeus. For *omitto* followed by *quin*, see Ann. iii. 27, "omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur."

5. et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus. This is generally explained that the *confluentes* were only four miles distant from the further side of Cremona and so from part of the enemy's lines. Yet it is hardly likely that Paulinus and Celsus would have expected the enemy to have waited till they had reached the *confluentes*, before attacking them; and so it seems simpler to explain it either as the distance from Cremona, at which the battle was actually fought, or as the

positos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad ius imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum segnitia rem in dis-
10 crimen mitti iubebat, aeger mora et spei inpatiens.

41. Eodem die ad Caecinam operi pontis intentum duo praetoriarum cohortium tribuni conloquium eius postulantes venerunt. Audire condiciones ac reddere parabat, cum praecipites exploratores adesse hostem nuntiavere. Interruptus
5 tribunorum sermo, eoque incertum fuit, insidias an prodicionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint. Caecina dimissis tribunis revector in castra datum iussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et mirum dictu, a pauci-
10 oribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum inpingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea strictis mucronibus redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit. Disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione: etenim, quanquam vicino hoste, aspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur. Apud
15 Othonianos pavidi duces, miles ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixae, et praeruptis utrimque fossis via quieto quoque agmini angusta. Circumsistere alii signa sua, quaerere alii; incertus undique clamor adcurrentium, vocantium: ut cuique audacia

distance which it would be necessary for the enemy to traverse in order to deliver their flank attack.

7. *ad ius imperii transibant*. "Had recourse to their rights as commanders-in-chief."

8. *citus equo Numida*. Numidian horsemen were constantly employed as orderlies and messengers at this time by distinguished Romans, see Sen. Ep. 87, 9. Martial x. 13, 1, "cum cathedralicis portet tibi raeda ministros, et Libys in longo pulvere sudet eques." *atrocibus mandatis* are peremptory, urgent orders.

41. 1. *operi pontis intentum*. The making of the bridge described in c. 34.

3. *audire* — *ac reddere*. Copied from Verg. Aen. i. 409, "veras audire et reddere voces."

5. *insidias an prodicionem vel*. *Insidias*, a trap directed against the enemy. *Proditio*, treachery against their own generals. These ideas are properly contrasted and so connected by *an*; while *vel* introduces a distinct alternative. So

Ann. xiv. 3, "hactenus consultans veneno an ferro vel qua alia vi."

7. *in castra*. The camp of the Vitellians was immediately around Cremona. Cf. iii. 26, "Othoniano bello Germanicus miles manibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumiecerat."

8. *de ordine agminis*. It was decided by lot which legion should be the vanguard, which the rearguard. *equites*. Those, of course, of the Vitellians.

10. *in vallum inpingerentur*. "Should be driven in upon their own defences." The phrase is from Verg. Aen. v. 804, "cum Troia Achilles exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris."

10. *Italicae legionis*. This was the *prima Italica* ordinarily stationed at Lyons, which had joined Valens there.

14. *densis arbustis* means the trees with the festoons of vines between them.

16. *via*. They were advancing along the Postumian Way.

18. *vocantium*. M., *vo clamantium*;

vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur.

20

42. Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit repertis, qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitum eumentirentur. Is rumor ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo seu forte surrexerit, parum compertum. Omisso pugnae ardore Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris, quae causa salutandi, metum prodicionis fecere. Tum incubuit hostium acies, integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani quanquam dispersi pauciores fessi, proelium tamen acriter sumpsere. Et per locos arboribus ac vineis inpeditos non una pugnae facies: comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis concurrebant. In aggere viae conlato gradu corporibus et umbonibus niti, omisso pilorum iactu gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspiciui, in eventum totius belli certabant.

15

43. Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicensima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis prima Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida.

variously altered into *volitantium*, Heraeus; *vocantium*, Orelli; *palantium*, Ritter.

20. *relabebantur*. Properly of the retreating wave or ebb of the tide; here applied to those who went slinking off to the rear.

42. 3. *dispersus*. With this we have to supply *sit*; almost all moods and tenses of the substantive verb are omitted by Tacitus.

5. *Othoniani ultro salutavere*. *Utro* means "without waiting for the other side to take the initiative." They were not only ready to receive the enemy if they came over to their side, but proceeded of their own motion to salute them first. *Utro* always expresses that an action has been carried further than the point previously mentioned.

7. *incubuit*. "Pressed eagerly forward." So Hor. Od. i. 3, 30, "nova febrium terris incubuit cohors."

9. *dispersi pauciores fessi*. Contrasted with *integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior*.

11. *catervis et cuneis*. In troops and in columns; *cuneis* is opposed generally to *acies* to denote any column-like for-

mation, whether properly wedge-shaped or not.

12. *in aggere viae*. On the raised causeway of the Via Postumia.

14. *ceteris conspiciui in eventum—certabant*. "They fought as if the issue of the whole war depended on them, being raised high on the raised causeway." Which the troops here engaged were Tacitus has not told us.

43. 2. *unaetvicensima, cui cognomen Rapaci*. This was stationed in Upper Germany, and had come with Caecina into Italy, i. 60, 61. Its name *Rapax* (ῥαπᾶξ in Greek) referred to its rapid movements, and its power of carrying all before it. *Rapaci*; the name may be put either in the dative or in the nominative case in this phrase. In Ann. iv. 28 we have "nomen utrique Vibius Serenus."

3. *prima Adiutrix (classicorum)*. Raised from the fleet by Nero. It had been engaged in a skirmish before, at ad Castoris, see c. 24, but in no regular battle. *ferox*. "Brave." The legion must have been on the left of the Othonian line.

- 5 Primani stratis unaetvicensimanorum principiis aquilam abs-
tulere; quo dolore accensa legio et inpulit rursus primanos,
interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex
hostibus rapuit. A parte alia propulsa quintanorum impetu
tertia decima legio; circumventi plurium adcurso quartadecimani.
10 Et ducibus Othonis iam pridem profugis Caecina ac Valens sub-
sidiis suos firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus
cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus transvectam
obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant: ita victores
latus hostium invecti.

44. Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani Bed-
riacum petentes. Inmensum id spatium; obstructae strage
corporum viae; quo plus caedis fuit: neque enim civilibus
bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius Paulinus et
5 Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vitavere. Vedium
Aquilam tertiae decimae legionis legatum irae militum incon-
sultus pavor obtulit. Multo adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore
seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur; non probris, non
manibus abstinent: desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo
10 proprio crimine eius, sed more volgi suum quisque flagitium
aliis obiectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox iuvit, dispositis iam

5. *principiis*, i.e. the front ranks. So Sall. Jug. 50, 2, "Marium post principia habere;" Liv. ii. 65. Plutarch calls them, Otho 12, *ἀπὸ μαχα*. This contest took place on the right of the Othonians.

6. *quo dolore*. "By grief at which." So iii. 17, "quo pudore."

7. *signa vexillaque*. Probably the colours of the cohorts and of the centuries.

8. *quintanorum impetu tertia decima legio*. The fifth was part of the army of Lower Germany, and had come with Valens into Italy, i. 55 and 61; the thirteenth was one of the legions from Pannonia, ii. 24.

9. *quartadecimani*. The fourteenth was the most distinguished of the Illyrian legions, but only a detachment of it was present. See below, c. 66.

11. *Varus Alfenus* was *praefectus castrorum*, c. 29. Having disposed of the gladiators, as described in c. 35, he now came up with his Batavians, and attacked the left flank of the enemy.

44. *i. media acie perrupta*. Those who fought on the causeway held the middle of the line.

2. *inmensum id spatium*. Bedriacum itself, as distinct from the camp, which was four miles nearer, was over twenty miles from Cremona. The battle was probably fought somewhat east of Cremona; but it was in any case a long distance for the pursuit to be spread over.

3. *neque enim — vertuntur*. Plutarch, Oth. 14, notes this as characteristic of civil wars; prisoners could not be sold as slaves, and so generally no quarter was given. Dio (lxiv. 10) says that there fell on both sides together more than 40,000.

5. *diversis itineribus*, i.e. by by-roads, roads which lay off the main route. Cf. Ann. iii. 2, "diversa oppida."

6. *Inconsultus pavor*. "His own ill-advised panic." He went to the camp as the nearest place of refuge, and so exposed himself to the rage of the soldiers.

7. *multo adhuc die*. "While it was still broad daylight;" not "late in the day." The *adhuc* makes the former certainly the sense.

9. *nullo proprio crimine eius*. "Having no charge to bring against him specially."

excubiis compressisque militibus; quos Annius Gallus consilio precibus auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis bello venisset seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. 15 Ceteris fractus animus: praetorianus miles non virtute se sed proditione victum fremebat. Ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila; superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit; venire Moesicas legiones; magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse: hos certe nondum victos, et si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. His cogitationibus truces aut pavidī extrema desperatione ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

45. At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die obpugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur. Sed expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate et, qui 5 ferociores fuerant, ad paenitentiam inclinantibus missa legatio; nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quo minus pacem concederent. Legati paulisper retenti. Ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc, an impetrassent. Mox remissa legatione patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem 10

16. *praetorianus miles*. Plutarch, Oth. 12, declares that they had behaved the worst of all in the battle, fleeing before they even engaged the enemy.

17. *ne Vitellianis quidem*. Orelli inclines to think that there is some corruption in the text of this chapter, as what follows suits better a speech by Annius Gallus than the ragings of the praetorians; and Plut., Oth. 13, asserts that Gallus made a speech to encourage his soldiers after their flight from the battle. There does not seem any reason, however, to suspect corruption in the text, and the mistake, if mistake there is, probably lies with Tacitus himself who has mis-read his authorities.

18. *pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila*. See above, chaps. 41 and 42.

19. *militum quod fuerit*. So again c. 55, "quod erat in urbe militum."

21. *et si ita ferret*. Repeated, Ann. iii. 15, "et si ita ferret comitem exitii (se) promittebat." It is an abbreviation of the phrase *si fors ita ferret*. The subject of *perituros* is general "men would do better to die on the battle-field."

22. *truces aut pavidī*. These words express the mixed feelings which the thoughts inspire. Some editors print *his cogitationibus truces, aut pavidī extrema desperatione*, but the run of the sentence is quite against this; nor is it necessary to alter *aut* into *haud*.

45. 1. *ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem*, i.e. one mile from the camp of the Othonians. Orelli supposes that the Othonians had abandoned their camp and retired to Bedriacum, but there seems no ground for making such a supposition.

4. *munimentum fuere arma et victoria*. As they had gone out equipped only for a battle, not a campaign, they had no spades with them and so could not throw up a rampart, the universal custom of Roman soldiers when halting for the night.

7. *dubitatum, quo minus*. "Were there any doubts in the way of, any hesitation in." The use of *quo minus* for *quin* is unusual. In Ann. i. 21, 4, we have "nihil reliqui faciunt quominus." Plutarch, Oth. 13, says that Caecina himself rode up to offer them terms.

10. *effusi* is a verb. *misera laetitia*.

civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes. Isdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum volnera fovebant. Spes et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem maereret. Requisitum
 15 Orfidii legati corpus honore solito crematur; paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere; ceterum volgus super humum relictum.

46. Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepidus et consilii certus. Maesta primum fama, dein profugi e proelio perditas res patefaciunt. Non expectavit militum ardor vocem imperatoris. Bonum haberet animum iuebant: super-
 5 esse adhuc novas vires et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque. Neque erat adulatio: ire in aciem, excitare partium fortunam furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant. Qui procul astiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio Firmo. Is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat, ne fidissimum
 10 exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret: maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui; fortes et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. Quas inter voces ut flexerat voltum aut

An oxymoron; they felt joy at the end of the war, grief for the unnatural bloodshed.

13. in ambiguo. An adverbial phrase; there are many such to be found in Tacitus, "in incerto, in aperto," etc. Vergil too is fond of the idiom. Cf. Verg. G. iv. 6, "in tenui;" iv. 403, "in clauso."

15. Orfidii legati. He was legate of the 1st legion; his death was recorded in c. 43.

46. 2. consilii certus. "With his mind made up." So Verg. Aen. iv. 554, has "certus eundi;" in Ann. i. 27 we have "exitii certus," but the sense is there rather different. Mommsen thinks it doubtful whether Otho had already made up his mind; it was only when the news that the generals, including Annias Gallus, Titianus, and Proculus, had actually surrendered, reached Otho, and he practically found himself left without alternative, that he resolved, according to Mommsen, to die. Tacitus, the same authority considers, has placed his resolution earlier to heighten the effect of his death and to conciliate for him the good will of the reader.

2. maesta is properly used only of persons; it is poetically used here for *tristis*. With *maesta fama* we have to

supply *affertur* from the following *patefaciunt*.

4. haberet—iuebant. The subjunctive after *iubere* is found in Tacitus and in earlier writers, e.g. Livy and Ovid; the accusative and infinitive is more usual.

7. furore quodam et instinctu. "With a certain fury of zeal." The zeal gave rise to fury, the fury was the result and the sign of the presence of the zeal; the expression is a kind of hendiadys. Cicero (in Verr. v. 72, § 188), "quodam furore instinctus." Plutarch (Oth. 14, 15) adds many more details as to the way in which they showed their zeal. One man killed himself on the spot, declaring that all the rest were willing to do the same.

9. praetorii praefectus. He had been chosen by the soldiers for the post, along with Licinius Proculus.

10. maiore animo. The position of this modal ablative marks it out as the virtual predicate. "It takes a greater spirit to put up with adversity than to escape from it." A similar expression has already occurred, i. 56, "minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri;" so again, Ann. i. 18, "leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis," where see Furneaux's note.

13. ut flexerat aut induraverat.

induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus. Nec praetoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia eandem ob-
nationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas
nuntiabant, ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari bellum atrox,
lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus.

47. Ipse aversus a consiliis belli "hunc" inquit "animum, hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande vitae meae pretium puto. Quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. Experti in vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. Nec tempus computaveritis: difficilius est
temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum. Civile
bellum a Vitellio coepit, et ut de principatu certaremus armis, initium illic fuit: ne plus quam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit; hinc Othonem posteritas aestimet. Fruetur
Vitellius fratre, coniuge, liberis: mihi non ultione neque solaciis
opus est. Alii diutius imperium tenuerint: nemo tam fortiter
reliquerit. An ego tantum Romanae pubis, tot egregios exer-

"As Otho's face relented or grew hard," *i.e.* as he seemed likely to yield to their wishes or harden himself against them.

15. proprius Othonis miles. He had been set on the throne by their agency, and they throughout regarded him as their representative.

16. legiones Aquileiam ingressas. Aquileia was in Venetia, at the north-east corner of Italy. Suetonius (Vesp. 6) says that only a detachment of 2000 from each of the three legions had yet reached Aquileia, and they not quite; he seems, however, to have mixed up the detachments from the Moesian with those from the Pannonian legions, c. 11. The Moesian legions were the 3d Gallica, the 7th Claudiana, and the 8th Augusta.

17. ut nemo dubitet, *i.e.* to-day. Mommsen considers that, after the capitulation at the camp, this was really impossible, and that Tacitus is guilty of an exaggeration for rhetorical effect. I hardly think so; for the forces at Otho's command were really considerable, particularly if we take into account the fact that Vespasian had not yet declared himself.

47. 3. si vivere placeret. "If I were minded to live" (which I am not). *Si vivere placeat* would imply that he had not yet made up his mind.

4. experti in vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. Otho means he had tried

both the bright and the dark side of Fortune (so that nothing more remained to try), and Fortune had tried him both in prosperity and adversity (and had found him not unequal to either). This seems the obvious meaning, though other explanations have been given. Ritter understands it "Otho had had experience of Fortune and found her out by his defeat at Bedriacum; Fortune had proved him and found him not wanting when she promoted him to the throne."

5. nec tempus computaveritis. The meaning is "do not consider the time of my reign is too short to form a judgment of me; it is a short reign that gives the surest test." Statius has pithily put it, Theb. ii. 446, "non parcat populis regnum breve."

6. temperare felicitati. "To use good fortune with moderation." So iii. 31, "qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent," and Sall. Cat. xi. 8, "victoriae temperarent."

9. hinc. "By this, by my conduct now."

10. neque solacia. A cruel man might have found consolation for his defeat in putting to death the relatives of Vitellius.

11. tenuerint—reliquerit. The first of these conjunctives is concessive, "others may have held;" the second is potential, "no one can have left it."

citus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar? Eat hic mecum animus, tanquam perituri pro me fueritis, sed este superstites.

- 15 Nec diu moremur, ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. Plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae est. Praecipuum destinationis meae documentum habete, quod de nemine queror. Nam incusare deos vel homines eius est, qui vivere velit."

48. Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, irent propere neu remanendo iram victoris asperarent, iuvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat, placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens. Dari
5 naves ac vehicula abeuntibus iubet; libellos epistulasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes abolet; pecunias distribuit parce nec ut periturus. Mox Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium prima iuventa, trepidum et maerentem ultro solatus est laudando pietatem eius, castigando formidinem: an Vitellium
10 tam inmitis animi fore, ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? Mereri se festinato exitu clementiam victoris: non enim ultima desperatione, sed poscente proelium exercitu, remisisse rei publicae novissimum casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis quaesitum.
15 Post Iulios Claudios Servios se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse. Proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam,

13. eat—animus, tanquam. "Let this thought go with me, that . . ." *Tanquam* expresses the substance or contents of the thought.

17. de nemine. The ablative is rarely used; it occurs again, Ann. xvi. 27, "nemine compellato." The speech which Plutarch puts into Otho's mouth is far less fine but more business-like, yet the point of it is the same; it is his will and his delight to sacrifice his life for theirs.

48. 2. irent is probably dependent on *appellatos*; it might possibly depend on *movebat*.

5. naves. For those of them who wished to cross or go down the Po, or take to the Adriatic.

5. libellos are "petitions."

7. Cocceianum. Plutarch (Oth. 16) calls him Cocceius; but Suetonius names him Cocceianus when he describes his death by the order of Domitian, Dom. 10. He was the son of Titianus who, according to Plutarch and Tacitus, had already surrendered. Suetonius, wrongly, it would

seem, represents him as present on this occasion.

8. ultro solatus est. He took the initiative in administering comfort to Cocceianus, not waiting for the young man to appeal to him.

12. poscente proellum exercitu. This is only true of the troops at Brixellum, and of those who were advancing from Moesia; the others had already surrendered.

13. remisisse. "Had excused;" generally of excusing some disagreeable service or duty. For the use of *remittere*, see Ann. i. 8, and i. 10.

15. Servios—Sulpicius would be more correct, but Galba was Servius Sulpicius Galba; it was the ordinary praenomen of the Sulpicii, as Appian of the Claudii.

15. familiam novam. His family was old and distinguished, a leading house in Etruria, but new to empire.

16. erecto animo. "Roused to energy." So Ann. iii. 7, "erectis omnium animis." neu patrum sibi Otho-nem; so Plut. Oth. 16, μήτε τιλαθεῖσθαι

neu patrum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur umquam aut nimium meminisset.

49. Post quae dimotis omnibus paulum requievit. Atque illum supremas iam curas animo volutantem repens tumultus avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum: namque abeuntibus exitium minitabantur, atrocissima in Verginium vi, quem clausa domo obsidebant. Increpitis seditionis auctoribus 5 regressus vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec omnes inviolati digrederentur. Vesperascente die sitim haustu gelidae aquae sedavit. Tum adlatis pugionibus duobus, cum utrumque pertemptasset, alterum capiti subdidit. Et explorato iam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insomnem egit. 10 Luce prima in ferrum pectore incubuit. Ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum vulnus invenere. Funus maturatum: ambitiosis id precibus petierat, ne amputaretur caput ludibrio futurum. Tulere corpus praetoriae cohortes cum laudibus et lacrimis vulnus 15 manusque eius exosculantes. Quidam militum iuxta rogam interfecere se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione decoris et caritate principis. Ac postea promisce Bedriaci Placentiae aliisque in castris celebratum id genus mortis. Othoni sepulchrum exstructum est modicum et mansurum. 20 Hunc vitae finem habuit septimo et tricensimo aetatis anno.

παντάσῃ μῆτι ἀγαν μνημονεύειν, ὅτι Κάλσαρα θεῖον ἔσχε. Domitian had him put to death for keeping Otho's birthday.

49. 1. post quae for *postea*, like *inter quae* for *interea*, *supremas curas*. "Thoughts of the end of life."

3. consternatio seems to mean here, as in i. 83, "a wild outbreak."

4. Verginium. For his previous and subsequent history, see i. 8, note on line 11; see also c. 68, below.

6. donec—digrederentur. The subjunctive is used, because there is an idea of purpose.

8. pugionibus duobus. *Duobus* is wanting in M., but seems to be rendered necessary by *utrumque* which follows, and could easily have dropped out. Plutarch, Oth. 17, and Suetonius, both state that he had two daggers.

11. Incubuit. He died on the 16th of April, on the 92d day of his reign.

13. ambitiosis id precibus petierat. *Ambitiosis* = "earnest," "prayers which made it a great favour." He was afraid that his body might be exposed to the

same indignities which Galba's had suffered.

16. exosculantes. The compound has the sense of kissing with warmth.

17. non noxa neque ob metum. This probably means "not from any consciousness of wrong done to Otho, nor for fear of Vitellius's vengeance." Others, however, explain it as a hendiadys, "not from any fear of special wrong done to Vitellius." Plut. Oth. 17, *ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῇ πυρρῇ λαμπρόδῃς ὑφ' ἑνὶ τούτοις ἀπέσφαξαν οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως οὐδὲ πεπονθότες χρησάμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὐδὲ πέσειν θάψαι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεδιότες*.

18. promisce. "In all quarters."

20. mansurum. Its perpetuity was secured by its modesty. Plutarch tells us that he saw the tomb at Bedriacum, and that it bore the simple inscription, *δαίμονιν* (according to a probable correction, *i.e.* Dis Manibus) *Μάρκου Ὀθωνος*. Suetonius adds that Vitellius's remark, upon seeing it, was that the man was worthy of the tomb, Suet. Vit. 10.

21. septimo et tricensimo. Sue-

50. Origo illi e municipio Ferentino, pater consularis, avus praetorius; maternum genus inpar nec tamen indecorum. Pueritia ac iuventa, qualem monstravimus. Duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros
 5 meruit bonae famae quantum malae. Ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. Die, quo Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedissee incolae me-
 10 morant, nec deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis; et tempora reputantibus initium finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.

51. In funere eius novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio, nec erat qui coerceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo ut reciperet imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam ac Valentemungeretur, minitantes orabant: Verginius per aversam domus
 5 partem furtim digressus inrumpentes frustratus est. Earum quae Brixelli egerant cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit, et

tonius says the thirty-eighth, counting in the year in which he was born, as well as that in which he died. He was actually just under 37 years old when he died, on April 16, 69 A.D.

60. 1. Ferentino. This was situated in Etruria, Ann. xv. 53. Plin. N. H. iii. 5, 64. Suetonius, Otho 1, says that the Salvii counted as a royal stock in Etruria.

2. maternum genus inpar. She is called by Suetonius, Oth. 1, "splendida femina," i.e. the daughter of a Roman knight; as such she was not equal in rank to the Salvii. Her name was Albia Terentia.

3. qualem monstravimus, i.e. in i. 13.

4. altero flagitiosissimo. The murder of Galba. altero egregio, the manner of his death. Martial, vi. 32, 5, compares his death to that of Cato: "sit Cato, dum vivit, sane vel Caesare maior; dum moritur numquid maior Othone fuit?"

9. apud Regium Lepidum. Reggio, south of the Po, on the Via Aemilia, between Parma and Modena. celebri luco. "In a much frequented grove;" there was some altar there. Luco has been needlessly altered into loco or vico.

10. nec deinde. "Nor after that." Petersen suggests neque inde.

12. tempora reputantibus—cum Othonis exitu competisse. "And when men came to reckon the time, they found that it agreed with the time of Otho's death." The dative is one of general reference. What point are we to fix for the beginning of Otho's end? Orelli thinks the beginning of the battle of Bedriacum. For the use of *reputantibus*, compare iii. 8, "magni momenti locum obtinuit reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum et patriam hostium duci creptam;" and for *competisse*, Plin. N.H. xvi. 39, "si competat coitus lunae in novissimum diem brumae."

61. 2. modo ut reciperet imperium. He had once already been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, hence *reciperet*; modo—nunc, for variety's sake, instead of modo—modo.

4. per aversam domus partem, i.e. by the *posticum*, the back door; the same phrase is used again, iii. 84, "per aversam Palatii partem."

6. Rubrius Gallus. Dio, lxxiii. 27, tells us that he had been employed by Nero against Galba, but went over with the forces under his command. We hear of him later on, c. 99, as the channel of communication between Caecina and Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother.

6. et—impetrata. These words are

venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem per Flaviū Sabinum iis copiis, quibus praefuerat.

52. Posito ubique bello magna pars senatus extremum discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, dein Mutinae relictā. Illuc adverso de proelio adlatum : sed milites ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, voltum habitumque trahere in deterius ; conviciis postremo ac probris causam et initium caedis quaerebant, cum alius insuper metus senatoribus instaret, ne praevalidis iam Vitellii partibus cunctanter excepiisse victoriam crederentur. Ita trepidi et utrimque anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior. Onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offerendo appellabatque patres conscriptos intempestivo honore.

53. Notabile iurgium fuit, quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. Nec ceteri sententias

best taken with the preceding, the ablative which follows marking a contemporaneous event. Some editors put a stop or semicolon at *tulit*, and connect *venia impetrata* with *concedentibus*. The forces which Flavius Sabinus commanded were the gladiators encamped south of the Po. Of Spurrina, the defender of Placentia, Tacitus makes no mention.

52. 1. posito ubique bello. The war being abandoned at all points, at Brixellum, Bedriacum, Placentia. pars senatus. That part which had been obliged to accompany Otho from Rome, see i. 88. Mutina is Modena, on the Via Aemilia.

5. voltum—in deterius. "Put the worst construction on their looks and dress;" because they did not look down-cast nor put on mourning.

9. utrimque anxii. "Anxious on both sides," both on account of the soldiers of Otho and those of Vitellius. For this use of *utrimque*, see G. 44, "quod utrimque prora."

10. nemo privatim expedito consilio—tutior. "No one on his own account venturing to take a line of his own." The phrase *expedire consilia* occurs again in iii. 73, "neque alienis consiliis regi neque sua expedire;" and iv. 42, "hominem tam expediti consilii." With *tutior* we have to supply *unusquisque*, as in Hor. Sat. i. 1, 2, "ut nemo quam sibi sortem—contentus vivat,

laudet diversa sequentes." If all took common counsel, the fault could not be laid at the door of any one.

11. ordo Mutinensis. "The town council of Modena;" properly *ordo decurionum*, but *ordo* is often found, in inscriptions, used absolutely. Vacancies in the body were filled up under the Lex Iulia by election every five years.

12. intempestivo honore. The honour was ill-timed, because it exposed them to fresh risk.

53. 1. Licinius Caecina is not mentioned elsewhere by Tacitus.

1. Marcellus Eprius. His full name was Titus Clodius M. F. Eprius Marcellus. He was *praetor peregrinus* in the last days of Claudius's reign, Ann. xii. 4. He gained great notoriety as a *delator* under Nero, being employed by him to conduct the prosecution of Thrasea along with Capito Cossutianus, Ann. xvi. 22. He was *consul suffectus* in 61 A.D. and again in 74 A.D., and was still a man of influence under Vespasian, till at last he had in 79 A.D. to commit suicide, being implicated in a conspiracy against the emperor. Tacitus has much to say about him in the *Dialogue*. He quotes him (c. 8) as an instance of a man known as well in the most distant parts of the empire as at home. His eloquence had raised him from a humble position to be a leader in the Forum and the friend of princes.

aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen inritaverat Caecinam, ut novus
 5 adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus magnis inimicitiiis claresceret. Moderatione meliorum dirempti. Et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi; simul medio temporis plures nuntii sperabantur. Bononiae divisus per itinera, qui recentissimum quemque percunctarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus
 10 causam digressus habere se suprema eius mandata respondit; ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura et abruptis vitae blandimentis. Hinc admiratio et plura interrogandi pudor; atque omnium animi in Vitellium inclinavere.

54. Intererat consiliis frater eius L. Vitellius seque iam adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Coenus libertus Neronis atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans superventu quartae decimae legionis, iunctis a Brixello viribus, caesos victores,
 5 versam partium fortunam. Causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata Othonis, quae neglegebantur, laetiore nuntio revalerent. Et Coenus quidem rapide in urbem vectus paucos post dies iussu Vitellii poenas luit. Senatorum periculum auctum credentibus Othonianis militibus vera esse quae adferebantur.
 10 Intendebat formidinem, quod publici consilii facie discessum Mutina desertaeque partes forent. Nec ultra in commune

5. *magnis inimicitiiis claresceret.* "Gain fame by his attacks on the great." There is, however, the same doubt about the meaning of *magnus* here, as in i. 2, "*magna adulteria*," where see note.

7. *Bononia.* Bologna, south-east of Modena, on the Via Aemilia.

7. *medio temporis*—*sperabantur.* *Medio temporis*—"in the interval," Ann. xiv. 53. *plures nuntii sperabantur.* Tacitus is fond of using this personal construction; it occurs, however, again in c. 74, "*legiones secuturæ sperabantur.*"

8. *recentissimum quemque.* "Each fresh arrival."

11. *sola posteritatis cura et abruptis vitae blandimentis.* "His whole thoughts were set on the judgment of posterity, and he had broken with all the pleasures of life." *Abruptis*, as if they were chains; for *blandimentis*, cf. Ann. xv. 64, "*blandimentis vitae evictam.*"

54. 1. *Lucius Vitellius.* See i. 88.

1. *seque*—*offerebat.* "Laid himself out to gain their flatteries," for for-

tune had now definitely declared for his brother.

3. *atroci mendacio perculit.* "Astounded them by an atrocious lie." *Atrox* is anything out of the common, generally out of the common in badness.

3. *quartae decimae legionis.* It was the most famous legion on Otho's side; it was coming out of Dalmatia, c. 32.

5. *diplomata.* Properly "folded letters." They bore the emperor's seal, and couriers armed with them had their journey expedited in every possible way: fresh horses were found for them, and fresh carriages. Coenus found little attention was beginning to be paid to his *diplomata*, and invented the lie to get them properly attended to.

7. *rapide.* M. has *rapidū*; Tacitus generally uses *raptim* in the positive, and this is read by some editors here.

10. *publici consilii facie.* "With the full form of a public resolution." They had met and debated the matter.

congressi sibi quisque consuluere, donec missae a Fabio Valente epistolae demerent metum. Et mors Othonis quo laudabilior, eo velocius audita.

55. At Romae nihil trepidationis; Cerialis ludi ex more spectabantur. Ut cessisse Othonem et a Flavio Sabino praefecto urbis, quod erat in urbe militum, sacramento Vitellii adactum certi auctores in theatrum adtulerunt, Vitellio plausere: populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines circum templa tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis iuxta lacum Curti, quem locum Galba moriens sanguine infecerat. In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus conposita statim decernuntur; additae erga Germanicum exercitum laudes gratesque et missa legatio, quae gaudio fungeretur. Recitatae Fabii Valentis epistolae ad consules scriptae haud immoderate: grator Caccinae modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset.

56. Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello afflictabatur. Dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare rapere, vi et stupris polluere: in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. Et fuere qui inimicos suos specie militum interficerent. Ipsique milites regionum

13. *epistolae*. "A letter." The plural for the singular, on the analogy of *litterae*, see above, i. 67.

55. 1. *at Romae*. As contrasted with the fears of the senators.

1. *Cerialis ludi*. These were celebrated from the 12th to the 15th of April. On the last day, the games in the Circus were held, Ann. xv. 53 and 74. Caesar, 44 B.C., placed them under the charge of *aediles Cerialis*. The MSS. vary between *Cerealia* and *Cerialia*.

2. *cessisse*. This is the reading of M. Ritter, holding that the simple form cannot be used absolutely, alters it to *cessisse*; Wölfflin, to *excessisse*; Petersen, followed by Heraeus, to *cecidisse*; Orelli understands the simple form as "had abdicated," i.e. by death, quoting iii. 66, "quam ipse cesserat;" and iii. 68, "cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa."

2. *Flavio Sabino praefecto urbis*. He was Vespasian's brother. See i. 46.

3. *sacramento Vitellii adactum*. The phrase is varied a little in different places; i. 55, "sacramento pro Galba adactae;" in Ann. i. 34, "in verba eius adigit."

7. *quem locum*. See above, i. 41.

8. *cuncta—conposita*. The different powers granted are enumerated, i.

47, "decernuntur Othoni tribunicia potestas, et nomen Augusti et omnes principis honores." In iv. 3 the senate awards to Vespasian "cuncta principibus solita."

10. *quae gaudio fungeretur*. "To carry expressions of their joy." Tacitus has chosen this form of phrase, to show that the expression of joy was looked on as a duty.

12. *quod non scripsisset*. It had become usual for the emperor alone to address letters to the consuls or the senate. Cf. iv. 4, "miserat et Mucianus epistulas ad Senatum, quae materiam sermonibus praeberet." "Si privatus esset, cur publice loqueretur?"

56. 3. *in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales*. "Greedy for anything lawful and unlawful alike, or ready to be bought to do it." The construction of *avidi* with *in* is unusual. Tacitus perhaps adopts it, because *fas nefasque* are indeclinable. *Fas nefasque* expresses that they were prepared to stick at nothing, wrong as well as right was equally welcome to them. Cf. iii. 51, "tantam victoribus adversus fas nefasque inreverentiam fuisse."

5. *specie militum*. "Dressing themselves up as soldiers." *destinabant*. "Marked out."

gnari refertos agros, dites dominos in praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad excidium destinabant, obnoxiiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis. Minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis: Valens ob lucra et quaestus infamis eoque alienae etiam culpa dis-
 10 simulator. Iam pridem adtritis Italiae rebus tantum peditum equitumque, vis damnaque et iniuriae aegre tolerabantur.

57. Interim Vitellius victoriae suae nescius ut ad integrum bellum reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. Pauci Veterum militum in hibernis relictis festinatis per Gallias dilectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur. Cura
 5 ripae Hordeonio Flacco permissa; ipse e Britannico exercitu delecta octo milia sibi adiunxit. Et paucorum dierum iter progressus prosperas apud Bedriacum res ac morte Othonis concidisse bellum accepit: vocata contione virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. Postulante exercitu, ut libertum suum
 10 Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem conpescit: dein mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur honoravitque Asiaticum anulis, foedum mancipium et malis artibus ambitiosum.

7. obnoxiiis. "Subservient to their will." plus ambitionis = "more subservience."

10. iam pridem adtritis Italiae rebus. By the civil wars, by the extortions of Tiberius and Nero, by the advance of Galba, by the march of Otho, and by the decay of agriculture.

10. tantum peditum equitumque. Lipsius would expunge *tantum* as a gloss, or alter it to *tanta*, agreeing with *vis*. But neither change is necessary; the words which follow are explanatory of *tantum peditum equitumque*, showing how they afflicted Italy.

57. 2. reliquas — vires trahebat. The 5th, the 21st, and the 22d legions had gone with Valens and Caecina into Italy, and detachments of the 1st, 4th, 15th, and 16th. *Trahebat*, perhaps, expresses their unwillingness to go.

4. nomina supplerentur. "The cadres might be filled up." *Nomina* is contrasted with *robur*, the full strength, in iv. 14, "inania legionum nomina ne pavescerent — at sibi robur peditum;" and iv. 15, "nomen magis exercitus quam robur." However depleted a legion was, the names of its cohorts and centuries were still retained. The majority of the recruits seem to have come

from the cantons which bordered on Germany.

5. ripae, i.e. the left bank of the Rhine. From its constant use in Book IV it would seem that *ripa* meant always the bank of the Rhine, see also G. 17, 23, etc., or rather the boundary of the empire which the river bank represented.

5. e Britannico exercitu delecta. *Exercitu* is added by Heraeus, being omitted in M., which reads *delecta*. Orelli originally proposed *e Britannico delectu* "of the élite of the British army;" but there is no authority for such a use of *delectu*. These *vexillarii* of the British army are mentioned again, ii. 100, "cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum." The legions are the 2d, the 9th, and the 20th, see iii. 22.

10. equestri dignitate donaret. Orelli quotes for the phrase, Inscr. Lat. 3049, "L. Aconio a Divo Traiano ex militia in equestrem dignitatem translato."

12. anulis. The golden ring was the sign of equestrian dignity. *mancipium* is a contemptuous name for a freedman. *ambitiosum*. "Seeking to ingratiate himself." For *Asiaticus*, see Suet. Vit. 12. He tells the same story as Tacitus here.

58. Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretanium, interfecto procuratore Albino, nuntii venere. Lucceius Albinus a Nerone Mauretaniae Caesariensi praepositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud spernendis viribus agebat. Decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. Caeso Galba in Othonem pronus nec Africa contentus Hispaniae angusto freto diremptae imminebat. Inde Cluvio Rufo metus; et decimam legionem propinquare litori ut transmissurus iussit. Praemissi centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent; neque arduum fuit magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama. Spargebatur insuper spreto procuratoris vocabulo Albinum insigne regis et Iubae nomen usurpare.

59. Ita mutatis animis Asinius Pollio alae praefectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur. Ipse Albinus dum e Tingitana provincia

58. 1. *utramque Mauretanium*, i.e. Tingitana, the more western, Caesariensis the more eastern, province. These had been constituted imperial provinces by Caius in 40 A.D., after he had put to death Ptolemaeus, the last lineal descendant in the line of Juba. Of the two provinces, Tingitana was quite poor and uncivilised; Caesariensis was richer and more fertile, but it had only one considerable town, Iol or Caesarea, the capital, situated on the sea-coast about half-way between the Straits of Gibraltar and Carthage. Mommsen. P.R.E. vol. ii. pp. 313-322.

2. *procuratore Albino*. The two provinces were governed by a procurator because of their comparative unimportance.

4. *haud spernendis viribus agebat*. "Was at the head of a not inconsiderable force." *Spernendis viribus* is an ablative of manner or descriptive ablative. Mommsen reckons his forces, 19 cohorts and 5 alae, at about 15,000 men; the single cohorts and alae consisting of 500, the double of 1000 men. He thinks that about one in four of these was of double strength. Mommsen. P.R.E. vol. ii. p. 321, note.

6. *apta bello manus*. The robber tribes of this district have been excellent soldiers through all history.

8. *Hispaniae angusto freto diremptae imminebat*. "He threatened Spain, which was severed from him but

by a narrow strait." His province of Tingitana was separated from Hispania Baetica only by the Straits of Gibraltar. As Mommsen points out, Tingitana is more intimately connected with Spain than it is with its associated province of Mauretania Caesariensis, which can be reached from it only by a dangerous coasting voyage.

8. *Cluvio Rufo*. For an account of him, see i. 8, second note on line 2. He was governor of Tarraconensis; but as Baetica was a senatorial province, destitute of troops, he would be responsible for its safety as well.

9. *decimam legionem*. Called Gemina, Caesar's favourite legion. It and the 6th Victrix formed the regular garrison of Spain. *litori*. The shore of Baetica; the dative follows *propinquare* on the analogy of *appropinquare*.

9. *ut transmissurus*. "As intending to despatch it across." The construction is copied from the Greek future participle with *ὥς*. He repeats the phrase iii. 68, "ut in aede Concordiae positurus insignia imperii;" and Ann. i. 47, "ut iam iamque iturus legit comites."

13. *insigne regis et Iubae nomen*. "The diadem of a king and the name of Juba." The kingdom of Mauretania had belonged to the house of Juba till Ptolemaeus's death in 40 A.D. Albinus was accused of wishing to revive in his own person this native sovereignty.

Caesariensem Mauretanium petit, adpulsu litoris trucidatus;
 5 uxor eius cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est, nihil eorum quae fierent Vitellio anquirente. Brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravioribus.

Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere iubet: ipse Arare flumine devehitur, nullo principali paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus,
 10 donec Iunius Blaesus Lugudunensis Galliae rector, genere illustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret principi ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. Praesto fuere Luguduni victricium victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Caecinam
 15 pro contione laudatos curuli suae circumposuit. Mox universum exercitum occurrere infanti filio iubet; perlatumque et paludamento opertum sinu retinens Germanicum appellavit cinxitque cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus. Nimius honos inter secunda rebus adversis in solacium cessit.

59. 4. *adpulsu litoris trucidatus*. The coasting voyage from Tangiers to Caesarea was always dangerous. *Adpulsu litoris* means "as he was landing on the shore." The expression is somewhat harsh, however, and Ritter would read *adpulsus litori*. Cf. Liv. xxvii. 30, "ut Attalus portibus . . . et litorum adpulsu arceret." Orelli omits the *in* which is wanting in M., and defends the ablative by the analogy of *adventu, discessu*.

6. *brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat*. "He passed over matters, however great, with but slight notice." M. reads *transibant*, the copyist apparently mistaking *magna* for the nominative. For the use of *transire*, cf. Ann. xiv. 12, "Thrasea silentio vel brevi adsensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus." For *inpar curis gravioribus*, see Ann. xiv. 54, "senex et levissimis quoque curis inpar;" and for the description of Vitellius, see below, iii. 36.

8. *Arare, i.e.* the Saône, the modern name being derived from the later name of the river, Sauconna. This joins the Rhone at Lyons.

9. *vetere egestate conspicuus*. Suetonius, Vit. 7, asserts that when setting out for Germany, he was so poor that he had to let his house and send his wife into lodgings, and pawn his mother's earrings to pay the expenses of his journey.

10. *Iunius Blaesus*. Already mentioned, i. 59. rector. He was *legatus pro praetore*.

11. *et par opibus*. "His resources were equal to his liberality."

11. *circumdaret principi ministeria*. "Supplied the officers of the imperial household." He provided him with a keeper of the privy purse, a secretary, and a chamberlain. These offices had been hitherto generally held by slaves.

12. *comitaretur liberaliter*. "Provided him with a splendid retinue."

12. *ingratus*. For his subsequent ingratitude to Junius Blaesus, see iii. 38, 39.

13. *praesto fuere*. "Presented themselves." So Cic. ad Fam. iii. 3, 1, "Q. Fabius, legatus tuus, mihi praesto fuit."

15. *curuli suae circumposuit*. He made them sit on his right hand and on his left, as he sat on his throne. The use of *curulis* without *sella* is peculiar to writers of the Silver Age, see Ann. i. 75.

16. *occurrere infanti fillo*. When he came from Rome. See c. 47.

17. *Germanicum appellavit*. He had himself received the title from the soldiers, i. 62.

19. *rebus adversis in solacium cessit*. "Proved a solace in his adversity;" not to the lad himself, for he was put to death by the orders of Mucianus, iv. 80; but the thought of the honours showered on him was a kind of solace to those who pitied his misfortunes. Cf. Ann. xiv. 63, "laeta aliqua viderant et praesentem saevitiam melioris olim fortunae recordatione levabant." For *cedere*, in the sense of "to prove at last,"

60. Tum interfecti centuriones promptissimi Othonianorum, unde praecipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus; simul ceterae legiones contactu et adversus Germanicos milites invidia bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paulinum ac Licinium Proculum tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec auditi necessariis 5 magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur. Proditionem ultro inputabant, spatium longi ante proelium itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suae adsignantes. Et Vitellius credidit de perfidia et fidem absolvit. Salvius Titianus Othonis frater 10 nullum discrimen adiit, pietate et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso consulatus servatur: sed creditum fama obiectumque mox in senatu Caecilio Simplici, quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset: restitit Vitellius deditque postea consulatum Simplici innoxium et inemptum. Trachalum 15 adversus criminantes Galeria uxor Vitellii protexit.

61. Inter magnorum virorum discrimina (pudendum dictu) Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum ausus est.

cf. G. 36, "Chattis victoribus in sapientiam cessit."

60. 2. *Illyricos exercitus*. All along these had heartily espoused the cause of Otho. For in *Vitellium alienatio*, cf. iv. 49, "alienato erga Vespasianum animo."

3. *ceterae legiones*. Those in Moesia, Syria and Judaea.

5. *tristi mora squalidos tenuit*. "He kept in the garb of accused by distressing delays." It was usual for the accused to dress themselves in mourning and show other signs of sorrow to excite compassion.

6. *proditionem ultro inputabant*. "They went on to claim credit for their treachery." They considered the fact that they had induced the troops they commanded to surrender not sufficient, and went to this further length.

7. *spatium longi ante proelium itineris*. Against this they had actually protested, c. 40. *permixtum vehiculis agmen*. This was the result of the troops setting out, "non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum." *pleraque fortuita*. Such as the narrowness of the causeway.

10. *fidem absolvit*. "Pardoned their loyalty." For loyalty being considered a

crime, see i. 59, "centuriones occidi iussit damnatos fidei crimine gravissimo inter desciscentes."

11. *Mario Celso consulatus servatur*. For his consulship, see i. 77. As Tacitus says nothing about it, it is to be hoped that he made no unworthy excuses.

13. *Caecilio Simplici*. He is mentioned, as consul, iii. 68, at the time of Vitellius's abdication.

14. *restitit Vitellius*. This may mean either "resisted his offer of a bribe," or "resisted (*i.e.* denied) the suspicion Caecilius lay under" of having tried to ruin Celsus. The first is, perhaps, to be preferred.

15. *Trachalum*. For him, see i. 90, first note on line 11. He was most likely a relation of Galeria, his name being M. Galerius Trachalus.

61. 1. *pudendum dictu*. This sentence expresses well the contempt felt by a public man for a simple peasant, by a Roman for the conquered provincials.

2. *inserere sese fortunae*. "To thrust himself on fortune." So Ann. vi. 2, "Togonius Gallus, dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit, per deridiculum auditur."

Iamque adsertor Galliarum et deus (nam id sibi indiderat)
 5 concitis octo milibus hominum proximos Aeduorum pagos
 trahebat, cum gravissima civitas electa iuventute, adiectis a
 Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disiecit. Captus in
 eo proelio Mariccus ac mox feris obiectus quia non laniabatur,
 stolidum vulgus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio
 10 interfectus est.

62. Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cuiusquam saevitum :
 rata fuere eorum, qui acie Othoniana ceciderant, testamenta aut
 lex intestatis. Prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret, avaritiam non
 timeres. Epularum foeda et inexplibilis libido : ex urbe atque
 5 Italia inritamenta gulae gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque
 mari itineribus ; exhausti conviviorum apparatus principes
 civitatum ; vastabantur ipsae civitates ; degenerabat a labore
 ac virtute miles adsuetudine voluptatum et contemptu ducis.
 Praemisit in urbem edictum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret,
 10 Caesaris non reciperet, cum de potestate nihil detraheret. Pulsi

4. nam id sibi indiderat. Heraeus inserts *nomen* after *sibi* ; Halm alters *nam* into *nomen* ; Ernesti would add *nomen* at the end of the sentence. The sentence, however, makes good sense without *nomen*, *id* referring to his claim to be the liberator of Gaul and a god.

5. proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat. The Boii, after their defeat by Caesar, were settled in the territory of the Aedui, Caesar, B. G. i. 28. *Trahebat* is variously explained : (1) drew after him, as in chap. 86 below ; and iii. 34, "prima Adiutrix legio decimam quoque ac sextam traxit" or (2) = "plundered," which is the sense in Ann. iii. 74, "ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur." On the whole (1) seems preferable, as he was hardly likely to begin by plundering those whom he proposed to liberate.

6. gravissima civitas electa iuventute. The Aedui had, from the first, been conspicuous for their loyalty to Rome. At their capital, Augustodunum, was an university to which the élite of the youth of Gaul came to be educated. See Ann. iii. 43, "nobilissima Galliarum subole liberalibus studiis ibi operata."

8. ac mox feris obiectus. Paulus, Dig. xlviii. 19, 38, 2, states that the authors of seditions and outbreaks were, according to their rank, crucified, thrown to the beasts, or banished to an island.

62. 1. in defectores aut bona cuiusquam saevitum.

Defectores, the partisans of Otho, were so called by the adherents of the present emperor. The phrase *in bona saevire*, "to confiscate," is repeated again in Ann. iv. 20, "saevitum tamen in bona."

2. aut lex intestatis. "If they had made no will, their property went to their legal heirs."

3. avaritiam non timeres. "You need not (would not) fear his avarice." So i. 10, "palam laudares ; secreta male audiebant." It is the potential use of the conjunctive, Madvig, § 370.

5. strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus. "The roads from either sea," i.e. the Adriatic and the Etruscan sea, "being noisy with the traffic."

6. exhausti. Suetonius, Vit. 13, says that less than 400,000 sesterces (say £4000) was never spent on a banquet.

7. vastabantur. "All their resources were exhausted ; they had nothing left."

9. vocabulum Augusti differret, Caesaris non reciperet. The names had been already voted to him by the senate, c. 55 ; he subsequently, when his fortunes were on the decline, accepted the name of Caesar. See iii. 58, "quin et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea."

10. pulsi Italia mathematici. On the repeated attempts made to get rid of the soothsayers, see i. 22, notes on lines 5

Italia mathematici; cautum severe ne equites Romani ludo et arena polluerentur. Priores id principes pecunia et saepius vi perpulerant, ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adulescentium pretio inlicere.

63. Sed Vitellius adventu fratris et inrepentibus dominationis magistris superbior et atrocior occidi Dolabellam iussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone rettulimus. Dolabella audita morte Othonis urbem introierat. Id ei Plancius Varus praetura functus, ex intimis Dolabellae amicis, 5 apud Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis obiecit, tanquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus ostentasset: addidit temptatam cohortem, quae Ostiae ageret; nec ullis tantorum criminum probationibus in paenitentiam versus seram veniam post scelus quaerebat. Cunctantem super tanta re Flavium 10 Sabinum Triaria L. Vitellii uxor, ultra feminam ferox, terruit,

and 8; Ann. ii. 32; xii. 52, "facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta." Suetonius (Vit. 14) says that they were ordered to leave Italy by 1st October, it being now about the middle of April or a little later. A placard was issued in retaliation by the soothsayers stating that by that date Vitellius Germanicus would be no more; the threat was not quite fulfilled.

11. ludo et arena. By the gladiatorial training school, and by appearing in the arena; see Juv. Sat. viii. 199, Mayor's note, who shows that to go to the gladiatorial school and to take part in gladiatorial exhibitions was the lowest degradation a Roman could reach. See also Juv. Sat. xi. 20, "sic veniunt ad miscelanea ludi." As a rule, the aristocracy of Rome was more ready to drive in the circus than to fight in the arena; but for the part they played in the gladiatorial contests and the attempts made to stop it, see Ann. xiv. 14, and Juv. Sat. viii. 192-210.

12. id—perpulerant. "Had driven them on to this." So iv. 42, "hoc certe Nero non coegit," and Cic. de Rep. i. 23, "ille civis, qui id cogit omnes."

13. aemulabantur inlicere. *Aemulor* is not elsewhere used with an infinitive, but *certabant* is below, iii. 61, "suas centurias turmasque tradere certabant."

63. 1. fratris, i.e. Lucius Vitellius; for his conduct, see above, c. 54. dominationis magistris. "His instructors in tyranny."

3. rettulimus. See i. 88. He had been banished to Aquinum, in Latium, for no crime, but because he bore an ancient name, and was related to Galba.

5. Plancius Varus. It appears from an inscription that his praenomen was Marcus, and that he was subsequently, in Vespasian's reign, proconsul of Bithynia. As Bithynia was a senatorial province, it would naturally be held by one who had filled the office of *praetor*.

6. praefectum urbis. For the history of the office, see Ann. vi. 11. It was first made a permanent office by Tiberius in 26 A.D. As the *praefectus urbis* was responsible for the good order of Rome itself, and also for the country round to a distance of 100 miles, such conduct as that of Dolabella would naturally be reported to him.

8. cohortem, quae Ostiae ageret. This was the 17th cohort of Roman citizens, i. 80.

8. nec ullis—probationibus. *Nec* here = *et non*, the negative belonging to the absolute ablative, the *et* connecting the principal verb with what precedes; "and failing to advance any proofs of such grave charges, repenting of what he had done, he sought, when his own crime had rendered it too late (post scelus) pardon for his friend, i.e. Dolabella." Some understand *venia* of pardon for himself, but *seram* makes this unlikely. He seems not in any way to have risked his own neck or prospects in order to save his friend.

ne periculo principis famam clementiae adfectaret. Sabinus suoapte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, inpulit
15 ruentem.

64. Igitur Vitellius metu et odio, quod Petroniam uxorem eius mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistulas vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate devertere Interamnam atque ibi interfici iussit. Longum interfectori visum: in itinere
5 ac taberna proiectum humi iugulavit, magna cum invidia novi principatus, cuius hoc primum specimen noscebatur. Et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor, non inmixta tristibus; et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris. Dixisse quin
10 etiam ad primas filii sui epistulas ferebatur non Germanicum a se, sed Vitellium genitum. Nec ullis postea fortunae inlecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta domus suae tantum ad-versa sensit.

12. *ne periculo—adfectaret.* "She warned him not to seek to gain a name for clemency at the cost of danger to the emperor." For this use of *terrui* *ne*, see iii. 42, "*ne Galliam temere ingrederetur monendo terrui.*"

13. *incessisset.* "Had come over him, taken possession of him," a favourite word of Tacitus to express the appearance or change of feeling. Ann. iii. 26, H. iii. 27, etc. For *facilis mutatu*, see Madvig, § 412.

14. *inpulit ruentem.* "Gave him a push towards ruin." So Cic. Cluent. § 70, "*praecipitatem igitur impellamus, inquit, et perditum prosternamus.*" He reported the accusation to Vitellius.

64. 1. *Petroniam uxorem eius.* She was his first wife, but was subsequently put away by him. She is described by Suetonius as *filia consularis*; her father was most likely P. Petronius Turpilianus, *consul suffectus* under Tiberius, 19 A.D., and proconsul of Asia for six years subsequently, and *legatus pro praetore* of Syria; he died in Claudius's reign, see Ann. iii. 49. She was thus sister to P. Petronius Turpilianus, put to death by Galba, i. 6 and 37.

3. *vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate.* We gather from Juv. Sat. i. 60, "*dum pervolat axe citato Flaminiam puer Automedon;*" and Mart. Ep. x. 6, 6, "*totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via,*"

that the Via Flaminia was the favourite drive out of Rome.

3. *Interamnam.* Some MSS. read here *Interamnium*; it is now Terni, in Umbria.

5. *novi principatus.* "Of the new reign." So Ann. i. 6, "*primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae caedes.*"

7. *modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat.* "A pattern of unassuming modesty in immediate juxtaposition threw into stronger relief." For *onerare* in the sense of "intensify," see i. 8 and iv.

14. *non inmixta tristibus.* "Keeping aloof from horrors." *Non nimia tristibus* was the reading of M.; the emendation is due to Fr. Gronovius. Pichena suggested *non nimia tristibus*.

9. *Sextilia.* She is described by Suetonius, Vit. 3, as "*probatissima nec ignobilis femina.*" Tacitus himself says of her later on, iii. 67, "*paucis ante diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil principatu assecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam.*" *ad epistulas.* "On receipt of his first letters;" so below, iii. 56, "*ad omnes nuntios trepidus.*"

12. *aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta.* "Won over to joy by this interested homage of the state." *Evicta* is a favourite word with Tacitus; we have in Ann. xi. 37, "*evicta ad miserationem.*"

65. Digressum a Luguduno Vitellium Cluvius Rufus adsequitur omissa Hispania, laetitiam et gratulationem vultu ferens, animo anxius et petatum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarius Caesaris libertus detulerat, tanquam audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum temptasset coque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripsisset *et* interpretabatur quaedam ex orationibus eius contumeliosa in Vitellium et pro se ipso popularia. Auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius iuberet. Cluvius comitatu principis adiectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens exemplo L. Arrunti. Eum Ti. Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat. Non idem Trebellio Maximo honos: profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum; missus est in locum eius Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.

66. Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus. Sparsae per Italiam et victoribus permixtae hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum

65. 3. Hilarius Caesaris libertus. Heraeus suggests that he was probably procurator of Hispania Tarraconensis—an office which was ordinarily held by *liberti Caesaris*.

4. detulerat, tanquam. Tanquam gives the substance of the charge.

6. diplomatibus. The form in *tibus* of a Greek word is rare, Roby, 492. For the nature of these *diplomata*, see above, c. 54, note on line 5. They were headed ordinarily by the name and style of the emperor, under whose authority they were issued. It was only natural that Cluvius Rufus, unwilling to commit himself prematurely to either of the two claimants to the throne, should omit the ordinary formal heading in issuing the *diplomata*; the omission was distorted by Hilarius into a proof of culpable ambition.

7. *et interpretabatur*. *Et* has dropped out in the MSS. owing to the *et* of the previous word. Translate, "he further represented certain expressions in his speeches as intended to bring Vitellius into contempt and to curry favour for himself." Cluvius is the logical, though not the grammatical, subject of the sentence; hence the use of *se ipso* as applying to him.

9. puniri ultro. "To secure not only

his being disbelieved, but his punishment as well."

11. exemplo L. Arrunti. Tiberius kept Arruntius by him in Rome, Tacitus says, though with a slight exaggeration, for ten years after he had been appointed governor of Spain, Ann. vi. 27.

13. Trebellio Maximo. For his enforced flight from Britain, owing to the opposition of Roscius Caelius and the mutiny of his soldiers, see i. 60; Ag. 16.

14. Vettius Bolanus. He retained the command for the next two years, at the end of which he was succeeded by Petilius Cerealis, Ag. 17. In 62 A.D. he had been in command of a legion under Corbulo, in Syria, Ann. xv. 3, and was *consul suffectus* in 67 or 68 A.D. In the reign of Vespasian he became proconsul of Asia. Tacitus, Ag. 16, says that while in command in Britain he was liked by the soldiers, but had little authority.

66. 1. *angebatur*. "Caused anxiety to." The defeat at Bedriacum had been merely nominal.

3. *quartadecimanorum*. They had distinguished themselves by suppressing the revolt in Britain, and had been singled out by Nero for exceptional service; hence the notion of defeat was specially distasteful to them. See ii. 11.

4. *vexillariis tantum pulsatis*. Ta-

5 pulsis vires legionis non adfuisse. Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam. Nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit. Augustae Taurinorum dum opificem quendam Batavus ut
 10 fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones adgregati a conviciis ad caedem transiere. Et proelium atrox arsisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes causam quartadecimanorum secutae his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent. Quos Vitellius agmini suo iungi ut fidos; legionem Graia Alpi-
 15 bus traductam eo flexu itineris ire iubet, quo Viennam vitarent: namque et Viennenses timebantur. Nocte, qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta, quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, maioribus aliarum urbium cladibus oblitteratum. Quartadecimani postquam Alpibus de-
 20 gressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu meliorum compressi et legio in Britanniam transvecta.

67. Proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat. Separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum resumpta militia robur Flavianarum
 5 partium fuere. Prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa,

citus had not previously mentioned expressly that this was so; still his language implies it; see c. 43, note on line 8.

6. unde a Nerone exciti erant. See c. 27, note on line 9.

7. ob veterem—discordiam. For the previous history of this, see i. 59 and 64, ii. 27.

12. arsisset. *Exarsisset* is Heraeus's correction for *arsisset* of M. Orelli, however, quotes in defence of the reading of M. "*arsisset bello provincia*," Ann. xii. 54; also Ann. iv. 40, "*quas longe acrius arsuras*."

14. quos, *i.e.* the Batavians.

14. legionem—vitarent. The road led from Aosta by the valley of the Doria (Dora Baita) over the Little St. Bernard. When it has crossed the pass, it enters the valley of the Isère, and descends that till it reaches Montmeillan. Here the road divides; one route runs south-west through Grenoble to Vienne; the other takes a north-west direction till it passes Chambéry and reaches the lake of Bourget; thence it strikes across into the valley of the Rhone, and so reaches Lyons. It

was this second and more circuitous route which the legion was directed to take in order to avoid Vienne.

16. Viennenses timebantur. They had been brought into great danger from Valens's soldiery on its southward march. See i. 65, 66.

19. oblitteratum. This is a word hardly to be found in Cicero; in Livy there are instances of it; it is common in Tacitus, H. i. 55; Ann. i. 51, etc. *ferebant*. "Were for carrying."

67. 1. e praetoriis cohortibus. These had formed the main strength of Otho's army.

2. separati primum. Not the cohorts, but the individual men belonging to them.

2. lenimento. Dio says (lv. 23) that under Augustus the praetorians, when discharged, received 5000 drachmas, legionary soldiers 3000.

3. arma. Antonius, referring to this disarmament, says iii. 24, "*illic (i.e. in the enemy's hands) signa armaque vestra sunt*."

5. prima classicorum legio. See i.

ut pace et otio mitesceret ; undecima ac septima suis hibernis redditae ; tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra missi. Nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant, numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.

10

68. Et *has* quidem partes modeste distraxerat : apud victores orta seditio ludicro initio, *ni* numerus caesorum invidiam belli traxisset. Discubuerat Vitellius Ticini adhibito ad epulas Verginio. Legati tribunique ex moribus imperatorum severitatem aemulantur vel tempestivis conviviis gaudent ; proinde miles 5 intentus aut licenter agit. Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora. Igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis quintae, altero e Gallis auxiliaribus, per lasciviam ad certamen 10 luctandi accensis, postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante

69 ; it had fought bravely at Bedriacum. See c. 43.

6. undecima ac septima suis hibernis redditae. The first to Dalmatia, see iii. 50 ; the second, the Septima Galbiana, to Pannonia, see ii. 86. tertiadecimani. They, like the last, had come out of Pannonia, ii. 11. The work to which they were now set made them specially bitter against Vitellius.

9. ad curas intento. *Ad* with *intentus* occurs again and in a somewhat similar connection, Ann. iv. 67, "intentus olim publicas ad curas."

68. 1. et *has* quidem partes modeste distraxerat. "Thus he had quietly broken up the conquered faction." *M.* reads *et quidem* ; Haase suggests *victas* ; Meiser *has*. The *et quidem* could hardly stand alone ; they serve to contrast the condition of the conquered with that of the conquerors.

2. *ni* numerus caesorum invidiam belli traxisset. *Ni* is wanting in *M.*, which also reads *bello* ; Meiser corrects this into *belli* ; Döderlein proposes *invidiam Vitellio auxisset*. Ritter considers that a whole line has dropped out to this effect, "ludicro initio, neque digna memoratu nisi numerus caesorum." Ritter's change seems hardly needful ; the cause of the strife was ludicrous enough ; its issue made laughter impossible. There is an ellipse to supply, "and it would have been ludicrous had not," etc. Meiser is probably right in considering that there is an antithesis between *seditio* and *belli* ;

what was a mere outbreak assumed almost the dimensions of a war in the slaughter to which it gave rise. Rupertus would omit the words *nisi numerus*, etc. altogether.

3. Ticini. To which place he had gone after leaving Turin. Ticinum is now Pavia.

5. tempestivis conviviis. If the Romans wanted to celebrate a special feast they began early, instead of keeping it up late ; hence *tempestivis conviviis*, "banquets which broke into the working day."

5. proinde miles intentus aut licenter agit. There is the usual doubt here whether *perinde* or *proinde* should be read. For the use of *agere* with an adjective, see Ag. 5, "simulque et anxius et intentus agere." This use of *agere* with an adjective is frequent in Tacitus.

7. pervigiliis. These "vigils" had originally a religious purpose, see Ann. xv. 44 ; but they had been perverted by the corruption of the times, and are here used as a term of contempt nearly equivalent to *Bacchanalia*. *propiora* for *similiora*, as in Ann. i. 24, "contumaciae propiores."

8. legionis quintae. This legion, regularly stationed in Lower Germany, formed part of Valens's force and had distinguished itself at Bedriacum. in studia diductis. "Taking opposite sides," so below, iv. 6, "ea ultro senatum in studia diduxerat."

Gallo et iis qui ad spectandum convenerant in studia diductis, erupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum ac duae cohortes interfectae. Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus. Pulvis procul et arma aspiciebantur: conclamatum repente quartam
 15 decimam legionem verso itinere ad proelium venire; sed erant agminis coactores: agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. Interim Verginii servus forte obvius ut percussor Vitellii insimulatur, et ruebat ad convivium miles mortem Verginii exposcens. Ne Vitellius quidem, quanquam ad omnes suspiciones pavidus, de
 20 innocentia eius dubitavit: aegre tamen cohibiti qui exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagitabant. Nec quemquam saepius quam Verginium omnis seditio infestavit: manebat admiratio viri et fama, set oderant ut fastiditi.

69. Postero die Vitellius, senatus legatione quam ibi opperiri iusserat audita, transgressus in castra ultro pietatem militum conlaudavit, frementibus auxiliis tantum impunitatis atque arrogantiae legionariis accessisse. Batavorum cohortes,
 5 ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissae, principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus fatiis. Reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus. Ceterum ut largitionibus

12. duae cohortes, i.e. a thousand men, or thereabouts.

13. tumultus. Cicero (Phil. viii. 3) says that *tumultus* differs from *bellum* in that it is war accompanied by panic.

14. quartam decimam legionem, which was now on its march to Britain.

16. agminis coactores. The rear guard of the Vitellians, whose duty it was to collect and urge on all stragglers.

17. Verginii servus. For the previous history of Verginius, see i. 8, 52, 77; ii. 5, 49, 51.

19. quanquam—pavidus. Tacitus often uses *quamquam* with an adjective, e.g. Ag. i, "quamquam incuriosa suorum;" in Cicero it is always *quavis* which is so used, Madvig, § 443 a.

21. quondam. At the time when he put down the revolt of Vindex.

23. ut fastiditi. He had rejected their offer on two occasions, i. 8, 52; ii. 49, 51, when they had tendered him the crown.

69. i. senatus legatione. The one mentioned in c. 55, "missa legatio quae gaudio fungeretur."

2. ultro pietatem militum conlaudavit. He did not confine himself

to not blaming them, but went on to praise them for their attachment to himself; so Otho had done under similar circumstances, i. 83.

3. tantum—accessisse. "That such an additional impulse (as was implied in his encouragement of it) had been given to the impunity and arrogance of the legionaries."

6. interno simul externoque bello. The outbreak of Civilis embraced on the one side the allies and even the legions of Rome itself, on the other the Germans who flocked to his standard; so Tacitus says of the forces besieging Vetera, iv. 22, "mixta belli civilis externique facie obstupefecerant obsessos." For the part the Batavians played in the revolt of Civilis, see iv. 13-15, and Introd. vii.

8. inter inania belli adsumptus. "Taken in as part of the empty parade of war." They were worthless as soldiers, and only served to make his force look more formidable by adding to its numbers. With the phrase *inania belli* we may compare Aristot. Ethics iii. 8, 6, δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀ μάλιστα συνειρράσιν οὐτοι.

adfectae iam imperii opes sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros iubet vetitis supplementis: et promiscuae 10 missiones offerebantur. Exitiabile id rei publicae, ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant. Et vires luxu corrumpabantur contra veterem disciplinam et instituta maiorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit. 15

70. Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit et spectato munere Caecinae insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit. Foedum atque atrox spectaculum intra quadragensimum pugnae diem: lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres viŕorum equorumque formae, infecta tabo 5 humus, protritris arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. Nec minus inhumana pars viae, quam Cremonenses lauru rosaque constraverant, exstructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium in morem; quae laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Caecina monstrabantque pugnae locos: hinc inrupesse 10 legionum agmen, hinc equites coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus. Iam tribuni praefectique, sua quisque facta extollentes, falsa vera aut maiora vero miscebant. Volgus

9. amputari—numeros iubet. "He commands the cadres to be depleted." The skeletons of the legions, their cohorts and companies, were left untouched, but each subdivision was allowed to drop far below its nominal strength.

14. apud quos—melius stetit. "In whose day the Roman power stood on a secure foundation, resting as it did not on money, but on valour." For this sense of *stare*, see Ann. vi. 30, "magis fama quam vi stare res suas;" Liv. iv. 40, "qua una hoc bello republica stetit."

70. 1. inde—Cremonam flexit. *Inde*, from Ticinum. Cremona did not lie on the direct road, the Aemilian Way leading from Ticinum to Bologna, but on the Postumian road and a good way to the east; hence the use of *flexit*. This word is used in a neuter sense by Livy and Vergil, as well as by Tacitus. See Ann. i. 34.

1. munere Caecinae. The gladiatorial show instituted by Caecina. Gladiatorial shows of this kind were derived from the funeral games by which the obsequies of dead heroes were celebrated. They, perhaps, also partook of the nature of human sacrifices to the *manes* of those who had fallen.

4. intra quadragensimum pugnae diem. "As not quite forty days had elapsed since the battle" = *intra quadragensimum diem post pugnam*, like Ann. i. 62, "sextum post cladis annum." The date of this visit to the battle-field must have been between May 20th and 25th, the battle having been fought on April 15th. The interval was just long enough to allow of all the horrors which Tacitus describes.

7. inhumana. "Revolting." *rosaeque* is Döderlein's correction of *rosasque* of M. *Rosa* must be a collective as in Hor. Od. i. 5, 1, "multa in rosa;" Verg. Aen. xii. 68, "mixta rubent ubi lilia multa | alba rosa."

8. regium in morem. "As to greet some Asiatic despot." The editors quote Justin. xxiv. 3. "Arsinoe, praegressa virum, diem festum urbi indicit, domos, templa caeteraque omnia exornari iubet, aras ubique hostiasque disponi."

9. mox perniciem ipsis fecere. As is detailed below in iii. 32, etc.

12. tribuni praefectique. The officers of the legions and of the auxiliary troops.

13. miscebant. "Mixed up," i.e. "related a mixture of."

quoque militum clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certami-
 15 num recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri
 mirari; et erant quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et miseri-
 cordia subiret. At non Vitellius flexit oculos nec tot milia
 insepulorum civium exhorruit: laetus ultro et tam propin-
 quae sortis ignarus instaurabat sacrum dis loci.

71. Exin Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectacu-
 lum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. Quantoque magis propin-
 quabat, tanto corruptius iter inmixtis histrionibus et spadonum
 gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio. Namque et
 5 Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat, sectari can-
 tantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed
 luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque. Ut Valenti et
 Caecinae vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coartati aliorum

14. *spatia certaminum recognoscere*. "To make out the distances the conflicts spread over." So in Ag. 6, "electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda."

15. *aggerem armorum*. It was the custom of the Roman soldiers, in imitation of the Greeks, to collect the arms of the conquered into a kind of trophy. See Ann. ii. 18, "struxit aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma imposuit."

15. *intueri mirari*. "To gaze awestruck on." Two verbs of cognate meaning are constantly coupled together by asyndeton in Latin, e.g. iii. 11, "ille unus ambiri coli."

16. *quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret*. The two nominatives are, by a kind of zeugma, coupled with the same verb in somewhat different senses. *Varia sors subiret*, "the thought of the changes of fortune came into their minds," as in Ov. Trist. i. 3, 1, "cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago;" while *lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret* (the two to be taken closely together) means, "pity expressing itself in tears overcame them." *Subire* is used in this second instance as in II. i. 30, "credo et rei publicae curam subisse."

17. *flexit oculos*. "Turned his eyes from the sight." *laetus ultro* has the sense of "going so far as to be glad." Suetonius tells us a number of discreditable stories as to the terms in which Vitellius expressed his joy. These Tacitus has suppressed, either because he considered them fictitious, or else as unworthy of the dignity of history.

71. 1. *exin*, as in iv. 25—"after that."
 2. *cultu*. "The apparatus" or "plant," including the gladiators themselves. *propinquabat*, sc. *ad urbem*.

3. *corruptius iter*. "His march was more dissolute in its luxury."

4. *ingenio* = "the talent;" others translate, "the style or characteristics."

5. *admiratione celebrabat*. "Used to make an open display of his admiration for Nero."

7. *luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque*. Either "enslaved to luxury and gluttony and so bought up" by Nero. Others (reading *et sagina*) translate it "Nero's slave and vassal for (or through) his luxury and gluttony." The first is to be preferred. For *luxu* as a dative, see Ann. i. 10 and iii. 30. *Sagina* literally means "stuffing," Juv. Sat. iv. 67; Tac. H. i. 62.

8. *coartati aliorum consulatus*. It would seem from i. 77 that Caelius and Flavius Sabinus were to have had consulships from May to August, Antoninus and Celsus from September to December; but Otho first, and then Vitellius, cut short the term of the two Sabini, giving them only May and June, while Antoninus and Celsus held office for July and August. In this way, room was made for Caecina and Valens in September and October. Rosius Regulus was elected into Caecina's place for a single day, October 31 (iii. 37), while the two last months of the year were assigned to Caecilius Simplex and Quintius Atticus; see iii. 68, 73.

consulatus, dissimulatus Marci Macri tanquam Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consullem distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et iniuriam signiter laturum; Pedanius Costa omittitur, ingratus principi ut adversus Neronem ausus et Verginii extimulator, sed alias protulit causas; actaeque insuper Vitellio gratiae consuetudine servitii.

72. Non ultra paucos dies quanquam acribus initiis coeptum mendacium valuit. Extiterat quidam Scribonianum se Camerinum ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu in Histria occultatum, quod illic clientelae et agri veterum Crassorum ac nominis favor manebat. Igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulae assumpto volgus credulum et quidam militum errore veri seu turbarum studio certatim adgregabantur, cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque, quisnam mortalium esset. Postquam nulla dictis fides et a domino noscebatur condicione fugitivus nomine Geta, sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.

73. Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbiae socordiaeque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeaeque adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiavere. Nam

9. *consulatus dissimulatus Marci Macri tanquam*. "Macer's consulship was ignored because he was." *Dissimulatus*, it was pretended it was not there. There had been no previous mention of this consulship of Macer's; Otho must have intended it, when he reduced the length of the other consulships. So, again, Valerius Marinus's consulship was not mentioned either. *distulit*. "He put it off to the next year," allowing others to take his place.

12. *Pedanius Costa* is not mentioned elsewhere. He and Valerius Marinus were superseded by Caecilius Simplex and Quintius Atticus.

13. *ausus*. *Audere* is used absolutely as here, v. 11; Ann. iv. 59.

14. *actaeque insuper gratiae*. The thanks seem to have been returned by those who were passed over, as well as by those appointed, see Ag. 42.

72. 2. *Scribonianum Camerinum*. Dio relates (lxi. 18) that Helius, Nero's freedman, put to death, during the emperor's tour in Greece, one of the leading citizens, Sulpicius Camerinus, together with his son; it was a son of this Camerinus that Geta seems to have represented himself to be, pretending that he had

escaped at the time of the massacre, and had afterwards taken refuge in Histria.

4. *veterum Crassorum*. The Scriboniani were a family of the Crassi; it seems probable that Camerinus inherited his name of Scribonianus from his mother, who was a Scribonia. He was in this way most likely connected with Galba's adopted son.

5. in *argumentum fabulae assumpto*. "Being invited to take his part in the comedy." *Argumentum fabulae* is the technical name for the plot of a play.

7. *errore veri*. "Through mistaking the truth." *Veri* is an objective genitive, Madvig, § 283. The objective genitive is used after substantives which express the action of a verb.

10. in *servilem modum*, i.e. he was tortured and crucified. There was a place called Sessorium in the Campus Esquilinus, on the east side of the city, set apart for the punishment of slaves. See Nipperdey, Ann. ii. 32, xv. 60.

73. 2. *speculatores*. On these, see i. 24, note on line 9. The despatches were brought from Mucianus, who was in command in Syria, and Vespasian in command in Judaea.

3. *nam etiam — tamen*. The ablative

etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, erat tamen in ore
5 famaue Vespasianus ac plerumque ad nomen eius Vitellius
excitabatur; tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia
libidine raptu in externos mores proruperant.

74. At Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel iuxta sitas
vires circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut praeceuntem
sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precanthem per silentium
audierint; Muciani animus nec Vespasiano alienus et in Titum
5 pronior; praefectus Aegypti Ti. Alexander consilia sociaverat;
tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam nume-
rabat; ceterae Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur; namque
omnis exercitus flammaverat adrogantia venientium a Vitellio
militum, quod truces corpore, horridi sermone ceteros ut in pares
10 inridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et
Vespasianus modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputa-
bat: quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta aetatis annos et duos

absolute is concessive in sense, "for though the rumours were as yet but vague and uncertain, yet."

5. *plerumque*. "Often," "again and again." *excitabatur*. "Was awaked from his torpor." For *ad nomen eius*, see above, c. 64, "ad primas epistulas;" Ann. xiv. 57, "erectas Gallias ad nomen."

7. *in externos mores proruperant*. The pluperfect expresses that the result at once took place (see ii. 5, note on line 13), and was fully and completely carried out. The Romans looked with contempt and disgust on those Asiatic lusts and cruelties which they were only too rapidly learning to imitate. Juvenal constantly gives expression to this feeling, see Sat. iii. 60-65.

74. 2. *circumspectabat*. Notice the force of the frequentative form to express his anxiously repeated consideration; on the use of *circumspecto*, see ii. 6, note on line 14.

3. *fausta Vitellio omnia precanthem*. *Fausta omnia precari* was a regular formula. See Liv. xxiv. 16, "cum bona omnia populo Romano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur." The reading *omnia* is, therefore, to be preferred to Lipsius's reading, *omina*.

4. *in Titum pronior*. See above, c. 5. For the combination of particles, *nec—et*, see Madvig, § 458 c; the second clause expresses an advance upon the first.

5. *praefectus Aegypti*. This is the

regular title of the Roman knight, often an imperial freedman, who governed Egypt. He had two legions under his command. For Tiberius Alexander, see i. 11, second note on line 5.

6. *tertiam legionem—suam numerabat*. The 3d legion had been already mentioned as distinguishing itself by defeating the Sarmatae, who had made a raid into Moesia, i. 79. Suetonius, Vesp. 6, tells us that it was only at the close of Nero's reign, at the commencement of the civil war, that the 3d was transferred from Syria to Moesia. Mucianus's hopes were not disappointed; it was the first to declare for Vespasian, see c. 85.

7. *secuturae sperabantur*. This personal form of expression was gradually extended by later writers, and took the place of the earlier impersonal form; originally it was restricted to verbs signifying to say or think, Madvig, § 400 c. The Illyrican legions at this time amounted to six, as the 14th, after the battle of Bedriacum, had returned to Britain.

9. *truces corpore, horridi sermone*. They had been mainly recruited in Eastern Gaul and Germany, and so were rugged and uncouth.

10. *in tanta mole belli*. "When war is on such a scale."

12. *quo sexaginta aetatis annos*. He was born, according to Suet. Vesp. 2, on the 16th of November, five years before Augustus died, i.e. in 9 A. D. Piche-

filios iuvenes bello permitteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia. 15

75. Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum viro militari: suas legiones civili bello inexpertas, Vitellii victrices, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam virium. Fluxam per discordias militum fidem et periculum ex singulis: quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterque praesenti 5 facinore paratum ex diverso praemium petat? Sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum, sic percussorem eius Volaginium e gregario ad summa militiae provectum; facilius universos inelli quam singulos vitari.

76. His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amicique firmabant et Mucianus post multos secretosque sermones iam et coram ita locutus: "omnes, qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aesti-

na proposes, as a correction, *sexagesimo aetatis anno* etc., but Tacitus probably preferred the more unusual turn of phrase.

13. *esse—progressum*. "Private plans can grow and shape themselves." There is no need with Heraeus and Halm to insert *esse regressum*. "The man," he means, "in private affairs is not committed from the outset; when empire is the prize there is no alternative between success and utter ruin."

75. 1. *versabatur*. For this account of Vespasian's thoughts and feelings, Tacitus is, of course, indebted to his own imagination and his view of the probabilities of the case.

1. *notum viro militari*. Vespasian had himself in early youth served in Germany, at first in a subordinate, afterwards in a higher position, Suet. Vesp. 4.

2. *civili bello inexpertas*. Tacitus uses *expertus* and *inexpertus*, sometimes with the genitive, more often with an ablative. See i. 8, "*bellis inexpertus*."

3. *fluxam per discordias militum fidem*. One of the most noteworthy characteristics of the Roman soldier had been, in earlier days, his fidelity to his commander and military oath. This had been now undermined by the demoralising influence of the civil wars, as the events of the revolt of Civilis too clearly proved.

5. *praesenti facinore*. "By a momentary crime." Some of the MSS. read *praesenti facinori*, which would then have to go with *paratum*.

6. *ex diverso*. "From the opposite side."

6. *Scribonianum*. For the revolt of Scribonianus (M. Furius Camillus), see i. 80, note on line 9. Dio (lx. 15) gives a different account; he says that Scribonianus escaped to the island of Issa and there killed himself. What promotion Volaginius received we are not elsewhere told.

76. 2. *post multos secretosque sermones*. Not actually conversations, but *pourparlers* carried on through an intermediary, in this case Titus; so below, ii. 99, "*ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo*;" and Ann. ii. 28. *et coram*, there is a little doubt whether this means merely "openly in public," "in the presence of witnesses," or "in Vespasian's actual presence;" most likely the latter, as from c. 78 we gather that the two generals had effected a meeting. On the other hand, *coram* occurs in the former sense in Ann. xiii. 25. This absolute use of *coram* would hardly be found in writers earlier than Tacitus.

3. *omnes qui*. The opening of this speech is, the editors point out, copied from two passages in Sallust, the commencement of a letter of Mithridates to the senate, and a speech in Catiline, c. 51. The first runs "*omnes qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur considerare debent liceatne tum pacem agere; dein quod quaeritur satne pium, tutum, gloriosum an indecorum sit*." The second passage is "*omnes homines qui de rebus dubiis consultant ab odio, amicitia,*

mare debent, an quod incohatur rei publicae utile, ipsis gloriosum,
 5 promptum effectu aut certe non arduum sit; simul ipse qui suadet
 considerandus est, adiciatne consilio periculum suum, et si fortuna
 coeptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. Ego te, Vespasiane,
 ad imperium voco, quam salutare rei publicae, quam
 tibi magnificum, iuxta deos in tua manu positum est. Nec
 10 speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia quam a laude propius
 fuerit post Vitellium eligi. Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem
 nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem
 aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam longo imperio domum exurgimus;
 cessisti etiam Galbae
 15 imaginibus: torpere ultra et pollundam perdendamque rem
 publicam relinquere sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi,
 quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit iam et transvectum
 est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse: confugien-

ira, atque misericordia vacuos esse decet." It is constructed on careful rhetorical principles, it being the business—as writers on rhetoric from Aristotle downwards have stated—of him who wishes to persuade to a course to show that the course is, in the first place, honourable and advantageous to the state; and, in the second place, feasible.

4. an quod incohatur. The reading of M., though it is corrected by the second hand, is *incohaturi*. The sense is to some extent altered by the change of reading. If *quod incohatur* is read, it is assumed that the course is advantageous and glorious, and the only question raised is whether it is practicable; if, on the other hand, *incohaturi* is adopted, and *an* be inserted after *ipsis gloriosum*, as Halm suggests, there is a double question suggested: (1) is it useful to the republic and glorious? (2) is it practicable?

5. arduum is more than *difficile*; it means rather "so difficult as to be impracticable" (Godley).

6. considerandus est. When the subject of the sentence is a person, the personal form of the passive verb is most often used; when the subject of the sentence is a thing, then the impersonal construction. With *et* we must supply *considerandum est*.

7. coeptis adfuerit. "Shall smile on our efforts." So iii. 46, "adfuit fortuna populi Romani."

8. quam salutare—quam magnificum. The *quam*—*quam* depends on *in tua manu positum est*, as in i. 29,

"sextus dies agitur commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri Caesar adscitus sum, quo domus nostrae aut reipublicae fato in vestra manu positum est." The meaning is, "How salutary the empire to which I call you shall prove, how glorious to yourself, entirely rests with you." M. for *quam* reads *tanquam*. Many editors have altered this into *tam*, but such an alteration spoils the grammar of the sentence, leaving *iuxta deos* etc., as an independent sentence and so almost meaningless.

9. nec speciem adulantis expaveris. *Nec* is for *neu*, as in ii. 47, "nec tempus computaveris." *Speciem adulantis*, "the look of flattery which my words have."

10. a contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit. Tacitus uses the form *propius a* in order to soften down the harshness of the expression *propius contumeliae fuerit quam laudi*. So i. 10, "Mucianus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe." *Fuerit* is a proper potential, "it may be," "it is perhaps."

11. non adversus. Notice the different grounds on which the authority, according to Tacitus, of the early emperors rested.

15. imaginibus. Galba prided himself on his ancient descent, and mainly relied on it, see i. 15.

18. quo posses videri concupisse. Some editors supply *non* before *concupisse*, or read *non cupisse*. If *non* be inserted, the meaning is that so ignominious an emperor as Vitellius almost forces

dum est ad imperium. An excidit trucidatus Corbulo? Splendidior origine quam nos sumus, fateor, sed et Nero 20 nobilitate natalium Vitellium anteibat. Satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur. Et posse ab exercitu principem fieri sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbae odio provectus. Ne Othonem quidem ducis 25 arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum, iam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova cotidie bello semina ministrat. Si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis et comissionibus et principis imitatione deteritur. Tibi e Iudaea et Syria et Aegypto novem legiones integrae, 30 nulla acie exhaustae, non discordia corruptae, sed firmatus usu miles et belli domitor externi; classium alarum cohortium robora et fidissimi reges et tua ante omnis experientia.

Vespasian to become a competitor for the throne. For this, however, there is no MSS. authority. If *non* be omitted, various explanations have been suggested. Some (e.g. Ritter) lay stress on *videri*. "The time is passed when you might be thought only to desire empire, now every one will take it for granted that you do so." Heraeus, "it is no more a case of your *wishing* for the throne, Vitellius will never forget that you have done so, to seize it is your one chance." Others, "in which you might seem to have desired (a better state of) the republic; to seize on the empire is your one chance;" but the ellipse supposed here is impossible. The first of these is probably to be preferred.

19. *an excidit trucidatus Corbulo?* In English we should express this by two substantives, "do you forget Corbulo's murder?" So Ann. i. 58, "*rapta uxor*" = the seizure of his wife. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, brother of Caesonia, wife of the emperor Caius, after serving with great distinction in Germany and Armenia, was put to death by Nero's orders, Dio, lxxiii. 17. For his character, see Ann. xiv. 58.

24. *Galbae odio*. This, like *principis imitatione* below, is a good instance of an objective genitive.

24. *ne Othonem quidem*. The *ne quidem* negatives only the participle *victum*. He has wrapped up two arguments in one sentence—(1) Otho was conquered, not by Vitellius, but by his own despair; (2) Vitellius has now made him to be regretted. Tacitus has here some-

what sacrificed his grammar to his love of brevity.

26. *cum interim*. For the measures here alluded to, see above, chaps. 66 and 67. For *cum interim*, see i. 60; Madvig, § 358 a, 1.

29. *principis imitatione deteritur*. See above, c. 68.

30. *novem legiones integrae*. Four in Syria, including the one which had been lately moved into Moesia, three in Judaea, two in Egypt. See i. 10; ii. 6. *non discordia corruptae*. "Not infected by mutiny." *Discordia*, *discors* are by Tacitus used of troops at variance with their officers, mutinous, not quarrelling among themselves, see i. 53; Ann. i. 58.

32. *belli domitor externi*. The war against the Jews.

32. *classium*. There was one fleet to command the Pontus, see ii. 83, "*classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi iusserat*"; a second was stationed off the coast of Syria (the *Classis Syriaca* mentioned in inscriptions) while a third guarded the mouths of the Nile.

32. *alarum cohortium*. We must supply *auxiliarium*; see ii. 4. *fidissimi reges*. Those of Cappadocia, Pontus, Commagene, Emesa.

33. *tua ante omnis experientia*. "Your own experience, which excels all others." Cf. Curtius vi. 6, 19, "*ante omnes maestus*"; Livy, iii. 58, "*ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus*." Others explain it, "your own experience,

77. "Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur. Ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris. Me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo iuvenes, capax iam imperii
5 alter, et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. Absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cuius filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit. Nam si vincimus, honorem quem dederis habebō: discrimen ac pericula
10 ex aequo patiemur. Immo, ut melius est, *tu* tuos exercitus rege, mihi bellum et proeliorum incerta trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi quam victores agunt. Hos ira odium ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit: illi per fastidium et contumaciam hebescent. Aperiet et recludet contexta et tumes-
15 centia victricium partium volnera bellum ipsum. Nec mihi maior in tua vigilantia parsimonia sapientia fiducia est quam in Vitellii torpore inscitia saevitia. Sed meliorem in bello causam quam in pace habemus: nam qui deliberant, desciverunt."

which is of more value than kings and allies," comparing *ante alios* in Ann. i. 27, H. iv. 55.

77. 4. *tuas domui triumphale nomen*. Vespasian had won *triumphalia ornamenta*, when serving at the head of the 2d legion under Claudius in Britain in the year 43 A.D. Suet. Vesp. 4, and below, iii. 44.

4. *duo iuvenes*. Titus and Domitian.

5. *apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus*. Titus had served as military tribune when his father was in command of a legion in Germany, Suet. Tit. 4.

6. *non cedere imperio*. So Cic. pro Mil. 75, "nisi sibi hortorum possessione cessissent."

7. *inter nos non idem—ordo erit*. "Our relations will not be the same in prosperity and adversity."

8. *si vincimus*. He uses the indicative to emphasise his belief in the certainty of the result. Sall. Cat. 58, "si vincimus omnia nobis tuta erunt."

10. *patiemur*. This, the reading of M., has been altered by Meiser, following Beroaldus, into *partiemur*, on the ground that *patis* is hardly properly applied to *pericula*, and that what Mucianus is urging is that there will be a division of the risks. *Patiemur*, however, having the MSS. authority, is to be

preferred. In the next sentence he corrects himself; "we shall not equally," he says, "incur risk, for the risk will be all mine, the safety yours."

10. *tu tuos exercitus rege*. The *mihi* which follows seems to make *tu* necessary, and Orelli reads *tu tuos*, Heraeus *tu ex tulo*, Nipperdey *tu tutus*; *ex tulo* can hardly stand without MSS. authority, and Orelli's reading seems the simplest.

12. *hos* refers to the *victi*, because they come nearer to Vespasian, though not grammatically the nearer.

14. *contexta et tumescentia—volnera*. "The sores which are hidden and festering underneath;" the Greek *βροῦλα*. Cf. Dem. Phil. i. 52, *εὐρήσκει τὰ σαθρὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος*.

16. *parsimonia*. Generally used in a bad, here in a good sense. The two sets of terms are not quite accurately opposed, and so Ruperti suggests *sagina* for *saevitia*; but the change is unnecessary. Vespasian's frugality was immediately afterwards of great service to his cause and to the state.

18. *nam—desciverunt*. Plutarch puts a similar thought into T. Vinius's mouth, Galba 4, *ὁ Γάλβα τίνα πρόπον βουλευῆς; τὸ γὰρ σφτεῖν, Νέρωνι εἰ πιστοὶ μενοῦμεν, ἥδη μὴ μερόντων ἐστίν*.

78. Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere hortari, responsa vatum et siderum motus referre. Nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium palam habuerit. Recursabant animo vetera omina : cupressus arbor in agris eius 5 conspicua altitudine repente prociderat ac postera die eodem vestigio resurgens procera et latior virebat. Grande id prospectumque consensu haruspicum et summa claritudo iuveni admodum Vespasiano promissa. Sed primo triumphalia et consulatus et Iudaicae victoriae decus inplesse fidem ominis 10 videbatur : ut haec adeptus est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. Est Iudaeam inter Suriamque Carmelus : ita vocant montem deumque. Nec simulacrum deo aut templum (sic tradidere maiores) : ara tantum et reverentia. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos 15 inspectis identidem extis "quicquid est," inquit, "Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum." Has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat, nec quidquam magis in ore volgi ; crebriores 20 apud ipsum sermones, quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur.

79. Haud dubia destinatione discessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Caesaream : illa Suriae, hoc Iudaeae caput est.

78. 3. ut qui mox. These words give the reason on which the previous assertion is based.

3. Seleucum quendam mathematicum et praescium. Seleucus had previously filled the same office for Otho, Suet. Oth. 4. *Praescium* is for the more vulgar term *hariolum*.

7. et latior virebat. Heraeus and other editors read *lactior* for *latior* ; but, though the cypress does not expand much, Tacitus probably intended to represent the Greek ἀμφιλαφέστερα, and for this *latior* seems the more suitable term. Cf. Dio, lxi. 1, Suet. Vesp. 5, though there is some discrepancy in the accounts.

9. et consulatus. He was consul under Claudius for the two last months of 51 A.D. Suet. Vesp. 4.

12. Carmelus. The mountain here meant is the celebrated mountain that rises above the Mediterranean Sea and the valley of the Kishon. The god who was there worshipped Hitzig considers to be the war-god of the Philistines, a god

very appropriate for Vespasian to consult at the beginning of his enterprise.

14. ara tantum et reverentia. Some editors read *aram reverentiam* dependent on *tradidere*.

15. Basilides sacerdos inspectis identidem extis. The Basilides here mentioned is not the same as the Egyptian noticed in iv. 82. The mention of the inspection of the *exta* proves that the temple was not Jewish but heathen, though the rejection of all images was in imitation of the Jews.

19. exceperat. "Had caught up ;" so iii. 32, "excepta vox est."

20. aperiebat. "Found the key to."

79. 1. Antiochiam — Caesaream. Antioch, on the Orontes, was the Roman capital of Syria, the residence of the governor. It was at this time one of the great cities of the Roman world, taking rank after Rome itself and Alexandria. Caesarea was on the seacoast of Palestine ; it was given the name of Caesarea by Herod the Great in honour of Augustus, having been called previously Turris Stratonis. It was the

Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae coep-
tum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iuliis sacramento
5 eius legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in pos-
terum celebratus, quamvis Iudaicus exercitus quinto nonas Iulias
apud ipsum iurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius ex-
pectaretur, Suria remeans et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac
patrem nuntius. Cuncta impetu militum acta, non parata
10 contione, non coniunctis legionibus.

80. Dum quaeritur tempus locus, quodque in re tali diffi-
cillimum est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio casus
obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites,
solito adistentes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, imperatorem
5 salutavere. Tum ceteri adcurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et
omnia principatus vocabula cumulare. Mens a metu ad for-
tunam transierat. In ipso nihil tumidum, adrogans aut in
rebus novis novum fuit. Ut primum tantae altitudinis obfusam

residence of the Roman procurator. In the *Acts*, Felix and Festus both ordinarily reside there. Notice that *hoo* is attracted into the gender of the predicate *caput*, while *illa*, being more remote, is not.

3. *initium—coepitum*. For a similar redundancy of expression, see i. 39, "*initio, orto*."

4. *festinante Tiberio Alexandro*. Josephus, on the other hand, states that Tiberius Alexander first heard of Vespasian's accession from letters addressed by Vespasian to him. Tacitus's account is here to be preferred, as in Vespasian's reign the part played by Alexander is likely to have been ignored. For *sacramento adegit*, see iii. 58; Ann. i. 34. The oath of allegiance to the reigning emperor was taken by the soldiers at least once in each year.

5. *isque—dies—celebratus*. It was the custom to keep the "birthday" of each reign as a feast and holiday, see Spartianus, Hadrian 4.

6. *quinto nonas Iulias, i.e.* on the 3d July, the *nones* in July falling on the 7th. This was only two days after Tiberius's action in Egypt; news, therefore, of that event cannot have reached the army in Judaea. Suetonius has here made a mistake, saying that it was on the 11th, *quinto Idus*, that the pronunciation by the soldiers was made; this, however, seems to have been a mere slip.

8. *Suria remeans*. In Ann. ii. 69, we have "*Aegypto remeans*;" and in Ann.

i. 3, "*Armenia remeantem*." Tacitus uses the ablative without a prep. quite freely of countries from which, see Furn. Int. v. § 24.

9. *Impetu militum acta*. Josephus, Bell. Jud. iv. 36, says that they used actual threats to induce him to be emperor. For *impetus*, see i. 57.

80. 1. *dum quaeritur, i.e.* not so much by Vespasian himself as by his friends and the soldiers.

3. *pauci milites*. They were a guard of honour, whose business it would be to salute the legate as he left his room.

6. *omnia principatus vocabula, i.e. princeps, pontifex maximus, imperator, Caesar*. For *vocabula* used in the sense of "titles," see Ann. i. 3.

6. *mens a metu ad fortunam transierat, i.e.* the mind of the soldiers and Vespasian's friends. Tacitus has substituted *fortuna* for *fiducia*. *Fortuna* is success, and so the confidence which brings success and which success begets. The word does not seem to be used by Tacitus elsewhere quite in this sense. The pluperfect is used to express the completeness and suddenness of the change.

8. *tantae—disiecit*. A bold metaphor. *Tantae altitudinis* is a genitive of origin. "The darkness which came from the thought of so great a height." The expression seems taken from Livy, xxvi. 45, "*quidam stantibus scalis cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset et terram delati sunt*." M. read *multitu-*

oculis caliginem disiecit, militariter locutus laeta omnia et affluentia excepit. Namque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus 10 alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit. Tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos adloquitur, satis decorus etiam Graeca facundia omniumque, quae diceret atque ageret, arte quadam ostentator. Nihil aequae provinciam exercitumque 15 accendit quam quod adseverabat Mucianus statuisse Vitellium, ut Germanicas legiones in Suriam ad militiam opulentam quietamque transferret, contra Suriacis legionibus Germanica hiberna caelo ac laboribus dura mutarentur. Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus 20 et propinquitatibus mixti, et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum penatium diligebantur.

81. Ante idus Iulias Suria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit. Accessere cum regno Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus, Antiochus vetustis opibus ingens et inservientium regum diti-

dis; the correction was made by Triller. Other suggestions have been made, Fr. Gronovius *tantae mutationis*, others *tantae vicissitudinis*. For the use of the perfect after *ut primum*, where in English we should have to use the pluperfect, see Madvig, § 338 b.

9. *militariter*. Shortly and pithily, without any rhetorical artifice. Quintilian says, "simpliciora militares decent."

9. *laeta omnia et affluentia excepit*. "He received congratulations which kept pouring in from all quarters." *Laeta omnia precari* was the regular phrase for offering congratulations.

12. *ubi illis consultare mos est*. The people of Antioch were mainly Greek, and it was a Greek fashion to meet in the theatre. See Acts xix. 29, for the conduct of the Ephesians: *ἑρμηνεύει ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον*. For the theatre at Antioch, see Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. ii. p. 132.

15. *arte quadam ostentator*. This phrase is borrowed from Livy, by whom it is applied to Scipio Africanus, xxvi. 19, "fuit Scipio non suis tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum compositus." "He set off to the best advantage, by a certain artful skill, all that he did or said."

18. *contra Suriacis legionibus hi-*

berna mutarentur. Suriacis legionibus is the dative; "their quarters in Germany were to be taken in exchange by the Syrian legions." *Hiberna*: the troops did not live all the year round in winter quarters, but the word is here chosen to depreciate the German cantonments. For *mutare* in the sense of "take in exchange," see Hor. Od. ii. 16, 18, "quid terras alio calentes Sole mutamus?" (quoted by Godley). Suetonius (Vesp. 6) records that the same rumour was spread abroad.

19. *quippe et provinciales*. The picture which Tacitus here draws, of the pleasant and friendly intercourse between soldiers and provincials, is confirmed by evidence from other quarters, notably from Gaul and Spain. In Syria too, the legions lived more permanently among the townsfolk than in any other province, Mommsen, P. R. E. ii. p. 119, see also Furn. Int. chap. vii. p. 109.

81. 2. *Sohaemus*. He is called in Ann. xiii. 7, king of Sophene, a district which was given to him by Nero, between Cappadocia and Armenia. He had succeeded his brother as king of Emesa.

3. *Antiochus*, one of the Seleucidae, was king of Commagene; he was subsequently dethroned by Vespasian, and his kingdom reduced to a Roman province. Besides Commagene, he ruled over a part of Cilicia, Ann. xii. 55.

simus. Mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe
 5 Agrippa ignaro adhuc Vitellio celeri navigatione properaverat.
 Nec minore animo regina Berenice partes iuvabat, florens
 aetate formaque et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia
 munerum grata. Quidquid provinciarum adluitur mari Asia
 atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Ar-
 10 menios patescit, iuravere, sed inermes legati regebant nondum
 additis Cappadociae legionibus. Consilium de summa rerum
 Beryti habitum. Illuc Mucianus cum legatis tribunisque et
 splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum venit et e
 Iudaico exercitu lecta decora. Tantum simul peditum equi-
 15 tumque et aemulantium inter se regum paratus speciem fortunae
 principalis effecerant.

82. Prima belli cura agere dilectus, revocare veteranos.
 Destinantur validae civitates exercendis armorum officinis;
 apud Antiochenses aurum argentumque signatur; eaque cuncta
 per idoneos ministros, suis quaeque locis, festinabantur. Ipse
 5 Vespasianus adire hortari, bonos laude, segnes exemplo incitare
 saepius quam coercere, vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes
 dissimulans. Multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque

4. *excitus ab urbe Agrippa*. He was a son of the Herod Agrippa who died in the year 44 A.D., and whose death is described in Acts xii. 20-24. After his father's death, Judaea was once more annexed as a subordinate district to the province of Syria, and ruled by a Roman procurator. But in 48 A.D. Agrippa received from Claudius Chalcis, the kingdom of his uncle, who was lately dead. He was subsequently made governor of Judaea in matters of religion. Hegesippus, iv. 21, tells us that he had accompanied Titus on that visit to Galba in Rome which is recorded in ii. 1. When Titus returned from Achaia, Agrippa continued his journey and was now in the capital.

6. *Berenice* was Agrippa's sister, much beloved by Titus, see c. 2, note on line 2.

10. *nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus*. This was done by Vespasian himself, Suet. Vesp. 8; Dio, lv. 23.

12. *Beryti*. Beyrout. Its full name was Julia Augusta Felix Berytus, and it was made a colony by Augustus. It was the natural place of meeting, as being about half way between Antioch and Caesarea.

13. *splendidissimo quoque centu-*

rionum. Those who had been decorated for special services.

14. *lecta decora*. "The ornaments" of the army. In c. 11 they are spoken of as *lecta corpora*.

15. *speciem—effecerant*. "Presented at once (this is the force of the pluperfect) the appearance of an imperial court."

82. 1. *revocare veteranos*. *Revocare* is not the same as *evocare*. *Revocare* is to call out those whose term of military service had not yet expired, but who were absent from the standards. *Evocare* is to call out those whose term of service had expired and who joined the standards again, if at all, of their own free will. In Inscript. Orell. 3580 there occurs the phrase "inter ceteros conveteranos suos revocatus."

2. *validae civitates*. Such as Antioch, Caesarea, Seleucia, Tarsus, etc.

7. *praefecturis et procurationibus*. *Praefecturae* means the governorships of such countries as Egypt and other subordinate kingdoms, which were practically administered by the Romans, perhaps also the office of *legatus Caesaris pro praetore*. *Procuraciones* are the office of procurator in the imperial provinces.

senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. Donativom militi neque Mucianus prima contione nisi modice ostenderat; 10 ne Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace, egregie firmus adversus militarem largitionem eoque exercitu meliore. Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati provisumque, ne versis ad civile bellum legionibus terga nudarentur. Titum instare Judaeae, Vespasianum optinere claustra Aegypti 15 placuit: sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis. Ad omnes exercitus legatosque scriptae epistolae praeceptumque, ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos recipiendae militiae praemio invitarent. 20

83. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi et maiora credi de absentibus. Sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia ingenti agmine 5

Appointments of both kinds would of course rest solely with the emperor.

9. fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. "Success was their only virtue" (Godley).

10. neque—ne Vespasianus quidem. This combination is unusual, but is used by Tacitus when the second alternative is of the nature of a climax, Ann. i. 4.

12. militarem. The adjective stands here instead of an objective genitive; so we have in Ann. iii. 72, "publica munificentia" = munificence towards the state. A genitive would have been ambiguous, which the accusative is not.

13. exercitu meliore. A qualifying ablative coordinate with the adjective firmus = "in the possession of a better army." Cf. i. 8, "vir facundus et pacis artibus."

13. ad Parthum Armeniumque. The singular adjective used for the collective people; so iii. 59, "erectus Samnis Pelignusque;" or the kings Vologaeses and Tiridates may be meant. These peoples were very likely taking advantage of the outbreak of civil war to make a raid on the Roman empire.

15. claustra Aegypti, i.e. apparently Alexandria and Pelusium. Hirtius says, B. Alex. 26, "tota Aegyptos maritimo accessu Pharo, pedestri Pelusio, velut claustris munita existimatur." Tacitus

Ann. ii. 59, speaks of "eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris."

17. ac nihil arduum fatis. "The destiny before which all difficulties vanish" (Church and Brodribb). Literally "and the fact that nothing is difficult to the fates." This kind of construction is first found in Livy, but is more frequent in Tacitus. The editors quote Ann. iii. 9, "et celebritate loci nihil occultum." Furn. Int. 5, § 55.

19. recipiendae militiae. Heraeus takes this as a dative; it is simpler to take it as a genitive after praemio. The discontent of the praetorians had been already spoken of as one of Vitellius's difficulties.

83. 1. socium—agens. So we have in Ann. xvi. 28, "agere senatorem."

5. legio sexta called Ferrata. It had been quartered in Syria ever since the days of Tiberius, when it was supposed to be specially favourable to Piso. Ann. ii. 79, 81.

5. tredecim vexillariorum milia. There are two explanations of vexillarii, either: (1) that they were detachments chosen from the five legions of Syria and Judaea, each legion supplying 2600 men; or (2) that they denote the reserve men; but it seems hardly likely that the reserve could furnish so large a force, though

sequebantur. Classsem e Ponto Byzantium adigi iusserat, ambiguus consilii, num ommissa Moesia Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque, quas inermes exponi Vitellio,
 10 ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore, quam partem Italiae protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora infestis classibus peterentur.

84. Igitur navium militum armorum paratu strepere provinciae, sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus non ius aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spec-
 5 tabat. Passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti. Quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad optinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et pravis magistris didicit aususque
 10 est. Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum iuvat, largus privatim, quod avidius de re publica sumeret. Ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti: rarissimus quisque eandem in recipiendo licentiam habuerunt.

special efforts had been made to recall them to the standards.

6. *classsem e Ponto*. This Hege-sippus, ii. 9, tells us consisted of forty ships.

7. *ambiguus consilii*. This genitive was developed by Tacitus, see Ann. i. 7, "ambiguus imperandi." The genitive expresses that in respect of which the epithet is applied to the person.

7. *pedite atque equite*. Some inferior MSS. insert here *peteret*. The ablative is probably governed by a kind of zeugma by *clauderet*, which will in this case nearly equal *obtineret*.

10. *atque* is used to introduce a kind of after-thought.

11. *si sibi*. Ritter suggests *si ibi*; Heraeus brackets *sibi*. If *sibi* be retained it applies to Mucianus who, though not the nominative of the preceding verb, is the subject of the whole sentence. It will in this case be a dative of the agent.

84. 2. *fatigabat*. "Plagued them," i.e. the provinces.

3. *nervos*. That money is the sinews of war is an old metaphor, used by Cicero and others, see Phil. v. 2, § 5, "nervos belli pecuniam infinitam;" pro Lege Manilia, 7, § 17, "vectigalia ner-

vos esse reipublicae;" Plut. Cleom. 27, ἀλλ' ὁ πρότος τὰ χρήματα νεύρα τῶν πραγμάτων προσειπὼν, quoted by Orelli.

4. *in cognitionibus*. In the trials held as to the liability of individuals. The courts were like our Courts of Exchequer.

8. *ad optinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante*. The clause is concessive, "though Vespasian, etc." Three interpretations of *haud perinde* are possible: (1) not being so rigorous in enforcing his unjust claims as Mucianus was, or (2) as he himself afterwards became, or (3) a sort of absolute use, "as others were," "as might have been expected." This last use is found in G. 5, "possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur," = "they are not as much affected as you might expect." The second interpretation seems on the whole preferable. For *obstinante*, cf. Liv. xxiii. 29, "obstinaverunt animis aut vincere aut mori." The phrase *obtinere iniquitates* is a sort of parody on the phrase *ius obtinere*.

10. *largus privatim, quod—sumeret*. The subjunctive is used because it expresses Mucianus's thoughts, spending freely from his own that which he intended more greedily to take from the public funds. Heraeus reads *quo* for *quod*.

85. Adcelerata interim Vespasiani coepta Illyrici exercitus studio transgressi in partes. Tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus prae-buit : octava erat ac septima Claudiana, inbutae favore Othonis, quamvis proelio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae proturbatis, qui de Othone nuntiabant, 5 laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii praeferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa hostiliter egerant. Unde metus et ex metu consilium : posse inputari Vespasiano, quae apud Vitellium excusanda erant. Ita tres Moesiae legiones per epistulas alliciebant Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant. 10 In eo motu Aponius Saturninus Moesiae rector pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium Iulianum septimae legionis legatum ob simultates, quibus causam partium praetendebat. Iulianus comperto discrimine et gnaris locorum adscitis per avia Moesiae ultra montem Haemum profugit ; nec 15 deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans.

86. At in Pannonia tertia decima legio ac septima Galbiana dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere vi praecipua Primi Antonii. Is

85. 1. *Illyrici exercitus*. Illyricum is used here in a wide sense to cover Moesia, Dalmatia, and Pannonia.

2. *tertia legio*. This had been lately transferred from Syria to Moesia, and Vespasian counted on it as his own, c. 74. In the first book it was always reckoned as one of the Syrian legions.

3. *septima Claudiana*. The name had been given to it for its fidelity at the time of the revolt of Furius Camillus Scribonianus, Dio, iv. 23, lx. 15.

5. *Aquileiam progressae*. An account of their advance to Aquileia was given in c. 46.

5. *proturbatis qui de Othone nuntiabant*. "Those who brought news of Otho's death being roughly handled." *laceratis—vexillis*. It has been argued from this that the colours were of some woven fabric with the name of the emperor worked on them.

7. *pecunia, i.e.* the money in the military chest.

8. *posse inputari Vespasiano*. See i. 38, 55, 71.

10. *Pannonicum exercitum*. This consisted of the 7th Galbiana and the

13th legions. *abnuenti*. "If it refused."

12. *Tettius Iulianus* had been already mentioned in i. 79.

15. *montem Haemum*. The Balkans which separated Moesia from Thrace.

86. 1. *legio septima Galbiana*. Its sobriquet is added to distinguish it from the *septima Claudiana* mentioned in the last chapter. It had been comparatively lately raised by Galba in Spain ; hence its name, see iii. 22. The 13th legion had been told off to build the amphitheatres at Cremona and Bologna, but had now returned to their regular quarters, see c. 67.

3. *Primi Antonii*. He is mentioned in Ann. xiv. 40 as taking part in the forging of a will. The legal punishment for such a crime was banishment, and the forfeiture of all his goods, Dig. lxxviii. 10, 1, § 13. Suetonius says that he was born at Toulouse, and that he went by the name of Becco. He was a great friend of Martial, who sings his praises. *legibus noceus*. "Found guilty in a court of law." He was condemned under the *lex Cornelia de falsis*. For *falsi damnatus*, see Ann. ii. 55.

legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus inter alia
 5 belli mala senatorium ordinem recipaverat. Praepositus a
 Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur ducem se
 partibus offerens; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli usu
 fuit. Labantibus Vitellii rebus Vespasianum secutus grande
 momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone promptus, serendae
 10 in alios invidiae artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor
 largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Iuncti inde
 Moesici ac Pannonici exercitus Dalmaticum militem traxere,
 quanquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Tampius
 Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Dalmatiam tenebant,
 15 divites senes; sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens
 aetate, claris natalibus. Prima iuventa inquires cupidine
 senatorium ordinem exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniae
 suae eaque opera procurationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani
 partibus acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam praemiis

5. praepositus a Galba septimae legioni. This was the position he was holding at the present time.

7. in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. "He found no employment in the war with Otho."

9. strenuus manu, sermone promptus,—artifex. In older prose *strenuus* has the sense of brave; in Tacitus, as here, "energetic." *Promptus* is found both with the ablative and the genitive, e.g. *promptus animi*, but *sermone promptus*. *Artifex*, "a master of stirring up ill-feeling against others." Ammianus, xxvii. 9, 2, copying Tacitus, has "transferendae in alios invidiae artifex."

11. pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Velleius has an expression very like this, ii. 11, 1, "C. Marius quantum bello optimus tantum pace pessimus."

11. iuncti, i.e. in spirit. For the Moesian army did not actually join Vespasian's forces till later, see iii. 5. For *traxere* = "drew after them," see above, c. 61, "proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat."

13. Tampius Flavianus. This is a correction of M., which reads *Titus Aplus Fabianus*. That *Tampius* is the right reading seems almost certain from the fact that one of the cavalry corps belonging to the Pannonian forces was called *ala Tampiana*. Pliny (N. H. ix. 8, 26) mentions a Flavianus who was proconsul of Africa. For his subsequent history, see iii. 42.

14. Pompeius Silvanus (M.) had been

consul suffectus in 45 A.D. (Joseph. Ant. Jud. xx.i.2) afterwards proconsul of Africa. He was accused by the provincials of extortion, but acquitted by Nero, Ann. xiii. 52. He is mentioned twice later, iii. 50, iv. 47; but in neither place does he play a prominent part. Subsequently, under Vespasian he was *curator aquarum* from 71-73 A.D.

15. procurator. He was procurator of Pannonia.

16. claris natalibus. For *clara origine*; cf. Ag. 6, "splendidis natalibus ortum." This is a use of the Silver Age first occurring in Seneca the younger. It would seem from his name that Fuscus belonged to that great Cornelian gens, of which Tacitus himself was also a member.

16. inquires cupidine. M. reads *quietis cupidine*, which seems impossible, as the last thing Fuscus was likely to desire was repose and obscurity. Grotius, followed by Heraeus, reads *quaestus*, since senators could not engage in trade. *Inquires* is Meiser's suggestion; it means "restless from ambition."

17. dux coloniae suae. He brought over to his side some Roman colony, of which he was a native; what the colony was we do not know, but it was probably in Spain.

19. acerrimam bello facem praetulit. The metaphor is usual enough, but the epithet *acerrimam* and the verb *praetulit* ("he produced or applied") are

periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus pro certis et olim partis 20
nova ambigua ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quaterne,
quidquid usquam aegrum foret, adgrediuntur. Scriptae in
Britanniam ad quartadecimanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos
epistulae, quod utraque legio pro Othone adversa Vitellio fuerat ;
sparguntur per Gallias litterae ; momentoque temporis flagra- 25
bat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscentibus,
ceteris fortunam secuturis.

87. Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque
partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad
omnes municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens, gravi
urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta milia armatorum seque-
bantur licentia corrupta ; calonum numerus amplior, procacis- 5
simis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis ; tot legatorum
amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa
modestia regeretur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe
senatores equitesque, quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri
ac paulatim omnes, ne aliis proficiscentibus ipsi remanerent. 10
Adgregabantur e plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti
scurrae histriones aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestas-

curious. "He added most inflammatory fuel to the fire of the war." In iii. 2 Antonius is described as "acerrimus belli concitor." For the metaphor, see Cic. Cat. i. 6, § 13 ; Liv. viii. 32, *ad fin.* Fuscus was subsequently chosen as commander of the fleet at Ravenna in succession to Lucilius Bassus. He stood high in favour, first with Vespasian and then with Domitian, and during the reign of the latter, after being made praefect of the praetorians, fell fighting against the Dacians. Juv. Sat. iv. 111-112, "et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis | Fuscus marmorea meditatus proelia villa."

22. *adgrediuntur*, *i.e.* Fuscus and Antonius Primus—probably also Vespasian himself.

23. *ad quartadecimanos*. For them see above, c. 66. *primanos*. See c. 67.

87. 2. *ad omnes—resistens*. "Halt-ing to enjoy each pleasant town and villa as he passed." Tacitus has here, contrary to his general wont, substituted the compound for the simple form.

4. *sexaginta milia armatorum*. Valens, when he started on his march, was at the head of 40,000 men, Caecina of 30,000. Vitellius's own army can hardly have amounted to less than 40,000

more ; this would make a total of 110,000 in all. But a good many had fallen in the fighting round Bedriacum, the 14th legion and the Batavian cohorts had been sent home, so had the Gaulish auxiliaries, and Vitellius had been lavish in granting discharges ; in these ways the 110,000 had been diminished to 60,000.

5. *calonum, lixarum*. The *calones* were soldiers' servants and slaves ; *lixae* were small traders who frequented the camp (their name is said to mean literally water-carriers) ; but they were looked down on, though freemen, and hardly counted above slaves. *etiam inter servos*. "Even if you compare them with slaves," [cf. v. 17, "illam diem gloriosissimam inter maiores" (*i.e.* *si comparaveris cum rebus gestis maiorum*)] Heraeus.

7. *summa modestia*. "The strictest discipline."

11. *flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti*. Probably means, "through their disgraceful compliance with Nero's wishes." Vitellius, as Nero's boon companion, thus made their acquaintance.

12. *quibus amicitiarum dehonestamentia*. A variation for *quibus dehonestis amicitiiis*.

mentis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaeque maturis iam
15 frugibus ut hostile solum vastabantur.

88. Multae et atroces inter se militum caedes, post seditionem Ticini coeptam manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia; ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. Sed plurima strages ad septimum ab urbe lapidem. Singulis
5 ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos ut gladiatoriam saginam dividebat; et effusa plebes totis se castris miscuerat. Incuriosos milites—vernacula utebantur urbanitate—quidam spoliavere, abscisis furtim balteis, an accincti forent rogantes. Non tulit ludibrium insolens contumeliae animus: inermem populum
10 gladiis invasere. Caesus inter alios pater militis, cum filium comitaretur; deinde agnitus, et volgata caede temperatum ab innoxiiis. In urbe tamen trepidatum praecurrentibus passim militibus: forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi locum, in quo Galba iacuisset. Nec minus saevum spectaculum erant
15 ipsi tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per incitiam parum vitarent aut, ubi lubrico viae vel occursu alicuius procidissent, ad iurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. Quin et tribuni praefectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.

89. Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo, paludatus

88. 1. post seditionem Ticini coeptam. For this, see c. 68.

3. paganos are "civilians," see i. 53, note on line 15. consensu. "They all joined together."

5. gladiatoriam saginam. "The coarse, plentiful food given to gladiators." Cf. Prop. v. 8, 25, "qui dabit immundae venalia fata saginae."

6. effusa. "Pouring out from the city."

7. vernacula utebantur urbanitate. "They did it in childish mischief." This is a parenthesis. Gronovius proposed *vernacula ut rebantur urbanitate*. *Vernacula* here means "such as one might expect in city slaves;" c. 59, "verniles blanditiae." It has more generally the sense of city bred, as in Ann. i. 31, "vernacula multitudo;" in Dial. 28, "de vernaculis vitiis loquar." So even in Cicero.

8. accincti forent. "Had they got their swords on."

12. praecurrentibus. They ran on in advance of the main army—the regular advance was not made till later.

13. in quo Galba iacuisset. They believed that they were the avengers of Galba, as they had conquered Otho, who had had him murdered.

15. tergis for *tergoribus*, "hides," so used by Vergil, Ovid, and Sallust. Tacitus had probably in his mind Aen. v. 37, "horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae."

16. per incitiam. They had been brought up in the forests of Germany, and so were not used to the crowded streets of a capital like Rome. For *lubrico viae*, cf. i. 79, "lubrico itinerum;" Ann. i. 65, "lubrico paludum."

18. cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant. This is a hendiadys, "with terror-striking crowds of armed men." *Volitabant* is used of rapid, careless movement.

89. 1. a ponte Mulvio. The Pons Mulvius, or Milvius, where the Via Flaminia, coming from the north, crosses the Tiber, is two miles distant from Rome. It was this distance that Vitellius traversed.

accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine incessit. Quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, 5 mox duodecim alarum signa et post peditum ordines eques; dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretæ. Ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste; ceteri iuxta suam quisque centuriam armis donisque ful- 10 gentes, et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant. Decora facies et non Vitellio principe dignus exercitus. Sic Capitolium ingressus atque ibi matrem complexus Augustae nomine honoravit.

paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens. At the Porta Carmentalis, through which he entered the city, he laid aside his military dress and took the *toga praetexta* so as not to enter the city as a conqueror. On one coin commemorating this entry he is represented in the *toga praetexta*, on another in his military cloak. Suetonius, Vit. 11, says that he entered the city in military dress; if he means the actual city within the Pomerium he is mistaken—perhaps he does not.

4. quattuor legionum aquilae. The legions were the 1st Italica (it had joined Valens on his march at Lugdunum, i. 59); the 5th Alauda, which had been the mainstay of Valens's army; the 21st Rapax, which had come with Caecina into Italy, having formed part of the army of Upper Germany; and the 22d Primigenia, which formed also part of the army of Upper Germany, i. 55, but seems to have followed Vitellius himself. The four other legions, from which there were companies or detachments, were the 1st Germanica, belonging to the army of Lower Germany; the 4th Macedonica, which had come from Upper Germany; the 15th Primigenia, stationed in Lower Germany; and the 16th, having the same name and coming from the same quarter. All these detachments formed part of Vitellius's own army. We are enabled to identify the legions by c. 100, below, and iii. 22.

6. alarum signa—cohortes. These were both drawn from the allies.

7. ut—forent. *Ut* is for *pro ut*. The subjunctive is used by a sort of Greek idiom to mark indeterminateness. Tacitus,

as Livy before him, so uses it also with *cum*, *quoties*, *ubi*.

8. praefecti castrorum. There was not necessarily a *praefectus castrorum* to each legion, supposing more legions than one shared a common camp. Tacitus may mean either that those legions which had a *praefectus castrorum* had him marching in front of them, or that all the *praefecti castrorum* marched in a body in front of the eagles. When Tacitus wrote, each legion had its separate camp, and so its separate *praefectus*.

9. tribuni et primi centurionum. The *tribuni* were the commanders of the different cohorts; the cohort was divided into three maniples, and each manipulus into two centuries, one called *prior* and one *posterior*. The centurion of the leading century was called *prior*. The cohorts and maniples were all numbered, the maniples of the *triarii* ranking above the *principes*, these above the *hastati*. *Primi centurionum* would thus be the prior centurions of the earlier maniples, the first centurion of the first manipulus being called *primus pilus* or *primipilus*.

10. donisque. Such as armlets, bracelets, necklaces, etc.

13. Augustae nomine honoravit. Following in this the example of Tiberius, who had honoured his mother, Livia, with the title in accordance with the will of Augustus, Ann. i. 8. There are still coins in existence, struck in memory of this triumphal entry into the city. They run thus: Clementia Imp. Germanici, Libertas Restituta, Securitas. Imp. German., Pax Augusti, Aequitas Augusti, Urbs Restituta, Roma Renascens. (Quoted by Orelli.)

X90. Postera die tanquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus adtollens, consociis flagiti⁵orum ipsis qui aderant omni⁵que Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Volgus tamen vacuum curis et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum clamore et vocibus adstrepebat; abnuentique nomen Augusti expressere, ut adsumeret, tam frustra quam recusaverat.

91. Apud civitatem cuncta interpretantem funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caerimoniis publicis XV. kalendas Augustas edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensique cladibus; adeo 5 omnis humani divinique iuris experts, pari libertorum, amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans omnem infimae plebis

90. 1. *alterius*. This genitive takes the place of *alius*, which hardly ever occurs. Ag. 5, "etsi consilii ductuque alterius agebantur;" c. 17, "et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset." It here means a different state, a second, one which did not know him.

4. *somno et luxu*. *Somnus* is a picturesque word for slothfulness, used by Cicero, pro Sestio, § 138, "qui laudi, qui gloriae, non qui somno et conviviis et delectationi natos se arbitrantur."

5. *volgus tamen vacuum curis—adstrepebat*. *Vacuum curis*. "Careless." *Adstrepebat*. "Chimed in." So Ann. i. 18, "adstrepebat volgus."

8. *expressere*. "Prevailed on him." tam frustra. The issue of events was not altered by his accepting or refusing the name.

91. 1. *cuncta interpretantem*. "Who put their construction on everything; looked on it as a sign."

3. *XV. kalendas Augustas*. July 18th was the anniversary of the destruction of the Fabii at the Cremera, 477 B.C., and of the Roman army at the Allia, 390 B.C. Livy (vi. 1-11), speaking of the latter event, says, "diem a posteriore clade Allensem appellarunt insignemque rei nullius publice privatimque agenda fecerunt." Suetonius (Vit. 11) tells the same story.

5. *humani divinique iuris experts*. He means he might at least have known the *dies Alliensis*.

5. *libertorum, amicorum*. This is an asyndeton intended to hint at the fact that his friends were chiefly freedmen.

6. *sed comitia—celebrans*. This refers to the candidates for the consulships for the remainder of the present year, whom he had already nominated, see c. 71. The election for the consulships for the next year was not held till November, iii. 55. Pliny, Paneg. 71, throws some light on what was done. The choice of magistrates nominally now rested with the senate, though the emperor had a certain right of *commendatio* in the case of a fixed number of places, (two out of twenty quaestors, four out of twelve praetors, and a fixed but unknown number of aediles and tribunes) and of *nominatio* (which was a certification that the candidates were duly qualified), in all cases. When the list of candidates "nominated" by him was read out to the senate, Trajan made a speech in their favour, canvassed for them, and joined in the applause with which the senate received the names. This seems to be the meaning of the expression here. After the senate had made its elections, the names were announced (*renuntiari*) to the people in the Campus Martius; and on these occasions Trajan, Pliny tells us, Paneg. 77, used also to take pleasure in being present. See Furn. Int. ch. vi. pp. 79, 80, and Heraeus's note here.

7. *omnem—rumorem—ut spectator ut fautor adfectavit*. Tacitus had in the preceding clause explained the device by which Vitellius sought to

rumorem in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor adfectavit. Quae grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Venti- 10
tabat in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consule-
rentur. Ac forte Priscus Helvidius praetor designatus contra
studium eius censuerat. Commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen
ultra quam tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae potestatis advo-
cavit; mox mitigantibus amicis, qui altiore iracundiam eius 15
verebantur, nihil novi accidisse respondit, quod duo senatores in
re publica dissentirent; solitum se etiam Thraseae contradicere.
Inrisere plerique inpudentiam aemulationis; aliis id ipsum
placebat, quod neminem ex praepotentibus, sed Thraseam ad
exemplar verae gloriae legisset. 20

92. Praeposuerat praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefec-
tura cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus
Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant; inter discordes
Vitellio nihil auctoritatis. Munia imperii Caecina ac Valens 5
obibant, olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata
pravitas amicorum et secunda gignendis inimicitiis civitas
auxerat, dum ambitu comitatu et immensis salutantium agminibus

gain the good will of the senate; here he describes the way in which he caught at the breath of popular applause by being present as a spectator at the games, and taking his part as a partisan at the races in the Circus. For the use of *adfecto*, in the sense of "to catch eagerly at," see i. 23, "*studia militum—adfectaverat*;" and ii. 63.

9. *sane* is always a concessive particle = "one must allow."

11. *cum—consulerentur*. This use of the subjunctive imperfect to express indefinite frequency is analogous to that of the Greek optative. Tacitus constantly uses it.

12. *Priscus Helvidius*. Thrasea's son-in-law. He is generally mentioned in connexion with Thrasea, *e.g.* Juv. Sat. v. 36, "quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant Brutorum et Crassi natalibus." The two together were regarded as the worthiest exponents of Stoicism and of the Republican opposition to the Empire. For a further account of him, see iv. 6. *contra studium eius*. "In opposition to his wishes."

13. *non tamen ultra quam*. An imitation of the Greek idiom *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ*.

17. *Thraseae*. Helvidius's father-in-law. C. Fannius Thrasea Paetus was his name in full. Tacitus, describing his death by Nero, says: "*trucidatis tot insignibus viris, ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano*," Ann. xvi. 21. For his outspokenness in the senate, which caused his death, see Ann. xvi. 21, 22.

19. *ad exemplar*. "As an instance." In Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 58, "*Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi*," the use is a little different.

92. 1. *Publilium Sabinum*. He held the office only for a very short time, see iii. 36. *a praefectura cohortis*, *sc. sociae*. He had not even been tribune of a legion. The prep. here designates the office he had previously held, not that which he is holding, so that the analogy of *servus a libellis ab epistulis* is wrongly quoted.

3. *inter discordes* = *Quum discordes essent*, a favourite phrase of Tacitus, i. 1, 8; i. 34, 50; Ann. i. 50.

7. *dum ambitu comitatu et immensis salutantium agminibus*. *Ambitus comitatus* are abstract terms used as concrete; the whole phrase means, "the

contendunt comparanturque, variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. Nec umquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia
 10 est. Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque. Nec eo segnius invaserant domos hortos opesque imperii, cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba, quos ipsos liberosque patriae Galba reddiderat, nulla principis misericordia iuvarentur. Gratum
 15 primoribus civitatis etiam plebs adprobavit, quod reversis ab exilio iura libertorum concessisset, quanquam id omni modo servilia ingenia corrumpabant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus, et quidam in domum Caesaris transgressi atque ipsis dominis potentiores.

93. Sed miles, plenis castris et redundante multitudine in porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia noscere,

throng who courted them, who followed them about, and the immense bands who attended their levées." For the way in which even men of birth frequented the courts of powerful favourites of the emperor, see Juv. i. 95-101, and v. 21.

10. subitis offensis aut—mutabilem. The ablatives go with *mutabilem*; *aut* has, as not infrequently, the meaning of "or again." "He now took sudden offence, now overwhelmed them with blandishments, but was never long in one mood; in the first case they feared him, in the second they despised him."

12. flebilis et egens nobilium turba. Their goods had been confiscated at the time of their exile, and though Otho had made an attempt to save something for them from the wreck, i. 90, it had not come to much.

14. gratum. This neuter singular is in apposition with the whole sentence which follows. So Ag. i. 1, "clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere—antiquitus usitatum."

16. iura libertorum. The rights were those of the *patroni* over the *liberti*. What these rights were may be gathered from many passages in the Digest, Ulpian Tit. 29. The chief were the right of support, as far as the means of the freedman allowed, the right to honour and respect, and to half the freedman's property at death. Such rights are more frequently and properly spoken of as *iura patronatus*, or *ius patronorum*, e.g. "utque iis in liberos servetur ius patronorum," Plin. ad Traj. xi. 6.

17. corrumpabant. "Impaired these

rights," "evaded them." The difficulty had been already mooted, Ann. xiii. 26.

17. per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus. "In hands (or pockets) where obscurity or influence would keep them safe." The *sinus* means the fold of the *toga*, which was used as a pocket to carry money or papers in. See Sen. de Benev. vii. 19, 3, "si nummos, quos accipit, in sinum suum discinctus fundet, dabo." *Ambitiosos sinus* seems to mean "powerful people into whose favour they had managed to worm their way." For *sinus* applied to a person, see Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 15, "M. Scaurus Mariani sodalicii rapinarumque provincialium sinus;" cf. also Tac. H. iv. 19, "exquirique novos sinus et varia praedandi vocabula." In the whole expression, Tacitus has purchased brevity at the expense of obscurity.

93. 1. plenis castris, i.e. the camp of the praetorians. It was situated beyond the Agger of Servius, outside the Viminal and Colline gates.

1. in porticibus aut delubris. For the custom of using colonnades and shrines for quarters for the troops, see i. 31, where the soldiers of the Illyrian army are quartered in the Porticus Vipsaniae, and the Germans in the Atrium Libertatis.

2. principia. "Their headquarters," the place where they could collect or rally. In the camp this was the central space from which the measurements for the whole camp were taken. Here were the *praetorium*, *augurale*, and tents of the tribunes. Here the soldiers collected for orders, and to be addressed. See Ann.

non servare vigilias neque labore firmari : per illecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant. Postremo ne salutis quidem cura infamibus Vaticanis locis 5 magna pars tetendit; unde crebrae in volgus mortes, et adiacente Tiberi Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditate et aestus inpatientia labefacta. Insuper confusus pravitate vel ambitu ordo militiae. Sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quis singula 10 milia inessent. Plus in eo dilectu Valens audebat, tanquam ipsum Caecinam periculo exemisset. Sane adventu eius partes convaluerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero proelio verterat omnisque inferioris Germaniae miles Valentem absectabatur, unde primum creditur Caecinae fides fluitasse. 15

94. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius, ut non plus militi licuerit. Sibi quisque militiam sumpsere: quamvis indignus si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae adscribebatur; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus permissum. Nec deerant qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem caeli 5

i. 61 and 67. For *noscere*, see i. 68; ii. 12.

4. *imminuebant*. Joined with *corpora* by a kind of zeugma = *enervabant*.

5. *ne salutis quidem cura* is probably an ablative absolute.

5. *infamibus Vaticanis locis*. The ground on the right bank of the Tiber, under the Mons Janiculus, was notoriously unhealthy; hence *infamibus locis*, as in the expression *infames scopulos Acrocerania*, Hor. Od. i. 3, 20. For *tetendit*, see i. 31.

6. *in volgus*. We must supply some verb like *cecidit*. Cf. Ann. ii. 47, "in Sardinios lues."

7. *adiacente Tiberi*. Properly *adfluente*. The word does not suit the river very well, but all Tacitus wants to lay stress on is its proximity. There is therefore no need to alter the word as many editors have done. The proximity of the river induced them to bathe too much.

8. *labefacta*. This is a correction of Meiser's for *labefecit*, and agrees with *corpora*. He thinks that *labefacta* could more easily have been corrupted into *labefecit*, than *aviditate* into *aviditas*; *aviditate* being the reading of M.

8. *insuper confusus*. Heraeus follows Gerber in reading *confusus insuper*.

9. *pravitate*. "Wantonness." *ambitu*. "The courting of popularity."

9. *sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes*. In place of those disbanded, c. 67. Since Tiberius's time there had been only nine praetorian cohorts and three urban, Ann. iv. 5. The number of praetorian cohorts was again reduced by Vespasian to nine. The *urbanae cohortes* are described iii. 64, as *proprius miles* of the *praefectus urbis*.

10. *quis singula milia inessent*. This is the only passage in which the strength of the praetorian cohorts is given, and this passage is not quite conclusive, as Vitellius may have enlisted more than the ordinary number; in the 1000 a certain number of cavalry were included, perhaps a *turma*, or troop of 60 men.

11. *tanquam*. As to the ground on which he based this claim, see above, ii. 30.

30. He, in consequence, made the larger number of appointments into the praetorians.

94. 2. *sibi quisque militiam sumpsere*. They settled for themselves whether they would be legionaries, or praetorians, or belong to the *urbanae cohortes*.

4. *alares* are the cavalry drawn from the allies.

5. *intemperiem caeli*. "The unhealthiness of Rome itself."

incusantes. Robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta, convolsum castrorum decus, viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis.

- Contionante Vitellio postulantiur ad supplicium Asiaticus et
 10 Flavus et Rufinus duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellassent. Nec coercebat eiusmodi voces Vitellius: super insitam inerti animo ignaviam conscius sibi instare donativom et deesse pecuniam omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti principum conferre pro numero Mancipiorum ut tributum iussi. Ipse sola perdendi
 15 cura stabula aurigis extruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis oplere, tanquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere.

95. Quin et natalem Vitellii diem Caecina ac Valens editis tota urbe vicatim gladiatoribus celebravere, ingenti paratu et ante illum diem insolito. Laetum foedissimo cuique apud bonos invidiae fuit, quod extractis in campo Martio aris inferias
 5 Neroni fecisset. Caesae publice victimae cremataeque; facem Augustales subdidere, quod sacerdotium, ut Romulus Tatio

6. *robora tamen*—castrorum decus. The meaning is that the promiscuous drafting of 20,000 troops into the praetorian and urban cohorts at once weakened the effective strength of the legions, and lowered the estimation of the household troops, since almost any one who liked was now enrolled in them.

9. *Asiaticus*. Nothing more is known of these chiefs than the fact mentioned here. Vitellius seems to have assented to their death.

11. *super insitam inerti animo ignaviam*. *Inerti* is Pichena's correction for *morte* of M. Heraeus omits *morte* = *mortem* altogether, thinking it a gloss on *supplicium* above; Orelli had suggested *marcenti*.

13. *liberti principum*. Those of Claudius, Nero, Galba, and Otho.

14. *ut tributum*. This was levied on property for war purposes; Vitellius squandered it on eating.

17. *inludere*. "To fool it away." So Ann. xv. 42, "viribus principis inludere."

95. 1. *natalem Vitellii diem*. Suetonius, Vit. 3, says that this was variously given as Sept. 24 or 7 of 15 A.D. He was now 54 years old.

2. *vicatim*. "In each main street." There were some 420 of these streets in

Rome, but we know the names of only a few, the *vicus Tuscus*, *ingartius*, *sceleratus*, *patricius*. The *vici* were subdivisions of the *regiones*.

2. *ante illum diem insolito*. Tacitus's language implies that the celebration of the emperor's birthday became after this a regular custom.

4. *inferias fecisset*. "Had instituted a funeral feast." Suetonius, Vit. 11, says that this was taken as a sign that he proposed to follow in Nero's steps. Nero was buried on the Collis Hortulorum (Monte Pincio), which is in sight from the Campus Martius. Suet. Ner. 50.

6. *Augustales*. *Sodales Augustales* was their proper title. *Sodales Flaviales*, *Hadrianales* were subsequently instituted on the model of the *Sodales Augustales*. For an account of the institution of the *Augustales* by Tiberius, see Ann. i. 54. He there corrects his account here, and says that Titus Tatius instituted the *sodales*, "ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat." Varro says that the "*Sodales Titii* dicti ab Titii avibus quos in auguriis certis observare solent." See Furneaux's notes on Ann. i. 54. There seems to be no need for Heraeus's interpolation of *Titios* before *Tatio*; it is easy to supply *sacerdotium* after *Romulus*.

regi, ita Caesar Tiberius Iuliae genti sacrauit. Nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus Vitellii Asiaticus Polyclitos Patrobios et vetera odiorum nomina aequabat. Nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria certavit; unum ad potentiam iter, prodigis epulis et sumptu gula ganeaeque satiare inexplēbiles Vitellii libidines. Ipse abunde ratus, si praesentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans noviens milliē sesteritium paucissimis mensibus intervertisse creditur. Magna et misera civitas eodem anno Othonem Vitellium passa inter Vinios Fabios Icelos Asiaticos varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec succedere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores.

96. Prima Vitellio tertiae legionis defectio nuntiatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino epistulis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur. Sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitibus constare fidem. In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispergi nec ullum civilis belli metum adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine et vagis per urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coercerent. Id praecipuum alimentum famae erat.

7. *nondum quartus*—*et*. We have the same construction in English: "Four months had not elapsed, and;" it appears first in the poets, and was from them copied by Livy, xliii. 4, "vix dum ad consulem se pervenisse et audisse oppidum expugnatum." Tacitus repeats the construction in Ann. iv. 23, "iamque tres laureatae in urbe statucae et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas;" and xv. 40, where see Nipperdey's note.

8. *Asiaticus*. See on him c. 57; and iv. 11, where Tacitus records his death.

9. *Polyclitos*. See i. 37, note on line 22; and for Patrobios, see i. 49; Suet. Galb. 20.

11. *et sumptu gula ganeaeque*. Meiser reads *gula ganeaeque*; *gulae aque* being the reading of M.; *ganeaeque* alone is the reading of Palmerius, adopted by Heraeus. The balance of the sentence is much improved by the insertion of *gula*.

12. *abunde ratus*. Sc. *esse*, copied from Sall. Hist. Fr. iii. 81, "abunde libertatem rati quia tergis abstinetur."

13. *noviens milliē sesteritium*. More than £9,000,000. Suetonius records

many stories of the incredible prodigality of Vitellius's feasts; see also Dio, lxx. 4.

15. *inter Vinios Fabios Icelos Asiaticos*. Tacitus here couples together Titus Vinios, i. 6, 12, etc.; Fabius Valens, i. 66, etc.; Icelus, Galba's, i. 13, and Asiaticus, Vitellius's freedman, ii. 95, above.

16. *agebat*. Used absolutely, "went its way."

17. *Marcellus*. See for him c. 53, and below, iv. 6 and 7. His name is Marcellus Epirus.

96. 1. *tertiaē legionis*. This was the legion which, transferred from Syria to Moesia, had set the example of revolt, ii. 85. Of Moesia Aponius Saturninus was the governor.

5. *unius legionis*. We have to supply *esse*. *constare* is used in its literal sense "to stand firm;" so in iii. 57 we have "fidei constans." Coins have been found, belonging apparently to this date, struck to commemorate the loyalty and faith of the legions.

7. *nuper exauctoratos*. For the discharge of the praetorians, see above, c. 67.

97. Auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis excivit, segniter et necessitatem dissimulans. Perinde legati provinciaeque cunctabantur, Hordeonius Flaccus suspectis iam Batavis anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus numquam satis
 5 queta Britannia, et uterque ambigui. Neque ex Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi consulari: trium legionum legati, pares iure et prosperis Vitellii rebus certaturi ad obsequium, adversam eius fortunam ex aequo detrectabant. In Africa legio cohortesque delectae a Clodio Macro, mox a Galba
 10 dimissae, rursus iussu Vitellii militiam cepere; simul cetera iuventus dabat inpigre nomina. Quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius, famosum invisumque Vespasianus egerat: proinde socii de imperio utriusque coniectabant, sed experimentum contra fuit.

98. Ac primo Valerius Festus legatus studia provincialium cum fide iuvit; mox nutabat, palam epistulis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis Vespasianum fovens et haec illave defensurus, prout invaluisse. Deprehensi cum litteris edictis-
 5 que Vespasiani per Raetiam et Gallias militum et centurionum quidam ad Vitellium missi necantur: plures sefellere, fide amicorum aut suomet astu occultati. Ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur, Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum socordia Vitellii; dein Pannonicae Alpes praesidiis insessae nuntios

97. 3. *Hordeonius Flaccus*. He had been left as guardian of the left bank of the Rhine, ii. 57. *proprio bello*. "A war which affected his own province." For his subsequent dealings with the Batavians, see below, iv. 18, etc.

4. *Vettius Bolanus* had been despatched by Vitellius to succeed Trebellius Maximus, ii. 65. From Ag. 10 and 16 we learn that he was of an indolent, easy-going disposition, but not otherwise blameworthy.

6. *nullo tum ibi consulari*. Cluvius Rufus had quitted Spain to join Vitellius, and was ruling the province at present from Rome, ii. 65.

6. *trium legionum*. These were the 6th Victrix, the 10th Gemina, and the 1st Adiutrix; the last had been only recently despatched to Spain.

7. *certaturi ad obsequium*. This future shows what a person is ready or likely to do in a certain case which does not occur, Madvig, § 348 a. *Ad*, "in respect of." The use of this preposition

with verbs is rare; it often occurs with adjectives, Madvig, § 253, *obs.* 1.

9. *legio*. This was the 3d Augusta; see i. 11, note on line 6. The cohorts seem to have been formed by Macer into a regular legion, called Macriana Liberatrix, but were disbanded by Galba, see i. 11, note 10. For Clodius Macer, see i. 7.

11. *ac favorabilem proconsulatum*. "Popular consulship." So used again, Ann. ii. 36; also by Quintilian, Velleius, and Pliny, but not by Cicero or Livy, who employ *gratiosum*. Suetonius (Vit. 5) gives the same account of Vitellius's rule, but a more favourable one of that of Vespasian. Tacitus is probably right; certainly the Africans did not love him. See iv. 49, "nec ambigitur provinciam et militem alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse."

98. 1. *Valerius Festus legatus*. He was *legatus Caesaris*, used to keep a watch on the proconsul, L. Piso. For his subsequent conduct, see iv. 49, 50.

9. *Pannonicae Alpes*. These are the

retinebant. Mare quoque etesiarum flatu in Orientem navigan- 10
tibus secundum, inde adversum erat.

99. Tandem inruptione hostium atrocibus undique nuntiis
exterritus Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad bellum iubet.
Praemissus Caecina: Valentem e gravi corporis morbo tum
primum adsurgentem infirmitas tardabat. Longe alia proficis- 5
centis ex urbe Germanici exercitus species: non vigor cor-
poribus, non ardor animis; lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma,
segnes equi; inpatiens solis pulveris tempestatum, quantumque
hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias
promptior. Accedebat huc Caecinae ambitio vetus, torpor
recens nimia fortunae indulgentia soluti in luxum; seu per- 10
fidiam meditantem infringere exercitus virtutem inter artes erat.
Credidere plerique Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam Caecinae
mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo: rata apud Vespasia-

Alps which shut in Italy to the north-east; they are also known by the name of the Julian Alps. A road led over them from Aquileia to Poetovio, the headquarters of the 13th legion (Pettau on the Drave), iii. 1; Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. p. 205.

10. *etesiarum flatu*. These winds blew from the north-west. Caesar, B. C. iii. 107, relates how he was detained by them at Alexandria. They begin to blow on July 20th, and last for thirty days; Hdt. ii. 20. *Inde, sc. navigantibus*. There is a corruption in M. here: *mare quoque etsi flabra aquilonis flatu in Orientem—arum*. This is reproduced in various forms in all the other MSS., showing how dependent they are on M. Rhenanus restored the true text.

99. 1. *inruptione hostium*. There is some doubt how we are to explain this ablative. Orelli regards it as an ablative of time; Heraeus, as dependent on *exterritus*; others hold that it is governed by *nuntii*, some editors even inserting *de*. Orelli's explanation seems the best.

2. *expedire ad bellum*. M. reads *expediri*, but this could hardly be said of the generals. It means "to take the field for the war," see i. 10 and 88.

4. *longe alia*. Different from what it was when they entered the city.

6. *lentum et rarum agmen*. "Their line of march was slow and full of gaps." *fluxa arma*. There is much doubt as to the meaning of this phrase. Orelli, quoting Liv. xxi. 40, "quassata fractaque

arma," understands it, "their arms were damaged;" this is practically also Heraeus's explanation; others, "hung loosely," "were slipping from their grasp."

7. *quantumque hebes, tanto promptior*. This conjunction of a positive adjective with a comparative is not found in Cicero, but occurs in Livy, and often in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. i. 57 and 68. Tacitus partly uses the expression for variety, but still more because the indisposition of the soldiers to work was itself the reason of their being more disposed to quarrel.

9. *ambitio vetus—seu meditantem inter artes erat*. Translate: "to this must be added Caecina's old-established turn for courting popularity, his recent torpor, as owing to the excessive indulgence of fortune, he had abandoned himself to luxury; or it may be that, as he was already meditating treachery, one of his devices was to impair the warlike spirit of the army." *Ambitio—seu* expresses two alternative explanations of Caecina's conduct; *meditanti* is Rhenanus's correction of *meditatio* of M. Gronovius suggests *meditato*.

12. *Flavii Sabini*. Vespasian's brother. But he had induced the city soldiery to take the oath of allegiance to Vitellius. See c. 55.

13. *ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo*. For *sermones*, in the sense of secret interviews, see c. 76, 2. Rubrius Gallus had been in Otho's army at Bedriacum, ii. 51.

num fore pacta transitionis. Simul odiorum invidiaeque erga

- 15 Fabium Valentem admonebatur, ut inpar apud Vitellium gratiam viresque apud novum principem pararet.

100. Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit. Mox vexilla primae, quartae, quintae decumae, sextae decumae legionum, dein quinta et duoetvicensima secutae; postremo
5 agmine unaetvicensima Rapax et prima Italica incessere cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis. Profecto Caecina scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur: sic sibi cum Caecina
10 finxit, ut ingruenti bello tota mole occurreretur. Ita adcelerare legiones Cremonam, pars Hostiliam petere iussae: ipse Ravennam devertit praetexto classem adloquendi. Mox Patavi secretum componendae prodicionis quaesitum. Namque Lucilius

14. *erga* can be used either of friendly or unfriendly feelings towards another. *admonebatur*. Tacitus uses this verb, and even the simple *moneo*, with a genitive, Ann. i. 67.

100. 2. *ad occupandam Cremonam*. Afterwards we gather from iii. 14 that he sent along with these cavalry the 1st Italica and the 21st Rapax.

3. *mox vexilla primae, quartae, quintae decumae, sextae decumae; dein quinta et duoetvicensima secutae*. M. is, unfortunately, here corrupt, and reads *in quattuor decū xvi*. The legions have thus to be restored partly from the account in ii. 89, partly from iii. 22. It appears from iii. 22 that part of the 1st Germanica was at the second battle of Bedriacum, so was the 4th Macedonica, and so were the 15th, and detachments of the 16th. These two last legions occupied the same quarters in Lower Germany, see i. 55. The 5th legion was part of the army of Lower Germany, and had taken the lead in the revolt against Galba. The 22d was stationed in Upper Germany, i. 55. This is Nipperdey's emendation; others have been propounded, but none equally satisfactory.

6. *Britannicarum legionum*. These were, as appears from iii. 22, the 9th Hispana, the 2d Augusta, and the 20th Valeria Victrix. The 14th was not yet back in its old quarters.

8. *ductaverat*. "Had long led." The word occurs in Plautus and Terence,

and was adopted by Sallust. Quintilian says that this word should be avoided, as it had acquired a vulgar meaning. The army which Valens had commanded was that of Lower Germany, consisting of the 1st, 5th, 15th, and 16th legions.

11. *Hostiliam*. In the Mantuan country, now Ostiglia. They were to take up their position here to meet the enemy advancing from the north-east; as only two legions went to Cremona, the larger portion of the force must have been concentrated here.

11. *Ravennam*. On the Adriatic; the station for the fleet guarding that side of Italy.

12. *Patavi* is Padua on the Adige, north-east of Ravenna. They could not confer before the whole fleet. *secretum componendae prodicionis*. The genitive is a genitive of quality, which gradually drops into a genitive of purpose, "a secret spot for concocting a treachery." In Ann. vi. 30, we have "*pecuniam omitendae delationis ceperunt*;" Caesar, B. G. iv. 17, *naves operis deiciendi*; in Liv. i. 1, *locum condendae urbis quaerere*; and ix. 45, *oratores pacis petendae*.

13. *namque Lucilius Bassus*. It appears from an inscription (quoted by Orelli) that his name was Scatius. For his subsequent history, see iii. 12 and 13. *praefecturam praetorii*. This had been given to Publius Sabinus, who had been raised to the post a *praefectura cohortis*, see c. 92.

Bassus post praefecturam alae Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus, quod non statim praefecturam 15 praetorii adeptus foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulciscitur. Nec sciri potest, traxeritne Caecinam, an (quod evenit inter malos, ut et similes sint) eadem illos pravitas inpulerit.

101. Scriptores temporum, qui potente rerum Flavia domo monimenta belli huiusce composuerunt, curam pacis et amorem rei publicae, corruptas in adulationem causas, tradidere. Nobis super insitam levitatem et prodito Galba vilem mox fidem aemulatione etiam invidiaque, ne ab aliis apud Vitellium ante- 5 irentur, pervertisse ipsum Vitellium videntur. Caecina legiones adsecutus centurionum militumque animos obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus subruebat: Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiae. 10

18. *ut et similes sint.* There is no need for the insertion of *consiliis* with Heraeus. Tacitus is quoting Hom. Od. xvii. 218, *ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὀυνοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὀυνοῖον.*

101. 1. *scriptores temporum.* These are C. Plinius, the older Pliny, iii. 28, Vipstanus Messalla, iii. 25, 28, tribune of the 7th Claudian legion, and Cluvius Rufus.

3. *corruptas in adulationem causas.* "Motives basely invented to flatter the conqueror."

4. *vilem mox fidem.* "The slight esteem in which their faith was held."

5. *anteirentur — videntur.* Ritter, against the authority of M., gives the singular, maintaining that we have no account of Bassus deserting Galba. He seems, however, to have been a ready partisan of Otho, and the authority of the MS. on such a point is decisive. The mention too of Caecina's name in the next sentence seems to settle the question.

LIBER TERTIUS

CHAPTERS 1-35

ADVANCE OF THE PANNONIAN AND MOESIAN TROOPS—CAMPAIGN IN NORTH ITALY, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 69 A.D.—C. FABIVS VALENS—A. LICINIUS CAECINA COSS.

1. A council of war is held by the Flavian leaders in Pannonia at Poetovio, the winter quarters of the 13th legion. 2. In this Antonius Primus pleads for immediate action, and offers to advance at once at the head of the cavalry and light-armed troops into Italy. 3. His zeal fires the rest of the soldiers. 4. Cornelius Fuscus, the procurator, espousing the same cause, induces Tampius Flavianus to throw himself into the movement. 5. Measures are taken to secure the support of the army of Moesia, and to guard the frontiers against the Sarmatae on one side, the troops quartered in Noricum on the other. 6. Antonius is joined by Arrius Varus, and both together advance into Northern Italy and succeed in surprising a detachment of the enemy. 7. At Patavium they are joined by two legions, the 7th Galbiana and 13th Gemina, which had hastened up after them. 8. Verona is selected as their base of operations. 9. Caecina meanwhile remains inactive in a strong position near Hostilia and contents himself with addressing letters to the enemy, who are further strengthened by the arrival of the 7th Claudiana. 10. Soon after two fresh legions, the 3d and the 8th, come up, and while they are engaged in fortifying Verona a mutiny breaks out against Tampius Flavianus which Antonius with difficulty suppresses. 11. The Moesian legions next rise against Aponius Saturninus and he, like Flavianus, is forced to fly. 12. Lucilius Bassus tampers in the interest of Vespasian with the fleet stationed at Ravenna and induces it to revolt. 13. Caecina, when the news reaches him, tries to induce his soldiers to change sides; 14. but the men refuse to follow him, and march off to join the 1st and 21st legions at Cremona. 15. Antonius determines to attack them at once, and advancing from Verona to Bedriacum sends on his auxiliary troops and cavalry into the territory of Cremona. 16. Arrius Varus pushing forward too rashly is repulsed; 17. but is saved by the bravery and resource of Antonius. 18. The Vitellians retire in their turn in the direction of Cremona. 19. At this point the main body of the Flavians come up and clamour to be led at once against Cremona. 20. Antonius dissuades them. 21. News is brought that the main body of the Vitellians had arrived from Hostilia and is advancing to attack them; disposition of their forces. 22. Order of the attacking force and commencement of the engagement. 23. The fight is equally sustained till the moon rises and gives the advantage to the Flavians. 24. Antonius exhorts his troops. 25. The Vitellians are driven back and retire on Cremona; painful incident in the conflict. 26. The victors determine to attack the Vitellian camp outside Cremona. 27. When the efforts

of the assailants relax the generals point to Cremona; 28. and the assault is renewed with fresh vigour. 29. An entrance is at last effected into the fortified camp. 30. The town itself is next attacked. 31. The defenders lose heart and ask Caecina to intercede for them. 32. A hasty saying of Antonius is interpreted into a signal for setting the town on fire. 33. This is done and Cremona for four days is given over to sack and rapine. 34. Its previous history. 35. The remnant of the Vitellians are allowed to surrender, and messengers with tidings of the victory are sent into the provinces.

CHAPTERS 36-48

AFFAIRS IN ROME—FLIGHT AND DEATH OF VALENS—AFFAIRS IN THE PROVINCES, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 69 A.D.—CN. CAECILIUS SIMPLEX—C. QUINCTIUS ATTICUS COSS.

36. Conduct of Vitellius when news of the calamity reaches him. 37. Debate in the Senate; Caecina is deposed and Rosius Regulus is elected consul for a single day. 38, 39. Junius Blaesus is put to death on a false charge brought against him by Lucius Vitellius. 40. Fabius Valens sets out for the seat of war. 41. Met by the news of the revolt of Caecina and the battle of Cremona, he turns aside into Umbria and Etruria. 42. The Flavians occupy all Eastern Italy; Valens makes good his escape to Monaco in the Maritime Alps. 43. He is captured by Valerius Paulinus, an adherent of Vespasian, at the Stoechades Insulae. 44. Spain, Gaul, and Britain all take the oath of allegiance to Vespasian. 45. A partial revolt takes place at this time in Northern Britain. 46. Revolt occurs nearly at the same time in Germany and in Dacia; the latter is suppressed by Mucianus. 47. A freedman in Pontus heads an insurrection and captures some ships; 48. but the movement is speedily quashed by Virdius Geminus, sent by Vespasian for the purpose; tidings of the various successes reach Vespasian in Egypt.

CHAPTERS 49-63

ADVANCE OF THE FLAVIANS ON ROME

49. Recklessness of Antonius after the sack of Cremona. 50. The forces quit Cremona but come to a halt when informed that the enemy is holding the Apennines. 51. Tacitus illustrates the degeneration in morals from an incident in the campaign. 52. Mucianus undermines Antonius's influence with Vespasian. 53. Antonius writes to defend himself, and a bitter rivalry grows up between the two commanders. 54. Vitellius pretends not to credit the news of the defeat of his army till at last one of his messengers kills himself to certify the reality of his information. 55. At last he is induced to send an advanced guard to hold the Apennines, and after conducting the consular elections himself marches out as far as Mevania; 56. but he soon wearies, and hearing of the revolt of the fleet at Misenum returns to the city. 57. History of the revolt of the fleet at Misenum. 58. Vitellius calls on the people to arm; short-lived enthusiasm and subsequent indifference of the ruling classes. 59. Disastrous consequences of Vitellius's retirement from Mevania; the Flavians succeed, though not without difficulty, in making good the passage of the Apennines. 60. Halt of the army at Carsulæ; Antonius dissuades them from at once attacking the enemy. 61. The leaders of the Vitellians desert to the enemy. 62. Death of Valens; his origin and history. 63. The Vitellian army surrenders at Narnia; offers are made to Vitellius himself.

CHAPTERS 64-86

OCCUPATION OF ROME AND DEATH OF VITELLIUS, DECEMBER 1-23, 69 A.D.

64. The leading men in Rome invite Flavius Sabinus to seize the city. 65. Sabinus hesitates; various constructions put upon his hesitation; he holds parleys with Vitellius. 66. His friends dissuade Vitellius from yielding. 67. Vitellius quits the Palace; 68. and descends to the Forum for the purpose of abdicating; he is forced by the soldiers and populace to return to the Palace. 69. A skirmish takes place between the Vitellians and the followers of Sabinus, and the latter is compelled to take refuge in the Capitol where he is besieged. 70. He sends Cornelius Martialis to remonstrate with Vitellius. 71. In the morning the Vitellians storm the Capitol; the temple of Capitoline Jove catches fire during the conflict. 72. History of the building. 73. The Vitellians meanwhile force their way in, and Flavius Sabinus and the consul, Quinctius Atticus, are taken prisoners. 74. Domitian escapes, but Sabinus is taken before Vitellius and put to death. 75. His life and character; Vitellius protects Atticus. 76. Lucius Vitellius prosecutes the war in Latium and Campania. 77. He captures Tarracina by treachery and a great part of the Flavian fleet stationed there. 78. The army of Vespasian advancing from Narnia halts at Oriculum; all the leaders to blame for the delay. 79. Antonius advances by the Via Flaminia; Petilius Cerialis is worsted in a cavalry skirmish outside the walls. 80. Vitellius sends envoys to treat with the advancing armies; their fate. 81. Ill-timed exhortations of Musonius Rufus; Vitellius sends the vestal virgins with prayers for a day's delay; the virgins are treated with respect, but Vitellius's prayer is refused. 82. The soldiers refuse to wait a day and the army advances on the city in three divisions. 83. The fiercest conflict is in the Campus Martius; brutal indifference of the populace. 84. Storm of the praetorian camp; indecision of Vitellius; he is taken prisoner, 85. and put to death. 86. His parentage and character; Domitian presents himself to the soldiers and is saluted Caesar.

September
A.U.C. 823
A.D. 70

1. *Meliore fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces consilia belli tractabant. Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae decimae legionis convenerant. Illic agitavere placeretne obstrui Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo vires universae consurgerent, an ire comminus et certare pro Italia constantius foret. Quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere bellum videbatur, Germanicarum*

1. 2. *Poetovionem.* This was in the valley of the Drave, in Upper Pannonia (Styria), but close to the borders of Noricum, now Pettau or Petau.

2. *tertia decima legionis.* This legion, after constructing amphitheatres at Cremona and Bononia, had now returned to its winter quarters.

3. On *Pannoniae Alpes*, or, as there called, *Pannonicae Alpes*, see ii. 98. A number of passes crossed these Alps, the Splügen, the Brenner, and the great road through Aquileia into the valley of

the Drave. These it was now proposed to hold in force, strengthening the pickets which were already there, see ii. 98.

4. *consurgere* is a poetical word, but is used by Florus and Livy, x. 13, and 33; cf. Verg. Aen. x. 90, "consurgere in arma Europamque Asiamque."

5. *constantius foret.* Either "show the greater firmness," as in Ann. xiii. 15, xvi. 35, or "be more consistent with what they had already done."

6. *Germanicarum legionum vim famamque extollebant.* Vespasian

legionum vim famamque extollebant, et advenisse mox cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robora : ipsis nec numerum parem pulsarum nuper legionum ; et quamquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem esse apud victos animum. Sed incessis interim 10 Alpibus venturum cum copiis Orientis Mucianum. Superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alterius belli molem cieret. Ita salubri mora novas vires adfore et praesentibus nihil perituum.

2. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concitor) festinationem ipsis utilem, Vitellio exitiosam disseruit. Plus socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus. Neque enim in procinctu et castris habitos : per omnia Italiae municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius ante 5 se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse. Circo quoque ac theatris et amoenitate urbis emollitos, aut valetudinibus fessos. Sed addito spatio redituum et his robur meditatione belli. Nec procul Germaniam, unde vires ; Britanniam freto dirimi ; iuxta Gallias Hispaniasque ; utrinque viros, equos, 10

himself is said to have hesitated, before committing himself to a conflict with the armies of Germany, ii. 75.

8. *Britannici exercitus robora*. Vitellius had brought with him into Italy a force of 8000 troops from the army of Britain ; these had been despatched with Caecina to the seat of war, and Vitellius had just sent for more reinforcements, ii. 57, 97, 100. We have to supply *dicebant* from *extollebant*. For *mox* Ruperti reads *nova*, Heraeus *modo* ; but *mox* can very well mean "subsequently."

8. *ipsis nec numerum—et*. This combination is not infrequent, even in Cicero, e.g. Cato M. 15, "voluptates agricolarum nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad," etc. Madvig, § 458 c.

11. *superesse Vespasiano*. "That Vespasian had besides." The *classes* were those of the Pontus, of Syria, and of Egypt. See ii. 83.

13. *alterius belli*. The genitive for *alius*, here "a second (not necessarily an external) war." See ii. 90, note on line 1.

13. *molem cieret*. Cf. Ann. xv. 2, "vires intimas molemque belli ciet ;" also H. ii. 6, note on line 3.

2. 1. *is acerrimus belli concitor*. Ritter encloses these words in brackets as a mere gloss, since, he says, the speech

which follows makes Antonius's position clear enough ; but as they are found in the MSS. it is better to keep them. M. reads *conciator*, and so there is a doubt whether *conciator* or *concitor* is the right reading. The latter seems more in accordance with Tacitus's usage, Ann. iv. 28 ; H. iv. 56.

4. *in procinctu*. "Equipped for war," literally "with their loins girded." Festus quotes an old law which uses the expression *classis procincta*.

5. *ante* is, of course, for *antea*.

6. *se egerint*. Heraeus would omit *se*, but the phrase occurs in Sen. de Benef., "mihi in hac re videtur vehementer errasse nec ex institutione stoica se egisse." Tacitus, however, does undoubtedly oftener use *agere* absolutely without *se*, e.g. i. 3, "innocentius egerunt ;" iii. 35, "ambigue agerent."

7. *valetudinibus*. "With various kinds of sickness." See Madvig, § 50, *obs.* 3. Such a use is rarely found earlier than Tacitus.

8. *addito spatio—meditatione belli*. "If time is allowed, their strength will return to them by the necessary preparations for war." For *meditatione belli* Orelli compares iv. 26, "ibi struenda acie, muniendo vallandoque et ceteris belli meditamentis militem firmabat."

- tributa ; ipsamque Italiam et opes urbis ; ac si inferre arma ultro velint, duas classes vacuumque Illyricum mare. Quid tum claustra montium profutura ? Quid tractum in aestatem aliam bellum ? Unde interim pecuniam et commeatus ? Quin potius
 15 eo ipso uterentur, quod Pannonicae legiones deceptae magis quam victae resurgere in ultionem properent, Moesici exercitus integras vires attulerint. Si numerus militum potius quam legionum putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libidinum ; et profuisse disciplinae ipsum pudorem. Equites vero ne tum quidem
 20 victos, sed quamquam rebus adversis disiectam Vitellii aciem. "Duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem : nunc sedecim alarum coniuncta signa pulsu sonituque et nube ipsa operient ac superfundent oblitos praeliorum equites equosque. Nisi quis retinet, idem suasor auctorque consilii ero. Vos,
 25 quibus fortuna in integro est, legiones continete : mihi expeditae cohortes sufficient. Iam reseratam Italiam, impulsas Vitellii res audietis. Iuvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere."

11. *ac si*—ultro velint, duas classes vacuumque Illyricum mare.

"If they wish to carry the war into the enemy's country, *i.e.* to go beyond mere defence." The *duae classes* are those of Misenum and Ravenna. By *Illyricum mare* is meant the Upper Adriatic. For *vacuum* in the sense of undefended, see below, c. 47, "*vacuo mari eludens*." By landing troops on the Dalmatian coast they could get behind the chain of the Alps.

15. *deceptae magis quam victae*. He refers to the mistake which had been made at the battle of Bedriacum, ii. 42.

16. *Moesici exercitus integras vires attulerint*. They had been intending to join Otho, but were only on their way when the battle of Bedriacum was fought.

17. *potius quam legionum putetur*. *Putetur* is for *computetur*, the simple for the compound, as often in Tacitus, Furn. Int. v. § 40. Vitellius had more legions, but they had mostly fallen much below their full strength.

19. *ipsum pudorem*. "Their shame at having been beaten will make them fight the harder."

20. *quamquam rebus adversis—aciem*. This use of *quamquam* with an ablative absolute is frequent in Tacitus, rare in earlier writers ; cf. i. 83, "*quamquam turbidis rebus*," and iv. 18, "*quamquam rebus trepidis*." For the defeat

of the Vitellians by Otho's cavalry, see ii. 41.

21. *duae tunc*. The change from *oratio obliqua* into *oratio recta* occurs tolerably often in Tacitus, see *e.g.* Ann. iii. 46.

22. *sedecim alarum coniuncta signa*. The *alae* seem to have consisted of from 500 to 1000 men, so that the force of cavalry must have been between 8000 and 16,000. *pulsu*, "its impact." For *impulsu* : in Ann. vi. 35 we have *pulsu armorum*. *nube* seems to mean "its cloud of dust."

24. *nisi quis retinet*. He means "unless he is held back" by Tampus Flavianus, the commander of Pannonia ; for Pompeius Silvanus had not yet joined them in Dalmatia, and Aponius Saturninus was at a distance. *auctor* is here opposed to *suasor*, "I who recommend the plan will put it into execution." So Ag. 13, "*divus Claudius auctor iterati operis*;" according to a probable correction of the text, others read *actor*.

25. *quibus fortuna in integro est*. In contrast to his own shattered fortunes and compromised position. *continete* has the sense of "hold together," "hold in."

26. *reseratam Italiam*. Cicero, Phil. vii. 1, uses the phrase *reserare Italiam* : "ut reserare nos exteris gentibus Italiam iuberet." Tacitus himself had said, ii. 17,

3. Haec ac talia flagrans oculis, truci voce, quo latius audiretur (etenim se centuriones et quidam militum consilio miscuerant), ita effudit ut cautos quoque ac providos permo-
veret, volgus et ceteri unum virum ducemque, sprete aliorum segnitia, laudibus ferrent. Hanc sui famam ea statim contione
commoverat, qua recitatis Vespasiani epistulis non ut plerique
incerta disseruit, huc illuc tracturus interpretatione, prout con-
duxisset: aperte descendisse in causam videbatur, eoque gratior
militibus erat, culpa vel gloriae socius.

4. Proxima Cornelii Fusci procuratoris auctoritas. Is quoque inclementer in Vitellium invehi solitus nihil spei sibi inter adversa reliquerat. Tampius Flavianus, natura ac senecta cunctatior, suspiciones militum inritabat, tamquam adfinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset; idemque, quod coeptante legionum
motu profugus dein sponte remeaverat, perfidiae locum quaesisse
credebatur. Nam Flavianum omissa Pannonia ingressum Italiam, et discrimini exemptum, rerum novarum cupido legati nomen resumere et misceri civilibus armis impulerat, suadente Cornelio Fusco, non quia industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut

"aperuerat iam Italiam ala Siliana." The MSS. read *ruserata militiam*. The emendation is due to Pichena.

3. 2. *consilio miscuerant*. Such councils of war were, as a rule, attended only by the superior officers, the commander-in-chief, the *legati legionum*, the *praefecti castrorum*, the *tribuni militum*, and the *primipili*, but discipline in Pannonia was relaxed.

4. *volgus et ceteri*. "The mob who were neither one nor the other;" so i. 25, "volgus et ceteros;" and below, c. 83, "volgus et plures." *Et* is epexegetical.

5. *hanc sui famam*, as in Ann. ii. 13, "fruiturque fama sui."

7. *huc illuc*—*interpretatione—conduxisset*. Some editors read *interpretationem*, but the change does not affect the sense. The meaning is "resolved to place this or that construction on them, to torture them into this or that sense." The tense of *conduxisset* is to be explained as "had then come to suit their interests."

8. *gratior*. Orelli, following Ritter, has altered *gravior*, the reading of M., into *gratior* (along with the inferior MSS.) maintaining that *gravior* cannot be used without *auctor* or some corresponding word in the sense of "more weighty."

It must be confessed that none of the passages cited by the editors sanction this absolute use of it. *descendisse in causam*. "To have espoused the cause." Tacitus here follows Liv. xxxvi. 7, "si semel in causam vestram descenderit."

4. 1. *proxima Cornelii Fusci procuratoria*. "Cornelius Fuscus's influence was next greatest to that of Antonius;" the *procurator* had control of the finance arrangements in the imperial, as the *quaestor* in the senatorial, provinces. For him and Tampius Flavianus, see ii. 86.

4. *cunctatior*, M. Many editors read *cunctantior*, on the ground that the comparative would be formed from *cunctans*, not *cunctatus*. But Pliny and Suetonius use *cunctatior*. Heraeus reads *cunctator*. *tamquam adfinitatis*. "Since they thought that he remembered his relationship with Vitellius." What his connection with Vitellius was we do not know.

6. *perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur*. They thought his object was, to find some opportunity of throwing over Vespasian, and returning to his allegiance to Vitellius.

8. *legati nomen resumere*. He was *legatus pro praetore* of Pannonia.

10. *sed ut—praetenderetur*. "But that the name of a consular might be

consulare nomen surgentibus cum maxime partibus honesta specie praetenderetur.

5. Ceterum ut transmittere in Italiam inpune et usui foret, scriptum Aponio Saturnino, cum exercitu Moesico celeraret. Ac ne inermes provinciae barbaris nationibus exponerentur, principes Sarmatarum Iazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, 5 in commilitium adsciti. Plebem quoque et vim equitum, qua sola valent, offerebant: remissum id munus, ne inter discordias externa molirentur, aut maiore ex diverso mercede ius fasque exuerent. Trahuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus reges Suevorum, quis vetus obsequium erga Romanos, et gens fidei 10 commissae patientior. Posita in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia,

used to give an air of dignity to the movement on its very first rising." For cum maxime, see i. 29, note on line 14.

5. i. ceterum ut transmittere—inpune et usui foret. This use of the infinitive, as a substantive and nominative to the verb, is very rare in Cicero; see Madvig, § 388 a. Heraeus, considering the absolute use of transmittere impossible, inserts bellum after Italiam. For inpune esse, see Ann. i. 72; foret is post-classical for esset. It is at this point that the transposition of a page occurs in the Medicean, which has been copied in all the other MSS., a fact which proves that they are all derived from it. The page ends with satur, and the next begins with -nino cum exercitu Moesico celeraret; after a page beginning revirescere crederentur, c. 7, and ending ut inimici, c. 9 had been inserted. The fault was first discovered and set right by Pichena.

2. Aponio Saturnino. He was ruler of Moesia, see ii. 85 and 86; i. 79.

3. inermes provinciae—exponerentur. Inermes, "void of armies," see i. 11; ii. 83. Exponerentur is post-classical for obicerentur; so i. 11, "ipsa Italia cuicumque servitio exposita."

4. Sarmatarum Iazygum. They occupied the district between the Danube and the Theiss. They seem to have migrated from the shores of the Black Sea, Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. p. 216. They commanded the eastern flank of Pannonia. See i. 2 and 79.

5. in commilitium adsciti. The phrase is repeated, Ann. i. 60; it is supposed to be a military one. The word commilitium does not occur earlier than Velleius.

5. plebem et vim equitum. The

et is explanatory. The whole people were horsemen.

6. remissum id munus. Remissum, properly applied to tribute, here means "was refused."

7. externa molirentur. Literally "should meddle with things that did not concern them," "should adopt a hostile course." It seems possible, however, from iv. 32, "missus Montanus ad Civilem ut absisteret bello neve externa armis falsis velaret," that externus, like hostis, has acquired the sense of something hostile, instead of its proper meaning of foreign. ex diverso. "From the opposite party," as in ii. 7.

8. Sido atque Italicus reges Suevorum. The Suevi or Marcomanni lived in Bohemia, see Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. pp. 214, 216. We learn from Ann. xii. 29, 30, that Sido and Vangio rose against their uncle Vannius (made prince of the Suevi by Drusus Caesar), and succeeded in conjunction with Vibilius, king of the Hermunduri, in driving him from his throne, and forcing him to take refuge in Roman territory. The Italicus here mentioned was probably Vangio's successor.

9. vetus obsequium. From the days of Tiberius, they had been, on the whole, faithful to Rome.

9. fidei commissae. Orelli's correction of commissior of M. Heraeus suggests fidei quam iussorum patientior, but this is far from the MS. In Ann. xiii. 30, Tacitus praises the good faith of Sido and Vangio, "egregia adversus nos fide." The meaning is that they were more trustworthy than the Sarmatae Iazyges and so were taken on as allies in the civil war, while the others were left behind.

10. posita in latus auxilia, in-

cui Porcius Septiminus procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. Igitur Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum iuventute ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfuit, missus. Nec his aut illis praelium tentantibus, fortuna partibus alibi transacta. 15

6. Antonio vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapiendi comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello: quam gloriam et dux Corbulo et prosperae in Armenia res addiderant. Idem secretis apud Neronem sermonibus ferebatur Corbulonis virtutes criminatus; unde infami gratia 5 primum pilum adepto laeta ad praesens male parta mox in perniciem vertere. Sed Primus ac Varus occupata Aquileia per proxima quaeque et Opitergii et Altini laetis animis accipiuntur. Relictum Altini praesidium adversus classem 10 Ravennatem, nondum defectione eius audita. Inde Patavium et Ateste partibus adiungere. Illic cognitum tres Vitellianas

festa Raetia. The flank which would have to be protected from Raetia would be, of course, the right flank, as Raetia lay beyond Noricum, west of Pannonia. *Infesta Raetia* is an ablative absolute.

11. *cui Porcius Septiminus procurator erat.* In the smaller provinces, like Raetia, Noricum, etc., the *procuratores* were the actual governors, having in addition to their financial duties, military and judicial powers. Many editors with Rhenanus read *Septimius*.

12. *Sextilius Felix.* For the part he played later on, see iv. 70. It appears from inscriptions that the *ala Auriana* was identical with the *ala I. Hispanorum*. This *ala* is mentioned in several inscriptions found in Raetia, and seems to have been part of the permanent force quartered in that country; see C. I. L. tit. 5899 and 5924.

6. *i. vexillarios.* Drafts, detachments. The word is properly applied to veterans who had received their discharge, but were retained under the colours (*sub vexillo*). The word is, however, often used of any detachment serving under special colours, and away from the main body of the legion. See above, ii. 18, note on line 3.

2. *rapiendi.* "Hurriedly leading." The word is used again in the same sense, iv. 65.

2. *Arrius Varus*, at that time *praefectus cohortis sociorum*, had been employed by Corbulo in 54 A.D. in the delicate business of taking over from

Quadratus Ummidius legate of Syria (to whom they had at first been made over), certain hostages taken from Vologases, the Parthian king, Ann. xiii. 9.

4. *Idem secretis.* This is probably told in a part of the *Annals*, now lost, in which Tacitus described Corbulo's death.

5. *unde—primum pilum adepto.* *Unde* goes with *adepto* and equals "by which means." *Primum pilum*: he had been transferred from the *socii* into the regular legionaries and had risen to be first centurion of his legion. Which his legion was is not stated, probably the 3d, as it is with the men of this legion that he is described as having influence, iv. 39. *Adepto* itself depends on *vertere*.

6. *laeta ad praesens male parta—vertere.* Heracus brackets *male parta* as a gloss. Cf. ii. 70, for a similar phrase, "laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis fecere."

8. *proxima quaeque.* This is the reading of M., and is clearly corrupt, as it has nothing to govern it; Orelli suggests *per proxima quaeque*. Ritter, with more probability, holds that a word (or possibly several words) has dropped out after it, such as *trahunt, adfectant*.

8. *Opitergil.* Now Oderzo. *Altini.* Altino, a village in the Venetian territory.

9. *classem Ravennatem.* M. reads *classis Ravennatis*, and Heracus inserts *conatus*.

10. *Patavium* is now Padua. *Ateste*, now Este.

cohortes et alam, cui Sebosianae nomen, ad Forum Alieni ponte iuncto consedissee. Placuit occasio invadendi incuriosos : nam id quoque nuntiabatur. Luce prima inermos plerosque
 15 oppressere. Praedictum ut paucis interfectis ceteros pavore ad mutandam fidem cogerent. Et fuere qui se statim dederent. Plures abrupto ponte instanti hosti viam abstulerunt.

7. Volgata victoria, post principia belli secundum Flavianos duae legiones, septima Galbiana, tertia decima Gemina, cum Vedio Aquila legato Patavium alacres veniunt. Ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et Minucius Iustus praefectus castrorum
 5 legionis septimae, quia adductius quam civili bello imperitabat, subtractus militum irae ad Vespasianum missus est. Desiderata diu res interpretatione gloriae in maius accipitur, postquam Galbae imagines discordia temporum subversas in omnibus municipiis recoli iussit Antonius, decorum pro causa ratus, si
 10 placere Galbae principatus et partes revirescere crederentur.

8. Quaesitum inde quae sedes bello legeretur. Verona potior visa, patentibus circum campis ad pugnam equestrem, qua praevalerent : simul coloniam copiis validam auferre

12. cui Sebosianae nomen. M. reads *Sebonianae*, but the name is uniformly given *Sebosiana* in the inscriptions. It appears from these that in Trajan's time this *ala* was stationed in Britain, C. I. L. 1193. Its *castra stativa* was probably at Lancaster, Inscr. 287. An interesting notice of its prefect, Caius Tetius Veturius Micianus, has been found in Weardale, C. I. L. 451.

12. Forum Alieni, not elsewhere mentioned, is by some identified with Ferrara, by others with Legnago.

7. 1. volgata victoria. Orelli inserts after this *post principia belli secundum Flavianos*; Heraeus, on the other hand, transposes these words, and regards them as the close of the last chapter. He also understands very curiously *victoria*, "the victory of Bedriacum," not the one which Tacitus had just recorded; but this is quite impossible.

2. duae legiones, septima Galbiana tertia decima Gemina. These were both stationed in Pannonia. The 7th was Antonius Primus's own legion, the 13th was under the command of Vedius Aquila, ii. 44. It was the favourable opening of the war which induced these two legions to declare so promptly for Vespasian, and at once to follow

Antonius, by whom they had in the first instance been left behind,

5. adductius quam civili bello. "Too strictly to suit a time of civil war." The metaphor is from drawing tight the reins, cf. G. 44, "Gothones regnantur paulo iam adductius."

7. interpretatione gloriae in maius accipitur. The words refer to what follows—the restoration of Galba's images. This act was, says Tacitus, valued at more than it deserved, by the construction put upon it, and by the boasting which was made about it. *Gloria* has not unfrequently the sense of boasting, see Ann. i. 8, "gloria et iactantia." Galba was looked on with affection, partly as chosen by the senate, partly as the representative of the older régime. recoli. "Should be replaced for purposes of worship." Ritter, however, understands the passage quite differently, thinking that some words have dropped out, and explaining *desiderata diu res* of the discipline exercised by Minucius Iustus.

8. 1. quaesitum inde. "After that a discussion took place;" "the question was raised."

3. qua praevalerent. For the strength of the Flavians in cavalry, see above, c. 2.

Vitellio in rem famamque videbatur. Possessa ipso transitu
 Vicetia; quod per se parum (etenim modicae municipio vires) 5
 magni momenti locum obtinuit reputantibus illic Caecinam
 genitum et patriam hostium duci ereptam. In Veronensibus
 pretium fuit: exemplo opibusque partes iuvare. Et interiectus
 exercitus inter Raetiam Iuliasque Alpes; ac ne pervium illa Ger-
 manicis exercitibus foret, obseperat. Quae ignara Vespasiano 10
 aut vetita: quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum exspectarique Muci-
 anum iubebat, adiciebatque imperio consilium, quando Aegyp-
 tus, claustra annonae, vectigalia opulentissimarum provinciarum
 obtinerentur, posse Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii frumen-
 tique ad deditionem subigi. Eadem Mucianus crebris epistolis 15
 monebat, incruentam et sine luctu victoriam et alia huiuscemodi
 praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus atque omne belli decus sibi
 retinens. Ceterum ex distantibus terrarum spatiis consilia post
 res adferebantur.

9. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hostium in-
 rupt, tentatisque levi praelio animis ex aequo discessum.
 Mox Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium, et paludes

4. in rem famamque. "Conducive to their interests and prestige. For *in rem*, see Ann. iv. 33, "in rem fuerit;" it is often used in Plautus, Livy, Sallust, etc.

5. Vicetia, now Vicenza, situated between Padua and Verona. That *Vicetia* and not *Vicentia* is the right reading, is proved by two inscriptions quoted by Orelli.

6. reputantibus is the dative after *locum obtinuit*.

7. in Veronensibus pretium fuit. "The Veronese were a prize worth the getting." *Pretium fuit* is generally explained *pretium operae fuit*; but the explanation does not suit the present passage, in which *pretium* seems to retain its proper meaning of a thing of price. The phrase seems not to occur earlier than Tacitus, who uses it in Ann. i. 57, and ii. 35.

8. interiectus exercitus inter Raetiam Iuliasque Alpes. Orelli reads *per Raetiam*, following M., which has *ptiam* = *Pratiam* = *per Raetiam*; Ritter *inter Raetiam*. *Per* can hardly stand in the sense of *inter*, and there was no proposal to send the troops to Raetia itself. The sense is pretty clear; the army at Verona was interposed between Raetia, which was held in Vitellius's interests by its pro-

curator Porcius Septiminius, (above, c. 5) and the Julian Alps (over which the Brenner pass gave direct communication with Germany) on the one side, and the Vitellianist army in Italy on the other, so that reinforcements could with difficulty be received by the latter from the north. Heraeus brackets *ac*; if it is omitted *interiectus* is a participle, if retained a verb, and we must supply *est*. illa. "By that way."

10. ignara. "Unknown to." It has frequently this passive sense in Tacitus, as in Vergil and Sallust; moreover *gnarus* is used for *notus*, Ann. xi. 32.

12. consilium. "The sound advice." claustra annonae. "The keys of the corn trade," Alexandria. vectigalia opulentissimarum provinciarum, i.e. of Syria, Asia, and Egypt.

16. sine luctu is equivalent to an adjective like the Greek *ἀδύπνους*.

17. praetexendo. Tacitus, for the sake of variety, makes the gerund take the place of the participle.

9. 3. inter Hostiliam et—paludes Tartari fluminis. He had already settled to go to Hostilia, see above, ii. 100. It is situated on the left bank of the Po, south-east of Mantua. The river Tartaro is east of this.

- Tartari fluminis castra permuniit, tutus loco, cum terga flumine,
 5 latera obiectu paludis tegerentur. Quodsi adfuisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus duae legiones, nondum coniuncto Moesico exercitu, potuere, aut retro actae deserta Italia turpem fugam conscivissent. Sed Caecina per varias moras prima hostibus prodidit tempora belli, dum quos armis
 10 pellere promptum erat, epistulis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiae firmaret. Interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima Claudiana advenit. Legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praeerat, claris maioribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. Has ad copias nequaquam
 15 Vitellianis pares (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit epistulas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans. Simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus attollebatur, Vitellii modica et vulgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus quod aut corrumpere hostem aut terreret. Flavi-
 20 anarum partium duces, omissa prioris fortunae defensione, pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa fidenter, de exercitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici praesumpserunt, facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi quae Vitellius indulgisset spe. Atque ipsum Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. Recitatae
 25 pro contione epistulae addidere fiduciam, quod submisit Caecina, velut offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim, tamquam insultantes Vitellio, scripsissent.

7. *potuere* expresses the more likely and immediate result, *conscivissent* the more remote and consequential. For the latter word, see Liv. v. 53, "exilium ac fugam nobis consciveramus."

9. *tempora belli*. *Kapoi*, favourable opportunities; cf. c. 40. "agendi tempora."

11. *Aponius Saturninus*. We are told in ii. 85 that he was "Moesiae rector;" see also iii. 5.

12. *tribunus Vipstanus Messalla*. The legate Tettius Julianus had fled, and Messalla probably, as senior tribune, had succeeded to the command. He wrote a history of the civil wars, or of so much of them as came under his own observation. For a fuller account of him, see note on iv. 42, and *Introd.* p. 21. He is referred to by Tacitus as an authority, chaps. 25 and 28.

15. *tres adhuc legiones erant*. The 7th Galbiana, the 13th Gemina, and the 7th Claudiana.

16. *victa arma tractantium*. "Taking up arms again after their defeat at Bedriacum."

18. *vulgari mentione*. "Expressed in general terms," as Cic. ad Fam. i. 3, 2, "eum ita tractes ut intellegat meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse."

21. *de exercitu securi*. Lipsius, however, proposed *de exitu*. Orelli defends the reading of M., explaining it as an answer to the praises which Caecina had lavished on the German army. The Flavians pretend no fear of it.

22. *In Vitellium ut inimici praesumpserunt*. "They passed an unfavourable judgment in advance on Vitellius, in the spirit of personal enemies," i.e. they loaded him with abuse. For this use of *praesumere*, see Quinct. xi. 1, 27.

23. *quae Vitellius indulgisset*. For these, see i. 58, and ii. 94.

25. *pro contione*. In a public meet-

10. Adventu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus tertiam Dillius Aponianus, octavam Numisius Lupus ducebant, ostentare vires et militari vallo Veronam circumdare placuit. Forte Galbiana legionem in adversa fronte valli opus cesserat, et visi procul sociorum equites vanam formidinem ut hostes fecere. 5 Rapiuntur arma, et ut proditiōis ira militum in Tampiū Flavianum incubuit, nullo criminis argumento, sed iam pridem invisus turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur: propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem donativi clamitabant. Nec defensionis locus, quamquam supplices manus tenderet, 10 humi plerumque stratus, lacera veste, pectus atque ora singultu quatiens. Id ipsum apud infensos incitamentum erat, tamquam nimis pavor conscientiam argueret. Obturbatur militum vocibus Aponius, cum loqui coeptaret; fremitu et clamore ceteros aspernantur. Uni Antonio apertae militum aures: namque et 15 facundia aderat mulcendique volgum artes et auctoritas. Ubi crudescere seditio, et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant, inici catenas Flaviano iubet. Sensit ludibrium miles, disiectisque qui tribunal tuebantur, extrema vis parabatur. Opposuit sinum Antonius, stricto ferro, aut militum se 20 manibus aut suis morituro obtestans; ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem aspexerat, ad ferendam opem nomine ciens. Mox conversus ad signa et bellorum deos, hos-

ing of the Flavian soldiers, see iv. 24, proving the relaxation of discipline.

10. 1. *tertiā, octavā*. These two legions had been stationed in Moesia.

3. *militari vallo*. There were to be lines outside the walls of the town.

4. in *adversa fronte valli opus cesserat*. "The work of making the rampart had fallen to them on the side which faced the enemy (opposed to *aversa frons*);" in this case the western side.

6. et ut *proditiōis ira militum*. Of this, the reading of M., it is difficult to make sense. Orelli takes *proditiōis* as an objective, *militum* as a subjective genitive, "the anger of the soldiers at his treachery." *Ut* will mean "when." This is the best sense which can be got out of the words if the reading is right. Ritter suggests *auctorem* after *proditiōis*. Heraeus substitutes *metu* for *et ut* and puts a full stop after it. This much improves the sense.

8. *turbine quodam* means "with a kind of whirlwind of passion."

8. propinquum Vitellii. See above, c. 4.

11. humi plerumque stratus. "Often throwing himself on the ground." Cicero would hardly use *plerumque* thus absolutely for "repeatedly."

12. tamquam. "From the view that."

16. ubi crudescere. This use of the historical infinitive with temporal conjunctives is almost peculiar to Tacitus; Furn. Int. v. 46 c.

18. sensit ludibrium miles. "The soldiers saw through the farce," i. 45, and c. 58 below.

23. conversus ad signa et bellorum deos. The images on the eagles were actually worshipped as gods, Ann. ii. 17, "propria legionum numina," and Ann. i. 39. Dionys. Halic. says, speaking of the eagles, *οὐδρα ὥσπερ ἰδρύματα θεῶν ἡπὶ νομίσαντο*. *obvīs Vespasiani litteris*. "By a letter of Vespasian which met him on the road;" the letter acquitted him of treachery and summoned him into Vespasian's own presence, and so delivered him from danger.

tium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam inicerent
 25 orabat, donec fatisceret seditio et extremo iam die sua quisque
 in tentoria dilaberentur. Profectus eadem nocte Flavianus
 obviis Vespasiani litteris discrimini exemptus est.

11. Legiones, velut tabe infectae, Aponium Saturninum
 Moesici exercitus legatum eo atrocius adgrediuntur, quod non,
 ut prius, labore et opere fessae, sed medio diei exarserant, vol-
 gatis epistulis quas Saturninus ad Vitellium scripsisse crede-
 5 batur. Ut olim virtutis modestiaeque, tunc procacitatis et
 petulantiae certamen erat, ne minus violenter Aponium quam
 Flavianum ad supplicium deposcerent. Quippe Moesicae
 legiones adiutam a se Pannonicorum ultionem referentes, et
 Pannonici, velut absolventur aliorum seditione, iterare culpam
 10 gaudebant. In hortos, in quibus devertebatur Saturninus,
 pergunt. Nec tam Primus et Aponianus et Messalla, quam-
 quam omni modo nisi, eripuerunt Saturninum, quam obscuritas
 latebrarum quibus occulebatur, vacantium forte balnearum
 fornacibus abditus. Mox omissis lictoribus Patavium concessit.
 15 Digressu consularium uni Antonio vis ac potestas in utrumque
 exercitum fuit, cedentibus collegis et obversis militum studiis.
 Nec deerant qui crederent utramque seditionem fraude Antonii
 coeptam, ut solus bello frueretur.

12. Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae mentes exitio-
 siore discordia, non suspicionibus vulgi sed perfidia ducum,
 turbabantur. Lucilius Bassus classis Ravennatis praefectus
 ambiguos militum animos, quod magna pars Dalmatae Pan-
 5 noniique erant, quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebantur, partibus

11. 1. *velut tabe infectae*. Cf. i. 26, "infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas iam mentes."

1. *Aponium Saturninum*. He almost deserved his fate, for his attempted treachery to Tettius Julianus, ii. 85.

8. *adiutam a se ultionem*. It would seem from this that the Moesian legions had joined in the sedition against Tampus Flavianus, which had proved so successful.

11. *Primus, Aponianus, Messalla* were the commanders of the 7th Galbiana, the 3d, and the 7th Claudiana, the two last Moesian legions.

14. *omissis lictoribus*. *Omissis* instead of the more usual *dimissis*. As the commander of a province, he would have lictors.

16. *obversis* for *conversis* is unusual as

applied to mental facts, "being turned toward him." It occurs again in c. 83.

12. 1. *ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae mentes*. Heraeus makes this a separate clause. Orelli regards it as the nominative to *turbabantur*. In this latter case the negative must be taken closely with *quietae*.

4. *quod magna pars Dalmatae Pannoniique erant*. Since it is the individuals comprising it, rather than the part collectively who are looked at, the verb and the predicate are alike put in the plural. Madvig, § 215.

5. *Vespasiano* may be either dative or ablative, most likely the former, as they were not only held by him, but also in his interest. See Furn. Int. v. §§ 18 and 26.

5. *partibus eius adgregaverat*.

eius adgregaverat. Nox proditioni electa, ut ceteris ignaris soli in principia defectores coirent. Bassus pudore, seu metu quisnam exitus foret, intra domum opperiebatur. Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines invadunt; et paucis resistantium obtruncatis ceterum volgus rerum novarum studio in Vespasianum inclinabat. Tum progressus Lucilius auctorem se palam praebet. Classis Cornelium Fuscum praefectum sibi destinat qui propere adcurrit. Bassus honorata custodia Liburnicis navibus Atriam pervectus, a praefecto alae Vivennio Rufino, praesidium illic agitante, vincitur. Sed exsoluta statim vincula interventu Hormi Caesaris liberti: is quoque inter duces habebatur.

13. At Caecina, defectione classis volgata, primores centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militiae munia dispersis, secretum castrorum adfectans in principia vocat. Ibi Vespasiani virtutem viresque partium extollit: transfugisse classem; in arto commeatum, adversas Gallias Hispaniasque, nihil in urbe fidum; atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. Mox

"Had won over to his cause." The expression does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus.

7. seu metu quisnam exitus foret. "Fear as to what the issue might be."

8. trierarohi. It was thus that the commanders of the larger ships were called. The word has, of course, a quite different sense in Greek.

9. paucis resistantium obtruncatis. Cicero would have said *qui restiterant*, Livy, *qui restitissent*. In Tacitus, the present participle has acquired much more the force of a regular noun. For *obtruncatis*, M. has, by an obvious slip, *obumbratis*.

12. Corneltum Fuscum. For him, see ii. 86, iii. 5. It was his energy, compared with the hesitation and inert character of Bassus, which commended him to the sailors.

13. honorata custodia Liburnicis navibus Atriam pervectus. He had a military escort, who acted practically as his gaolers. The *Liburnicae nares* were used as despatch-boats. He was so half-hearted that he seems to have been nearly equally distrusted by the party he betrayed and the party he joined. The order of events seems natural enough, though some of the editors have taken exception to it. *Atria*, called also *Adria* and *Hadria*, gave its name to the Adriatic,

near the northern extremity of which it was situated.

16. Hormi—is quoque inter duces habebatur. For Hormus, see below, c. 28 and iv. 39. For a similar expression of disgust at the part freedmen had come to play, see i. 76, "nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt."

18. 2. per militiae munia dispersis. *Munia* is a correction for *munera* of M., Nipperdey having shown by a large collection of instances that, in the nominative and accusative plural, Tacitus always has *munera* for gifts, *munia* for duties.

3. secretum castrorum adfectans. "Making a display of having a war secret to discuss." Others explain "eagerly waiting till the camp was quiet." M. reads *secretorum*, probably a slip. This has been corrected into *secretis*, but this could only mean selecting secret places in the camp, a meaning which is contradicted by *in principia vocat*, which follows.

5. in arto commeatum. "That provisions are running scarce." Cf. Ann. iv. 32. Tacitus is fond of these adverbial phrases with prepositions; cf. *in fama* below.

6. atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. Some word like *refert* has to be supplied. "He makes out Vitellius's case as worse on all points than it really is."

incipientibus qui conscii aderant, ceteros re nova attonitos in verba Vespasiani adigit. Simul Vitellii imagines dereptae, et missi qui Antonio nuntiarent. Sed ubi totis castris in fama
 10 proditio, recurrens in principia miles praescriptum Vespasiani nomen, proiectas Vitellii effigies aspexit, vastum primo silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt. "Huc cecidisse Germanici exercitus gloriam, ut sine praelio, sine vulnere vinctas manus et capta traderent arma? Quas enim ex diverso legiones?
 15 Nempe victas. Et abesse unicum Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecumanosque; quos tamen isdem illis campis fuderint straverintque, ut *tot* armatorum milia, velut grex venalium, exsuli Antonio donum darentur. Octo nimirum legiones unius classis accessionem fore. Id Basso, id Caecinae visum: post-
 20 quam domos hortos opes principi abstulerint, etiam militibus principem auferre. Integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque

We have other similar phrases, such as *in mollius, in maius*.

7. *in verba Vespasiani adigit*. "He dictates the oath of allegiance to Vespasian, and makes the soldiers repeat it after him." See above, i. 55 and Ann. i. 34.

8. *Vitellii imagines dereptae*. The portrait of the reigning emperor was sewed on the colours of the cohorts and companies.

9. *in fama proditio*. "The treachery got noised about through the whole camp." Tacitus is fond of using a substantive with prepositions in this way as predicates.

10. *praescriptum—nomen*. The name, too, of the emperor was inscribed on the colours. Suetonius (Vesp. 6) says, "nomen eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt."

11. *proiectas Vitellii effigies*. Small busts of the emperor were kept along with the eagles in the *principia*, see i. 36, "in quo (*i.e.* suggestu) paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat," and Ann. xv. 29. Hegesippus says that the repentance of the soldiers did not take place till the next morning, but Josephus agrees with Tacitus.

12. *cuncta simul erumpunt*. "All their pent-up feelings find expression at once." Others take *cuncta* as an accusative, "they break out at all points." This is less likely.

14. *ex diverso*. "Opposed to them." See above, c. 5.

16. *primanos quartadecumanosque*. The first of them had been sent off to Spain, the second to Britain. See ii. 66 and 67.

17. *ut tot*. *Tot*, wanting in M., is inserted by many editors. *Ut* is differently understood; Orelli takes it closely with what precedes "whom they had routed and overthrown only for this that, in their thousands, with arms in their hands, they should be surrendered to Antonius," etc. Heraeus makes it the beginning of a new sentence, an indignant interrogation "to think that!" etc. We should have in this latter case to supply some words such as *num fieri posset*. Heraeus's explanation makes the passage more forcible.

18. *exsuli Antonio*. Antonius had been banished for his malpractices, ii. 86; Ann. xiv. 40.

19. *accessionem fore*. "A mere adjunct to." Cf. for this use of the word Liv. vii. 30. Cicero, Sest. § 68, uses *additamentum* in this sense. For the eight legions under Caecina's command, see ii. 100.

20. *etiam militibus principem auferre*. M., after *auferre*, inserts *litem*. This may be intended as a correction of *militibus*, suggesting *principi auferre militem* as the right reading. This is read in some MSS., and by some editors. Heraeus combines both readings, making the sentence run *etiam militem principi, militibus principem auferre*. But the other suggested contrast is the more effective: "when they had stolen all they could in the city, they would carry on their depredations still in the camp; and having robbed the emperor of his goods, would rob the soldiers of their emperor."

partibus viles, quid dicturos reposcentibus aut prospera aut adversa?"

14. Haec singuli, haec universi, ut quemque dolor inpulerat, vociferantes, initio a quinta legione orto, repositis Vitellii imaginibus vincla Caecinae iniiciunt; Fabium Fabullum quintae legionis legatum et Cassium Longum praefectum castrorum duces deligunt; forte oblatos trium Liburnicarum milites, 5 ignaros et insontes, trucidant; relictis castris, abrupto ponte Hostilium rursus, inde Cremonam pergunt, ut legionibus primae Italicae et unietvicesimae Rapaci iungerentur, quas Caecina ad obtinendam Cremonam cum parte equitum praemisera.

15. Ubi haec comperta Antonio, discordes animis, discretos viribus hostium exercitus adgredi statuit, antequam ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et iunctis legionibus fiducia rediret. Namque Fabium Valentem profectum ab urbe adceleraturum- 5 que cognita Caecinae prodicione conieciabat; et fidus Vitellio Fabius, nec militiae ignarus. Simul ingens Germanorum vis per Raetiam timebatur; ex Britannia Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat, immensam belli luem, ni Antonius id ipsum metuens festinato praelio victoriam praecepisset. Uni- 10 verso cum exercitu secundis a Verona castris Bedriacum venit. Postero die legionibus ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares

22. quid dicturos reposcentibus aut prospera aut adversa? "To those who asked an explanation of their success or their failure." The infinitive is used because in oratio recta the question would be in the first person. He means: they could neither explain what they had done with their victory, nor how they had suffered defeat. *Reposco* is to ask with the expectation of an answer.

14. 2. a quinta legione. It had distinguished itself at Bedriacum, ii. 43, and had been, from the first, enthusiastic in Vitellius's cause.

3. Fabium Fabullum, Cassium Longum. Nothing more is known of either of them.

6. abrupto ponte. The bridge over the Tartaro, mentioned in c. 9.

7. ut legionibus—iungerentur. For the despatch of these legions, see ii. 100.

15. 3. iunctis legionibus. This refers to the conjunction of the two armies lately under the command of Caecina, and also of such troops as Fabius Valens might bring up with him from the city.

6. simul ingens Germanorum vis per Raetiam timebatur. Vitellius's army had been largely recruited in Germany. Vitellius and Valens had both many friends among the chiefs of the native tribes in Germany. The way was open to them, since Raetia, Eastern Switzerland, and the Tyrol were held by Porcius Septimius, c. 5, for Vitellius.

7. ex Britannia—acciverat. See ii. 97. *belli luem*. "Destructive force;" this is so harsh an expression that, in spite of the authority of M., it can hardly stand; (it would probably be better to read) *molem*.

9. victoriam praecepisset. "Snatched the victory in advance," before they could come up.

10. secundis a Verona castris. In two days' march from Verona. The Romans regularly encamped each night, and so reckoned the number of days' march by the camps; cf. iv. 71.

11. ad muniendum retentis. "To fortify their camp." *Munire* is here used absolutely.

cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missae, ut specie parandarum copiarum civili praeda miles inbueretur. Ipse cum quattuor milibus equitum ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus, quo licentius popularentur. Exploratores, ut mos est, longius curabant.

16. Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques adventare hostes, praegredi paucos, motum fremitumque late audiri nuntiavit. Dum Antonius quidnam agendum consultat, aviditate navandae operae Arrius Varus cum promptissimis equitum prorupit, inpulitque Vitellianos, modica caede: nam plurium adkursu versa fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium fugae ultimus erat. Nec sponte Antonii properatum, et fore quae acciderant rebatur. Hortatus suos ut magno animo capesserent pugnam, diductis in latera turmis vacuum medio relinquit iter, quo Varum equitesque eius reciperet; iussae armari legiones; datum per agros signum ut, qua cuique proximum, ommissa praeda praelio occurreret. Pavidus interim Varus turbae suorum miscetur, intulitque formidinem. Pulsi cum sauciis integri suomet ipsi metu et angustiis viarum conflictabantur.

17. Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius constantis ducis aut fortissimi militis officium omisit. Occursare paventibus, retinere cedentes, ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua spes, consilio

13. *civili praeda miles inbueretur.* "Might be accustomed to plundering from citizens." The auxiliary cohorts might well feel at first a scruple in plundering from Romans. Their appetites, too, would be whetted by this preliminary taste of booty.

15. *longius curabant.* "Carried on their duties farther afield." Some read *cursabant* needlessly.

16. 1. *quinta ferme hora diei, i.e.* about eleven o'clock in the morning.

4. *Arrius Varus.* For the previous exploits of this commander, see above, c. 6.

5. *nam plurium adkursu.* This explains the previous words, *modica caede.*

6. *fugae ultimus erat.* This probably means "went the greatest lengths in flight," as Ritter contends. For to take *ultimus* as equivalent to *postremus*, and translate it "brought up the rear in flight," would be to state a fact so obvious as to be almost meaningless. Walther tries to get a sense for it by explaining it of the Vitellian, not the Flavian troops.

7. *sponte Antonii.* "By the wish of Antonius." Cf. iv. 19, "*sponte legatorum*;" Ann. ii. 59, and in other places. This construction of *sponte* with the genitive had been used before, by Varro and Pliny the elder.

7. *quae acciderant.* This, the reading of M., has been somewhat needlessly altered by Heraeus and others into *acciderunt*, on the strength of certain parallel passages in Caesar.

12. *proello occurreret.* "Take his part in the battle;" so Liv. x. 43, "*neutri proelio occurrerunt.*"

14. *conflictabantur* may be either literal "were dashed against one another," or figurative (as in Ann. i. 58, vi. 51), "were harassed." The first is to be preferred.

17. 1. *constantis ducia.* The passage is copied from Sall. Cat. 60, "*strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur.*"

3. *consilio manu voce.* The ablatives depend on the two adjectives. In Ann. ii. 17. "*inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam.*"

manu voce insignis hosti, conspicuus suis. Eo postremo ardoris
 proventus est ut vexillarium fugientem hasta transverberaret. 5
 Mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit. Quo pudore haud
 plures quam centum equites restitere. Iuvit locus, artiore illic
 via et fracto interfluentis rivi ponte, qui incerto alveo et praeci-
 pitibus ripis fugam impediabat. Ea necessitas seu fortuna 10
 lapsas iam partes restituit. Firmati inter se densis ordinibus
 excipiunt Vitellianos temere effusos. Atque illi consternantur.
 Antonius instare percussis, sternere obvios. Simul ceteri, ut
 cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere. Et
 exciti prospero clamore, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur,
 victoriae se miscebant. 15

18. Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legionum signa
 Râpâcis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum suorum praelio
 illuc usque provecta. Sed ubi fortuna contra fuit, non laxare
 ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obviam ire ultroque adgredi 5
 hostem tantum per spatium cursu et pugnando fessum. Forte
 recti, haud perinde rebus prosperis ducem desideraverant atque
 in adversis deesse intellegebant. Nutantem aciem victor
 equitatus incursat; et Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis
 auxiliariis adsequitur, quos militiae legionariis quamquam 10
 raptim ductos aequabant. Ita mixtus pedes equesque rupere
 legionum agmen. Et propinqua Cremonensium moenia quanto
 plus spei ad effugium, minorem ad resistendum animum dabant.

5. vexillarium. The word has here, as in i. 41, the sense of a standard-bearer.

6. quo pudore. "Through shame at which."

8. interfluentis rivi. What the stream was is not certain, perhaps the Delmona or Dermona; it was a tributary of the Oglio. incerto alveo. "Its treacherous bed;" it gave them no firm or trustworthy footing.

11. atque, has here, as often, an adversative force: "and so in turn," or "and so at once."

18. 2. Râpâcis atque Italicae. Râpâx was the 21st, for which see ii. 43. Italica is the 1st, i. 59. These two legions had been sent on by Caecina to garrison Cremona; see above, c. 14.

3. non laxare ordines. It was the regular plan for the main body to open its ranks, and allow the defeated vanguard to retire through them, and reform in the rear.

5. tantum per spatium. They had

advanced eight miles from their camp. See c. 15.

5. forte recti. "Ruled by chance;" they had no regular general, as Caecina had deserted them. M. reads *forte victi*, which is hardly true as a matter of fact.

8. Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliariis. He was tribune of the 7th Claudiana stationed in Moesia, c. 9, and so would naturally take the command of the Moesian auxiliaries.

9. quos militiae legionariis. This as it stands is hardly translatable, though it has been taken to mean: "whom these various forms of warfare made equal to the legionaries." Ritter suggests *militia e legionariis*, "some soldiers of the legions." This emendation has the advantage of keeping very close to the MS., otherwise Duebner's suggestion *multi e legionariis* is much simpler. Heavily armed though the legionaries were, they still kept up with the auxiliary troops.

12. minorem — animum dabant.

19. Nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac volnerum, quibus tam anceps praelii fortuna, quamvis prospero fine, equites equosque adfluctaverat. Inumbrante vespera universum Flaviani exercitus robur advenit. Utque cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia incessere, quasi debellatum foret, pergere Cremonam et victos in deditionem accipere aut expugnare deposcunt. Haec in medio, pulchra dictu. Illa sibi quisque, "posse coloniam plano sitam impetu capi. Idem audaciae per tenebras inrumpentibus, et maiorem rapiendi licentiam. Quodsi
 5 lucem opperiantur, iam pacem, iam preces et pro labore ac volneribus clementiam et gloriam, inania, laturos: sed opes Cremonensium in sinu praefectorum legatorumque fore. Expugnatae urbis praedam ad militem, deditae ad duces pertinere." Spernuntur centuriones tribunique, ac ne vox cuiusquam audiatur,
 15 quatiunt arma, rupturi imperium, ni ducantur.

20. Tum Antonius inserens se manipulis, ubi aspectu et auctoritate silentium fecerat, non se decus neque pretium eripere tam bene meritis adfirmabat, "sed divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia: militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces
 5 providendo consultando cunctatione saepius quam temeritate prodesse. Ut pro virili portione armis ac manu victoriam iuverit, ratione et consilio, propriis ducis artibus, profuturum. Neque enim ambigua esse quae occurrant, noctem et ignotae situm urbis, intus hostes et cuncta insidiis opportuna. Non si

Tacitus not unfrequently omits the *tanto*; Ann. i. 2; i. 74, etc.

19. 3. *universum Flaviani exercitus robur*. The five legions, three from Moesia, and two from Pannonia, of which it was mainly composed.

4. *super* as governing both *cumulos* and *vestigia* is placed between them. For *recentia caede*, cf. Verg. Aen. ix. 455, "*tepidaque recentem caede locum*."

5. *pergere* — *deposcunt*. Tacitus uses the infinitive after many more verbs than it is found with in earlier and more classical writers.

7. *haec in medio*. "This they said openly, before all," as in Dial. 18. *Dicant* has to be supplied.

8. *plano sitam*. "Situated on the level." Tacitus is fond of these local ablatives, e.g. below, c. 48, we have "*turrim vicino sitam*;" Ann. ii. 52, "*legio medio*," "in the midst." *Idem audaciae*. "It requires no more courage."

12. *in sinu praefectorum legatorumque*. "Goes into the pockets of the commanders of the auxiliary forces, and the colonels of the legions." See Liv. xxxvii. 32, "*captas non deditas diripi urbes*, et in his tamen arbitrium esse imperatoris non militum."

20. 4. *munia*. For the use of this, as distinct from *munera*, see c. 13, note on line 2.

6. *pro virili portione*. Tacitus, here and Ag. 4, has substituted this for the more usual phrase *pro virili parte*, "to the best of his ability." Cf. with this Otho's speech, i. 83.

8. *neque enim*. "There can be no doubt about what they would have to encounter," for encountering which all the skill of the general would be required. *ambiguus* here has not its usual sense of "dangerous," but means "doubtful," "obscure."

pateant portae, nisi explorato, nisi die, intrandum. An obpugnationem inchoaturos adempto omni prospectu, quis aequus locus, quanta altitudo moenium, tormentisne et telis an operibus et vineis adgredienda urbs foret." Mox conversus ad singulos, "num secures dolabrasque et cetera expugnandis urbibus secum attulissent" rogitabat. Et cum abnuerent, "gladiisne" inquit 15 "et pilis perfringere ac subruere muros ullae manus possunt? Si aggerem struere, si pluteis cratibusve protegi necesse fuerit, ut volgus inprovidum, inriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium et aliena munimenta mirantes? Quin potius mora noctis unius, advectis tormentis machinisque, vim victoriamque nobiscum 20 ferimus?" Simul lixas calonesque cum recentissimis equitum Bedriacum mittit, copias ceteraque usui adlaturos.

21. Id vero aegre tolerante milite prope seditionem ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa moenia vagos ex Cremonensibus corripiunt, quorum indicio noscitur sex Vitellianas legiones omnemque exercitum qui Hostiliae egerat, eo ipso die triginta milia passuum emensum, comperta suorum clade in praelium 5 accingi ac iam adfore. Is terror obstructas mentes consiliiis ducis aperuit. Sistere tertiam decimam legionem in ipso viae Postumiae aggere iubet, cui iuncta a laevo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudiana, agresti fossa (ita

14. *dolabrasque*. These were long-handled spades or picks used for undermining walls and breaking in gates. The handle end could be used as a weapon, having a sharp blade attached to it. *cetera expugnandis urbibus*. *Expugnandis urbibus* is dative, dependent on *cetera*, "the other things needed for."

17. *aggerem struere*—*pluteis cratibusve*. It was usual to make a causeway on which to bring up the machines for attacking the walls. *Plutei* were wicker hurdles covered with raw hides, these and the *crates* being both used to give shelter to the besiegers.

19. *quin potius*. "Why not rather?" *Quin* has here its proper signification, = *qui non*; Madvig § 351, 3.

21. *cum recentissimis*. Those who had last arrived and who were, therefore, freshest.

22. *ceteraque usui* = *cetera quas usui forent*; a correction made in some MSS.; it is like *cetera expugnandis urbibus* above.

21. 3. *sex Vitellianas legiones*. The 1st Germanica, the 4th Macedonica,

the 5th Macedonica, the 15th and 16th Primigenia, and the 22d. *omnemque exercitum*. Besides the six legions, there were detachments of the 2d, the 9th, and the 20th, as well as the cavalry.

4. *triginta milia passuum emensum*. Hostilia is close to Verona, which is about 30 miles distant from Cremona.

7. *tertiam decimam legionem*. The 13th was the legion which had been engaged in the construction of amphitheatres at Cremona and Bononia. It had joined Antonius at Patavium. *sistere*. "To take its station." Used here and i. 35 intransitively; so too in Verg. Aen. xi. 873, and even in Cic. 2 Verr. iii. § 223.

7. *in ipso viae Postumiae aggere*. The Postumian road from Cremona to Verona, running through a low-lying damp country, was carried on a raised causeway.

8. *cui iuncta a laevo*, i.e. towards the Po, as it was facing west. The 7th Galbiana was the other Pannonian legion, and so would naturally be associated with the 13th.

- 10 locus erat) praemunita; dextro octava per apertum limitem, mox tertia densis arbustis intersepta. Hic aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat; praetorianum vexillum proximum tertianis, cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus; latera ac terga equite circumdata; Sido atque Italicus
15 Suevi cum delectis popularium primori in acie versabantur.

22. At Vitellianus exercitus, cui adquiescere Cremonae et recipere cibo somnoque viribus confectum algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac prouere ratio fuit, indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora paratis iam dispositisque Flavianis inpingitur. Ordinem agminis disiecti per iram ac tenebras adseverare non ausim, quamquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam dextro suorum cornu, quintam et quintam decumam cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicesimae Britannicarum legionum mediam aciem, sextadecumanos duo-

10. *per apertum limitem*. "Along an open path;" like *per ripas* "along the banks." This open path, running at right angles to the main road, is contrasted with the encumbered ground which the 3d legion occupied.

11. *hic aquilarum signorumque ordo*. Individual soldiers could not, in the darkness, always find their proper legion or company, so that they got mixed up.

12. *praetorianum vexillum*. The standard of the praetorians. The praetorians had been dismissed by Vitellius, but some of them had joined the Flavian army. See ii. 67 and 82.

13. *equite* is an instrumental ablative, a troop of horse not being regarded as a personal agent, Madvig, § 254, 3.

14. *Sido atque Italicus Suevi*. On them, see above, c. 5. This account of the arrangement of the Flavian forces was probably derived from Vipstanus Messalla, who was present; of the arrangement of the Vitellians no equally exact account could be given.

22. 2. *algore atque inedia*. It was now towards the end of October, and to have had to lie out all night would have been no small trial.

3. *cui—ratio fuit*. "Whose reasonable course would have been." *Fuit* for *fuisse*, on the analogy of *operas pretium fuit, aequius fuit*. Madvig, § 348, obs. 1, explains it thus: "the rationale of the construction is that the indicative expresses the absolute character of the judgment, its independence of circumstances. When what might or ought to have happened is

declared without a condition, the indicative is generally used in Latin." For *ratio*, meaning a reasonable plan, see Cic. 1 Verr. ix. § 24, "minari divisoribus ratio non erat;" Tac. Ann. iii. 21, "dum ea ratio barbaro fuit," is a little different.

4. *tertia ferme noctis hora, i.e.* towards nine o'clock in the evening.

5. *agminis disiecti per iram ac tenebras*. "Of the order of march which was dislocated by passion and the darkness."

6. *alii*. He probably refers here to Vipstanus Messalla and C. Pliny, who are mentioned as authorities below.

7. *quartam Macedonicam*. This was a legion of Upper Germany, and had not fought previously. It was opposed to the 7th Galbiana and the 7th Claudiana. *suorum* is somewhat pleonastic, but is inserted in order to help the reader to get the legions right.

7. *quintam et quintam decumam*. The 5th had fought in the previous battle, ii. 43; the 15th which, like the 5th, belonged to the army of Lower Germany, had not. For the detachments of the three legions from Britain, see ii. 97, and for the 20th, i. 60.

9. *sextadecumanos duos et vicesimanosque et primanos*. The 16th belonged to the army of Lower Germany; it had not been present at the earlier battle. The 22d belonged to the army of Upper Germany, i. 18, note on line 9. The *primani* are the men of the 1st Germanica, i. 55. This belonged to the army of Lower Germany.

etvicesimanosque et primanos laevum cornu complesse. Rapaces 10
 atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant. Eques auxilia-
 que sibi ipsi locum legere. Praelium tota nocte varium, anceps,
 atrox; his, rursus illis exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne
 oculi quidem provisu iuvabant. Eadem utraque acie arma;
 crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum; permixta 15
 vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc vel illuc rapta-
 bat. Urgēbatur maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba con-
 scripta. Occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones, abrepta
 quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus primipili centurio
 multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens servaverat. 20

23. Sustinuit labantem aciem Antonius accitis praetorianis.
 Qui ubi excepere pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur.
 Namque Vitelliani tormenta in aggerem viae contulerant, ut
 tela vacuo atque aperto excuterentur, dispersa primo et arbustis
 sine hostium noxa inlisa. Magnitudine eximia quintae decimae 5
 legionis ballista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat.
 Lateque cladem intulissent, ni duo milites praeclarum facinus
 ausi, arreptis e strage scutis ignorati, vincla ac libramenta tor-
 mentorum abscidissent. Statim confossi sunt, eoque intercidere

10. *Rapaces atque Italici.* These are the men of the 21st, and the 1st Italica. They had suffered so severely in the cavalry fight just before (c. 18), that they had not been able to reform. There were thus nominally eight legions, and detachments of three others on the Vitellian side opposed to five on the Flavian side; but two of the Vitellian legions had been already demoralised; the remaining six had by no means their full complement, and the Flavians had a great advantage in cavalry.

13. *his, rursus illis* for *modo his, modo illis*; so in c. 83, "*aderat pugnantibus spectator populus utque in ludicro certamine hos, rursus illos, clamore et plausu fovebat.*"

15. *notum pugnae signum.* The watchword on each side had become known to the other.

17. *urgēbatur maxime.* It stood *patenti campo*; see last chapter.

19. *ipsam aquilam.* The eagle was under the special charge of the *centurio primipilaris*, though carried by a special *signifer*.

23. 1. *accitis praetorianis.* They had been stationed on the extreme right; see c. 21.

2. *excepere pugnam* is to carry on or take part in a battle which has been already begun.

4. *vacuo atque aperto.* *Heraeus*, without authority of MSS., inserts *e*. The ablative can be explained as one of these local ablatives of which Tacitus is so fond. The open causeway is contrasted with the country round, choked by trees, vines, and shrubs.

6. *ballista.* This was an instrument for throwing heavy stones. They were raised by a pulley, and slung out at an angle of 45°.

8. *arreptis e strage scutis.* They seized the shields from a heap of the enemy's dead, and so crept up unperceived. *vincla ac libramenta tormentorum.* The plural *tormentorum* is a difficulty. *Heraeus* brackets the word. *Lipsius* suggests *tormento tum* (or *clam*). *Orelli* understands it of other machines, also on the raised causeway. As the *ballista* was a complicated machine, the plural may be used to express its many parts. The stone was poised by means of weights behind attached by chains, and it was these that the soldiers cut off.

9. *intercidere.* "Have been forgotten;" so *Liv.* ii. 8, "*memoria intercidit.*"

10 nomina : de facto haud ambigitur. Neutro inclinaverat fortuna, donec adulta nocte luna surgens ostenderet acies falleretque. Sed Flavianis aequior a tergo ; hinc maiores equorum virorumque umbrae, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu tela hostium citra cadebant : Vitelliani adverso lumine conlucentes velut ex
15 occulto iaculantibus incauti offerebantur.

24. Igitur Antonius ubi noscere suos noscique poterat, alios pudore et probris, multos laude et hortatu, omnes spe promissisque accendens, "cur rursum sumpsissent arma," Pannonicas legiones interrogabat : "illos esse campos in quibus abolere
5 labem prioris ignominiae, ubi recipere gloriam possent." Tum ad Moesicos conversus principes auctoresque belli ciebat : "frustra minis et verbis provocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum oculosque non tolerent." Haec, ut quosque accesserat ; plura ad tertianos, veterum recentiumque admonens, ut sub M.
10 Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios, nuper Sarmatas pepulissent. Mox infensius praetorianis "vos" inquit "nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quae castra alia excipient? Illic signa armaque vestra sunt, et mors victis : nam ignominiam consumpsistis." Undique clamor ; et orientem solem
15 (ita in Suria mos est) tertiani salutavere.

11. adulta nocte. So Ann. i. 23, "aestate iam adulta."

12. Flavianis aequior a tergo. The Flavians were facing west, so the rising moon would be behind them.

13. falso ut in corpora ictu. "With mistaken aim, as though reaching their bodies." *Ictus* is used of a weapon thrown ; so Lucan. "at saxum quotiens ingenti ponderis ictu excutitur." Plutarch, Pomp. 12, tells a story how Pompey was benefited by the same circumstance in one of his battles with Mithridates.

24. 2. pudore et probris. Translate "reproaches addressed to their sense of shame."

3. Pannonicas legiones. These were the 13th and the 7th Galbiana, which had both taken part in the previous battle of Bedriacum.

6. ad Moesicos. These were the 3d, the 7th Claudiana and the 8th. He calls them the originators and authors of the war because "ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistulas alliciebant Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant," ii. 85.

8. ut quosque accesserat. *Accedere* is used with a simple accusative, Ann.

ii. 58, xii. 31 ; in Sallust and in the poets.

9. sub M. Antonio Parthos. This was 104 years previously, but a Roman legion, like a modern regiment, was proud of its traditions.

10. sub Corbulone Armenios. In the reign of Nero, 63 A.D. The legion is described in Ann. xv. 26, as "integrum militem et crebris ac prosperis laboribus exercitum."

10. nuper Sarmatas, i.e. the Sarmatae Roxolani, i. 79.

11. infensius. "In more bitter terms."

12. pagani. There was a double reproach in this : they were civilians, no longer soldiers ; men of the country, no longer the soldiery of the capital.

13. illic. "In the hands of the enemy." Vitellius had had them disarmed and disbanded, ii. 57.

13. ignominiam consumpsistis. "You have drained the cup of ignominy to the dregs." So Curtius, vi. 8, 6, "scit eos qui misericordiam consumpserint."

14. ita in Suria mos est. They had been lately moved from Syria. Herodian, iv. 15, ἀσπασμένοι τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, οἱ βάρβαροι μεγίστην κλαγγὴν βοήσαντες ἐπέδραμον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

25. Vagus inde, an consilio ducis subditus rumor, advenisse Mucianum, exercitus in vicem salutasse. Gradum inferunt quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti, rariore iam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos nullo rectore suos quemque impetus vel pavor contraheret diduceretve. Postquam pulsos sensit Antonius, denso agmine obturbabat. Laxati ordines abrumpuntur; nec restitui quivere inpedientibus vehiculis tormentisque. Per limitem viae sparguntur festinatione consecrandi victores. Eo notabilior caedes fuit, quia filius patrem interfecit. Rem nominaque auctore Vipstano Messalla tradam. Iulius Mansuetus ex Hispania, Rapaci legioni additus, inpubem filium domi liquerat. Is mox adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus, oblatum forte patrem et volnere stratum dum semianimem scrutatur, agnitus agnoscensque et exsanguem amplexus, voce flebili precabatur piatos patris manes, neve se ut parricidam aversarentur: publicum id facinus; et num militem quotam civilium armorum partem? Simul attollere corpus, aperire humum, supremo erga parentem officio fungi. Advertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem aciem miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli exsecratio. Nec eo segnius propinquos adfinis fratres trucidatos spoliant; factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque.

25. 1. inde. As a consequence of the 3d legion having saluted the sun. *vagus*—an *consilio ducis*. Tacitus is fond, particularly in the *Annals*, of this use of *an*, without any word directly expressive of doubt preceding. See Ann. i. 13; i. 65, etc.

3. ut quos—diduceretve. *Quos* is the object of both verbs, but the two nominatives belong properly each to one verb, so that the full sentence would be *ut quos nullo rectore suos quemque impetus contraheret aut pavor diduceret*. There is a very similar construction, ii. 41, "ut cuique audacia vel formido in primam postremamve aciem prorumpabant aut relabebantur." *Impetus*. Military enthusiasm.

5. postquam pulsos. So M. Many editors read *impulsos*, since an impression had been made on them, but they were not yet routed; it is possible, however, that Tacitus has here (as so often) preferred the simple to the compound verb.

7. per limitem viae, i.e. the foot-path which ran parallel with the main road.

8. notabilior caedes fuit. "More noteworthy." So below, c. 54, "notabili constantia centurio Iulius Agrestis."

9. auctore Vipstano Messalla. He was an eye-witness probably of the event.

11. Rapaci legioni additus. *Additus* is for *adscriptus*. The Rapax (the 21st) had no connection with Spain, but recruits were received from any quarter.

12. inter septimanos. The 7th was raised by Galba in Spain, so it was natural for the young man to join it. The 7th is the Septima Galbiana.

14. exsanguem. "Bleeding to death." So c. 27.

15. piatos patris manes. Others *placatos*. This is the proleptic use of the adjective; "he prayed to his father's manes to be pacified." So Verg. Georg. iv. 547, "placatam Eurydicen vitula venerabere caesa." For *neve se* after *orare*, see Liv. iii. 50, "orabat ne quod scelus Appii Claudii esset, sibi attribuerent ne se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur."

16. publicum id facinus. The crime is a public crime, brought about by the civil war, not his, since he did it when on duty.

26. Ut Cremonam venire, novum immensumque opus occurrit. Othoniano bello Germanicus miles moenibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumiecerat eaque munimenta rursus auxerat. Quorum aspectu haesere victores, incertis ducibus quid iuberent. Incipere obpugnationem fesso per diem noctemque exercitu arduum et nullo iuxta subsidio anceps. Sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus tam longi itineris labor, et victoria ad inritum revolvebatur. Munire castra, id quoque propinquis hostibus formidolosum, ne dispersos et opus molientes subita eruptione turbarent. Quae super cuncta terrebat ipsorum miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe ingrata quae tuta, ex temeritate spes; omnisque caedes et volnera et sanguis aviditate praedae pensabantur.

27. Huc inclinavit Antonius, cingique vallum corona iussit. Primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, maiore Flavianorum pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur. Mox vallum portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discretus labor fortes ignavosque distingueret, atque ipsa contentione decoris accenderentur. Proxima Bedriacensi viae tertiani septimanique sumpsere, dexteriora valli octava ac septima Claudiana; tertiadecumanos ad Brixianam portam impetus tulit. Paulum inde morae, dum ex proximis agris ligones, dolabras, et alii falces scalasque con-

26. 2. Othoniano bello, *i.e.* in the war which culminated in the first battle of Bedriacum. Cremona had been then too the headquarters of the Vitellian troops.

4. rursus auxerat. They had put a wooden palisade on the top of the *vallum*.

6. nullo iuxta subsidio anceps. "Dangerous, as there was no reserve at hand." This use of a preposition with an ablative absolute is found also in Ann. ii. 24, "hostilibus circum litoribus;" iv. 65, "nullis contra terris."

9. ne dispersos. This sentence explains the reason why to fortify their camp was a formidable operation. For a similar construction, see ii. 26, "timuisse se Paulinus ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris ne Vitellianus miles recens e castris fessos adgrederetur."

10. quae super cuncta. "In addition to all of which." Prepositions of one syllable, more rarely of two, are often thus inserted between the relative and adjective.

13. pensabantur. The simple for the compound *compensabantur*.

27. 1. corona. A cordon of soldiers.

3. mox vallum portasque legionibus attribuit. He assigns different parts of the *vallum*, and different gates for attack to different legions, that, as each had its allotted portion of the assault, the brave or cowardly might be distinguished, and that they might have their zeal kindled by emulation for glory. Cf. iv. 73. decoris is an objective genitive.

5. proxima Bedriacensi viae. This conjunction of a neuter plural adjective with a dative is rare. tertiani septimanique, *i.e.* the 3d and the 7th Galbiana. Their portion was the eastern part. dexteriora valli, *i.e.* to the right of the defenders, the southern part. ad Brixianam portam. The gate which looked northwards to Brescia.

9. et alii. The meaning is not quite the same as *alii alii*, the *et alii* denoting that these are the smaller part; *alii* had been used by Livy, but *et alii* is peculiar to Tacitus; Ann. i. 63, "castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent," where see Furneaux's note.

vectant. Tum elatis super capita scutis, densa testudine 10 succedunt. Romanae utrinque artes: pondera saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt, disiectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur, donec soluta compage scutorum exsanguis aut laceros prosternerent multa cum strage. Incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi et velut inritas exhortationes ab- 15 nuenti Cremonam monstrassent.

28. Hormine id ingenium, ut Messalla tradit, an potior auctor sit G. Plinius qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim, nisi quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a fama vitaeque sua quamvis pessimo flagitio degeneravere. Non iam sanguis neque volnera morabantur, quin subruerent vallum quaterentque 5 portas, innixi humeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium tela brachiaque. Integri cum sauciis, semineces cum exspirantibus volvuntur, varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium.

29. Acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliariis eodem incubuerat. Obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent et super-

13. donec prosternerent. Cicero uses *donec* in the sense of "till at last," with the perfect indicative; Tacitus, either with the perfect indicative, or the present or imperfect subjunctive. Tacitus's use draws attention to the fact that the result was contemplated as an end.

14. *incesserat cunctatio*, ni—*Cremonam monstrassent*. This rhetorical use of the pluperfect, to express a thing which might have occurred on a certain condition but did not, is employed when the writer wishes to explain how near it was; Madvig, § 348 c. "They (the generals) pointed to Cremona, and the thought of all the rich spoil which lay there urged the soldiers on." For *incedere*, of feeling or a state of mind "coming over," see ii. 63.

28. 1. *Hormine id ingenium*. "Whether that was the device of Hormus." Hormus was a freedman of Vespasian, counting now (as Tacitus bitterly says, iii. 12), as one of the leaders in the war. For *ingenium*, see ii. 71; iv. 32, "dominorum ingenia." The word has a certain irony. For *Vipstanus Messalla*, see c. 9, note on line 12, and iv. 42, note on line 1.

2. G. Plinius. Pliny the elder, the author of the *Natural History*. His work in thirty-one books was a continua-

tion of that of Aufidius Bassus, who himself lived in the time of Claudius; it is dedicated to Titus, and is twice referred to in the *Annals*, xiii. 20 and xv. 53.

2. *haud facile discreverim*. The force of this tense is "I could not easily decide were it necessary for me to do so, which it is not;" see Madvig, § 350 b. The tense is used also thus by Cicero, as in Brut. § 25, "hoc sine ulla dubitatione confirmaverim." Tacitus often uses the tense, see above, c. 22, and below, c. 78; Ann. ii. 83; iii. 22.

4. *degeneravere*. "They did not act at variance with." Cf. Cicero, Verr. iii. § 159, "etiamsi natura puerum a paternis vitis atque a generis similitudine abduceret, consuetudo tamen eam et disciplina degenerare non sineret" (Heraeus).

6. *iteratam*. "Repaired;" its previous destruction had been described in c. 27. The soldiers, the front ranks standing, the middle ranks bending, the hindmost kneeling, locked their shields above their heads, so as to form a sloping roof above them; up this their comrades climbed, and so mounted the wall.

9. *omni imagine mortium*. Perhaps he had in his mind the line of Vergil, Aen. ii. 369, "ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago."

29. 3. *obstinatos inter se*. This seems

iacta tela testudine laberentur, ipsam postremo ballistam in
 5 subeuntes propulere, quae ut ad praesens disiecit obruitque quos
 inciderat, ita pinnas ac summa valli ruina sua traxit. Simul
 iuncta turris ictibus saxorum cessit. Qua septimani dum
 nituntur cuneis, tertianus securibus gladiisque portam perffregit.
 Primum inrupisse G. Volusium tertiae legionis militem inter
 10 omnes auctores constat. Is in vallum egressus, deturbatis qui
 restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce capta castra conclamavit.
 Ceteri trepidis iam Vitellianis seque e vallo praecipitantibus
 perrupere. Completur caede quantum inter castra murosque
 vacui fuit.

30. Ac rursus nova laborum facies, ardua urbis moenia,
 saxeae turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, fre-
 quens obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus,
 magna pars Italiae stato in eosdem dies mercatu congregata ;
 5 quod defensoribus auxilium ob multitudinem, obpugnantibus
 incitamentum ob praedam erat. Rapi ignes Antonius infer-
 rique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis iubet, si damno rerum
 suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur. Pro-
 pinqua muris tecta et altitudinem moenium egressa fortissimo
 10 quoque militum complet ; illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus
 propugnatores deturbant.

to mean "obstinately vying with each other." Above, c. 17, we have had *firmatos inter se*.

5. *obruitque*. Some editors have needlessly altered this into *obtrivitque*, considering *obruit* too strong a word. It is repeated, however, in a similar passage, iv. 23, "*sudibus et pilis obruuntur*," quos *inciderat*. Cf. Verg. Aen. ix. 721, where M. reads "*bellator animos deus incidit*." Most of the editors alter this into *animo*. Cf. however, Lucret. iv. 568. Ernesti would for *quos* read *quis* or *quibus*.

7. *lunota turris*. A tower of wood had been erected on the top of the *vallum*.

8. *cuneis*. Mention of this wedge-shaped formation occurs again, ii. 42, v. 16-18. *gladiisque*. A doubt has been raised whether swords could be used to break open the gate, and some editors read *dolabrisque*, but on such an occasion any implement would be used.

9. *inter omnes auctores*. This implies that Tacitus had more authorities than the two he mentions.

10. *is in vallum egressus*. So c. 71,

"in quarum tectum egressi." *conclamavit* is used of the shout of one man ; Verg. Aen. ix. 375, "*conclamat ab agmine Volcens*."

13. *completur caede*. Dio, lxxv. 15, reckons the loss at 50,000 here and in the battle, Josephus at 32,000 ; while the latter puts Antonius's loss at 4,500.

30. 1. *nova laborum facies*. The editors consider this a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. vi. 103, "*non ulla laborum, o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit*."

2. *ferrati portarum obices* means "the iron-studded portcullises of the gates."

4. *stato in eosdem dies mercatu*. These yearly fairs, attracting great numbers of visitors, were quite a feature of imperial Italy.

7. *si*. "In hope that ; in the chance that."

9. *altitudinem moenium egressa*. "That overtopped the height of the wall." Liv. xl. 22, "*quantum in altitudinem egrediebantur*;" for *egredi* with the accusative, see Roby, § 1121. *trabibus*. These were torn from the roofs on which they stood.

31. Iam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur, et alii tela saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paulatim Vitellianorum animi. Ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne Cremona quoque excisa nulla ultra venia, omnisque ira victoris non in volgus inops sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi pretium caedis 5 erat, reverteretur. Gregarius miles futuri socors et ignobilitate tutior perstabat. Vagi per vias, in domibus abdit, pacem ne tum quidem orabant cum bellum posuissent. Primores castrorum nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliuntur. Catenas Caecinae (nam etiam tum vinctus erat) exsolvunt, orantque ut 10 causae suae deprecator adsistat. Aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi viri proditoris opem invocantes. Mox velamenta et infulas pro muris ostentant. Cum Antonius inhiberi tela iussisset, signa aquilasque extulere: maestum inermium agmen, deiectis in terram 15 oculis, sequebatur. Circumstiterant victores, et primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praeberi ora contumeliis, et posita omni ferocia cuncta victi patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent. Sed ubi Caecina praetexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, consul 20 incescit, exarsere victores: superbiam saevitiamque, (adeo invisa scelera sunt) etiam perfidiam obiectabant. Obstitit Antonius, datisque defensoribus ad Vespasianum dimisit.

81. 1. *et alii*, i.e. the auxiliary troops. For the use of this phrase, see c. 27, note on line 9.

2. *cum languescere*. This use of the historical infinitive after *cum* is rare in earlier writers, but not infrequent in Tacitus. "This construction," says Madvig, § 392, "is found when the time, at which a particular state of things suddenly came on, or became evident, has been previously specified." Cf. Sall. Jug. 98, "iamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari nihil remittere atque, uti reges praeceperant, acrius instare."

3. *ut quis ordine anteibat*. "As each was higher in rank." *cedere fortunae*. "He bows to circumstances."

8. *primores castrorum*. These would include, besides the *praefecti castrorum*, the tribunes and centurions.

9. *nomen atque imagines amoliuntur*. The name of the *imperator* was worked on the colours, for this see above, c. 13, and ii. 85; it was also borne, as Orelli has shown, by the soldiers on their shields, a custom which prevailed even

in Republican times. The bust of the reigning emperor was kept in the *principia*, along with the eagle of the legion. See chaps. 13 and 14.

12. *extremum malorum* is in apposition with the following clause, *tot fortissimi viri*, etc., and is a reflection which grows out of what precedes. For *fatigo* used of prayers, see i. 29; Hor. Od. i. 2, 26.

13. *velamenta et infulas*. For these, held out as a sign of surrender and to secure good will, see i. 66, "velamenta et infulas praeferentes." *pro muris* means "from the walls," i. 29.

18. *subit*. For this in the sense of "to come over" them, see ii. 70; Ov. Trist. i. 3, 1, "cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago." *qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent*. "Who had used their victory at Bedriacum with moderation." For *temperare*, see ii. 47, "felicitati temperare."

20. *consul incescit*. He and Valens had been appointed consuls for September and October, see ii. 71.

22. *etiam perfidiam*. Advantageous

32. Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos conflictabatur; nec procul caede aberant, cum precibus ducum mitigatus est miles. Et vocatos ad contionem Antonius adloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer, de Cremona in neutrum.
- 5 Exercitus praeter insitam praedandi cupidinem vetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit. Iuvisse partes Vitellianas Othonis quoque bello credebantur; mox tertiadecimanos ad exstruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus iurgiis inluserant. Auxit invidiam
- 10 editum illic a Caecina gladiatorum spectaculum, eademque rursus belli sedes, et praebiti in acie Vitellianis cibi, caesae quaedam feminae studio partium ad praelium progressae. Tempus quoque mercatus ditem alioqui coloniam maiorum opum specie complebat. Ceteri duces in obscuro: Antonium fortuna
- 15 famaue omnium oculis exposuerat. Is balineas abluendo cruori propere petit. Excepta vox est, cum teporem incusaret, "statim futurum ut incalescerent." Vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tamquam signum incendendae Cremonae dedisset, quae iam flagrabat.
33. Quadraginta armatorum milia inrupere, calonum lixarumque amplior numerus et in libidinem ac saevitiam corruptior.

though it had been to their cause. The parenthesis is, of course, a reflection which Tacitus inserts on his own account.

32. 1. *conflictabatur*. "Was buffeted about." Cf. above, c. 16, "angustiis viarum conflictabantur."

4. *magnifice*. "In laudatory terms." See below, c. 73, "quod edicta in populum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium." *de Cremona in neutrum*. "Cremona he mentioned neither for good nor evil."

6. *Iuvisse partes Vitellianas*. See above, ii. 70.

7. *tertiadecimanos*. For the task assigned to the 13th, see ii. 67.

8. *ut sunt*. "With the general rudeness of the witticisms of a city populace."

13. *ditem alloqui coloniam*. "Which was rich, even without this." *Alioquin* is nearly so used, Ann. iv. 37.

14. *in obscuro*. "Kept in the background."

15. *abluendo cruori* is a dative of purpose, a favourite construction, both with Tacitus and the younger Pliny.

16. *excepta*. "Caught up;" so below

c. 78, "excepto Vitellianorum signo;" Liv. viii. 6, "assensu populi excepta vox consulis."

17. *vernile dictum*. Ritter contends that the saying *statim futurum ut incalescerent* was Antonius's own, and that *vernile dictum* can only mean a "sorry jest." Orelli, followed by most of the other editors, holds that the saying was that of the slave in attendance at the baths, and that this is the meaning of the words *vernile dictum*. This saying came afterwards to be attributed to Antonius: "This saying of the slave brought the whole odium of the deed on Antonius, on the supposition that he had given the signal for the firing of Cremona, which as a matter of fact was already in flames."

33. 1. *quadraginta milia*. There were five legions, some 10,000 cavalry, and auxiliary cohorts as well, before the battle began; but a considerable number had fallen in the fight.

1. *calonum lixarumque*. *Calones* were the soldiers' servants, *lixae* the petty traders. See ii. 87, note on line 5; Tacitus there says, "procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis."

Non dignitas, non aetas protegebat, quo minus stupra caedibus, caedes stupris miscerentur. Grandaevos senes, exacta aetate feminas, viles ad praedam, in ludibrium trahebant. Ubi adulta 5 virgo aut quis forma conspicuus incidisset, vi manibusque rapientium divolsus ipsos postremo direptores in mutuam perniciem agebat. Dum pecuniam vel gravia auro templorum dona sibi quisque trahunt, maiore aliorum vi obtruncabantur. Quidam obvia aspernati, verberibus tormentisque dominorum 10 abdita scrutari, defossa eruere, faces in manibus, quas, ubi praedam egresserant, in vacuas domos et inania templa per lasciviam iaculabantur; utque exercitu vario linguis moribus, cui cives socii externi interessent, diversae cupidines et aliud cuique fas nec quidquam illicitum. Per quatrimum Cremona 15 suffecit. Cum omnia sacra profanaque in igne considerent, solum Meftis templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum.

34. Hic exitus Cremonae, anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto a primordio sui. Condita erat Ti. Sempronio et Cornelio

5. ubi—*incidisset*. The use of *ubi* with the pluperfect subjunctive, to express indefinite frequency, is found in Livy, Madvig, § 359, but not in Caesar or Cicero.

9. obtruncabantur. A correction of the reading of M. *truncabantur*, which could only mean "were maimed;" or as Orelli understands it "had their hands cut off," to make them drop their spoil.

11. faces in manibus. "Torches in their hands"—an *accusativus pendens*. Heraeus quotes Verg. Aen. v. 136, "considunt transtris intentaque brachia remis intenti expectant signum." But it is not really quite parallel. Orelli puts a stop at *eruere* and takes *faces* as nominative.

13. utque exercitu vario. *Ut*, "as you might expect;" *exercitu vario*, "when an army is composed of many nationalities." *In* is more usual, i. 8, "tanquam in tanta multitudine;" Hor. Sat. i. 6, 79, "in magno ut populo." Cf., however, ii. 73, "ut nullo aemulo," "as happens when there is no rival."

14. externi. The Suevi and Sarmatae Iazyges. *suffecit*. Furnished material for plunder.

16. in igne considerent. This is the reading of M. corrected by some into *ignes*, after Verg. Aen. ii. 624, "tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignes

Ilium;" and ix. 144, "at non viderunt moenia Troiae Neptuni fabricata manu considerare in ignes."

17. solum Meftis templum. Meftis was the goddess of exhalations from the earth, to whom temples were erected to avert their ill effects. Originally and properly, it meant the exhalation of sulphuretted water. There is much low-lying land round Cremona subject to floods, which would, therefore, suffer from exhalations. Orelli quotes an inscription, from a dedicatory altar to Meftis, found at Cremona.

34. 2. a primordio sui. "From its foundation." *Sui* is an objective genitive; cf. Ann. ii. 54, "origine nostri." In the classical writers, such genitives were only used in cases of special emphasis. Tacitus seems to use them without any such restriction, Madvig, § 297 *b*, *obs.* 2.

2. condita erat—Ti. Sempronio et Cornelio consulibus, *i.e.* in 218 B.C., which, added to 69, makes 287. Tacitus reckons it a year less. Ritter omits *Ti.* before *Sempronio* on the ground that *Cornelio* has no praenomen. As they were well-known people, Tacitus may have omitted their praenomina. Livy, xxi. 6, gives the names in full, Tib. Sempronius Longus, P. Cornelius Scipio. The foundation of Cremona and Placentia drove the Boii to revolt, and threw the

consulibus. Ingruente in Italiam Hannibale, propugnaculum
adversus Gallos trans Padum agentes, et si qua alia vis per
5 Alpes rueret. Igitur numero colonorum, opportunitate fluminum,
ubere agri, adnexu connubiisque gentium adolevit floruitque,
bellis externis intacta, civilibus infelix. Antonius pudore
flagitii, crebrescente invidia, edixit ne quis Cremonensem capti-
vom detineret. Inritamque praedam militibus effecerat con-
10 sensus Italiae, emptionem talium mancipiorum aspernantis.
Occidi coepere. Quod ubi enotuit, a propinquis adfinibusque
occulte redemptabantur. Mox rediit Cremonam reliquus
populus. Reposita fora templaque munificentia municipum; et
Vespasianus hortabatur.

35. Ceterum adsidere sepultae urbis ruinis noxia tabo
humus haud diu permisit. Ad tertium lapidem progressi vagos
pavescentesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt.
Et victae legiones ne manente adhuc civili bello ambiguae
5 agerent, per Illyricum dispersae. In Britanniam inde et His-
panias nuntios famamque, in Galliam Iulium Calenum tribunum,
in Germaniam Alpinum Montanum praefectum cohortis, quod
hic Trevir, Calenus Aeduus, uterque Vitelliani fuerant, ostentui

Insures into the hands of Hannibal, Liv. xxi. 25.

3. *propugnaculum adversus Gallos et si—rueret*. This combination of a preposition and a clause introduced by *si* occurs pretty often in Tacitus. *Rueret* is the simple for the compound *irrueret*. The metaphor is that of a storm breaking over a country.

5. *opportunitate fluminum*. It was situated on the Po, close to its junction with the Adda. The Ollius also was close by.

6. *ubere agri*. "The fertility of its soil," copied from Verg. Aen. iii. 164, "terra potens armis atque ubere glebae."

6. *adnexu connubiisque gentium*. "Its connexion and intermarriage with the neighbouring tribes." Tacitus has substituted *adnexu* for *commercio*, thinking the latter a somewhat vulgar word, and too technical for the style of history. *Adnexus* has also a somewhat wider and more general sense.

7. *civilibus infelix*. It espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius, and was mulcted of part of its territory. Verg. Ecl. ix. 28, "Mantua vae! miserae nimium vicina Cremonae."

13. *municipum*, i.e. the people of the other towns of Italy. *Municipes* was a

general term for the inhabitants of any of the towns of Italy, whether colonies or not.

35. 1. *adsidere sepultae urbis ruinis*. "To make a long stay on." He is referring to the army of the Flavians. *Sepultae*, "buried under its ashes."

1. *noxia tabo humus*. The ground was, as we have seen, naturally unhealthy, and the rotting corpses would make it far more pestilential.

3. *componunt*. "They arrange them;" even in the battle the Vitellians, devoid of a general, had observed little order, in defeat they were hopelessly dispersed.

4. *ambiguae agerent*. "Should play a doubtful part;" others *ambiguous*. Tacitus makes use of both forms of expression, Ag. 9, "facile iusteque agebat;" and 5, "anxius et intentus agere." It is hard to choose.

6. *nuntios famamque*. This is a sort of hendiadys: "messengers to carry the tidings."

7. *Alpinum Montanum*. For his subsequent history and relations to Civilis, see below, iv. 31, v. 19.

8. *uterque Vitelliani*. Tacitus uses a plural predicate with *uterque* here, ii. 97, and iv. 31. *ostentul*. "To give visible proof."

misere. Simul transitus Alpium praesidiis occupati, suspecta Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.

36. At Vitellius profecto Caecina, cum Fabium Valentem paucis post diebus ad bellum impulisset, curis luxum obtendebat. Non parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non in ore volgi agere; sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, iacent torpentque, praeterita instantia futura pari oblivione dimiserat. Atque illum in nemore Aricino desidem et marcentem proditio Lucillii Bassi ac defectio classis Ravennatis perculit. Nec multo post de Caecina adfertur mixtum gaudio dolor, et descivisse et ab exercitu vinctum. Plus apud socordem animum laetitia quam cura valuit. Multa cum exsultatione in urbem revectus, frequenti contione, pietatem militum laudibus cumulat. Publilium Sabinum praetorii praefectum ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri iubet, substituto in locum eius Alfenio Varo.

37. Mox senatum composita in magnificentiam oratione adlocutus, exquisitis patrum adulationibus attollitur. Initium atrocis in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio factum; dein ceteri composita indignatione, quod consul rem publicam, dux impera-

10. *tamquam*. "In the belief that."

36. 1. *at Vitellius*. Tacitus here takes up the narrative where he had dropped it, ii. 100.

2. *ad bellum impulisset*. "Had forced him to take the field." The expression implies that Valens went off to the war unwillingly enough.

2. *curis luxum obtendebat*. "Put luxury between himself and the cares of office," "buried his cares in luxury." The inverted construction occurs in c. 56, "*nube atra diem obtenderent*."

4. *non in ore volgi agere*. "Does not show himself before the people;" c. 77, "*Iulianus in ore Vitellii iugulatur*," "before Vitellius's eyes;" Dial. 37, "*in ore hominum agit*," "keeps himself constantly before the eyes of men" (though the sense and reading are here doubtful). The phrase is probably taken from Sallust, who has in Hist. i. 90, "*ut in ore agens gentibus populo civitati*;" and in Hist. ii. 41, 4 (Dietsch), "*a prima adulescentia in ore vestro privatus et in magistratibus egi*."

5. *quibus si cibum suggeras iacent*. The Latin idiom, and as Madvig notes, § 445, peculiar to Latin, for *quae si iis cibum suggeras*.

6. *instantia*. "The present." But with the sense that that present is not an agreeable one, Liv. ii. 36.

7. *atque*. "And so," used to make a climax. in *nemore Aricino*. Aricia, situated on the Appian Way, near the foot of the Alban hills, 16 miles from Rome. It was Horace's first stage on his journey to Brundisium, Hor. Sat. i. 5, 1. The grove, sacred to Diana Nemorensis, was celebrated for the curious institution of the "*Rex Nemorensis*." He, priest of the grove, held office until a runaway slave broke a bough from the sacred tree and killed him in single combat; the slave then became his successor. Tradition asserts that the bough which had to be broken was that "golden bough" which Aeneas had to pluck before his descent to the nether world, Verg. Aen. vi. 136, etc.

13. *Publilium Sabinum — Alfenio Varo*. For the first, see ii. 92; for the last, ii. 29 and iii. 43.

37. 1. *composita in magnificentiam*. "Of studied grandiloquence;" for this use of *magnificus*, see c. 9, "*de Vespasiano magnifice*," and c. 32, "*Antonius alloquitur victores magnifice*."

4. *composita indignatione*. There

- 5 torem, tantis opibus tot honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidis-
set, velut pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant.
Nulla in oratione cuiusquam erga Flavianos duces obtrectatio :
errorem imprudentiamque exercituum culpantes, Vespasiani
nomen suspensi et vitabundi circumibant. Nec defuit qui unum
10 consulatus diem (is enim in locum Caecinae supererat) magno
cum inrisu tribuentis accipientisque eblandiretur. Pridie
kalendas Novembres Rosius Regulus iniit eiuravitque. Ad-
notabant periti nunquam antea non abrogato magistratu neque
lege lata alium subfectum. Nam consul uno die et ante fuerat
15 Caninius Rebilus G. Caesare dictatore, cum belli civilis praemia
festinarentur.

38. Nota per eos dies Iunii Blaesi mors et famosa fuit ; de
qua sic accepimus. Gravi corporis morbo aeger Vitellius
Servilianis hortis turrim vicino sitam conlucere per noctem.

is a certain awkwardness in the repetition of this word, so soon after *composita in magnificentiam* ; but Tacitus does not object to repetitions of the same word within narrow limits, if only the word be used in different senses.

6. *velut—conquerentes—proferebant*. While professing to complain of Vitellius's wrongs, they really were airing their own grievances against Caecina.

10. *is enim in locum Caecinae supererat*. Caecina had been appointed consul for the months of September and October, and the news of his treachery reached Rome at the very end of October.

11. *tribuentis atque accipientis*. "Directed against the giver and receiver ;" an objective genitive after *inrisu*. *eblandiretur*. "Obtained by flattery."

12. *eiuravitque*. "And resigned it." The word is used of the resignation of a magistracy, because the outgoing magistrate took an oath that, during his office, he had done nothing against the law.

12. *adnotabant periti*. "The experts noted." Tacitus uses the same phrase, *Ann. xii. 25 ; Ag. 22*.

13. *non abrogato magistratu neque*. "Without the magistracy being annulled, and a law being passed." Magistracies were not unfrequently annulled, owing to some defect in the proceedings. They might be annulled also by a direct motion carried in the *comitia*. This was done after Vespasian's accession ; see *iv. 47*, "abrogati inde legem ferente Domitiano, consulatus quos Vitellius dederat."

14. *et ante*. "Even once before."

Caninius Rebilus's election took place in 45 B.C. Cicero (*ad Fam. vii. 30*) gives the following caustic account of it—When the news of the death of Quintus Fabius, the consul, was proclaimed, Caesar, who had been endowed with the auspices by the *comitia tributa*, held the *comitia centuriata*. The result of the election of a consul was made known at 7 o'clock, the consul elected to hold office till the 1st of January, which would be the morning of the next day. So in Caninius's consulship no one had any breakfast ; but no harm was done, for he displayed wonderful vigilance, since he never took any sleep during his whole term of office.

38. 1. *Iunii Blaesi mors*. Junius Blaesus was governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, had entertained Vitellius magnificently, and had provided him with a retinue and attendants, *ii. 59. famosa fuit*. "Caused much talk."

2. *sic accepimus*. Unfortunately, Tacitus does not here tell us who were his authorities, whether it was general gossip at the time, or some particular informant. From the statement *ipsa enim verba referam*, it would seem that he had heard the story from what he believed to be a trustworthy authority and an eye-witness.

3. *Servilianis hortis*. Their exact position is unknown, but we gather from Suetonius (*Ner. 47*) that they lay to the south of the city and near the road to Ostia. They seem to have been a favourite resort of Nero's.

3. *turrim vicino sitam*. *Turris* is

crebris luminibus animadvertit. Sciscitanti causam apud Caecinam Tuscum epulari multis, praecipuum honore Iunium 5
Blaesum nuntiatur. Cetera in maius, de apparatu et solutis in lasciviam animis. Nec defuere qui ipsum Tuscum et alios, sed crimosius Blaesum incusarent, quod aegro principe laetos dies ageret. Ubi asperatum Vitellium et posse Blaesum per-
verti satis patuit iis qui principum offensas acriter speculantur, 10
datae L. Vitellio delationis partes. Ille infensus Blaeso aemulatione prava, quod eum omni dedecore maculosum egregia fama anteibat, cubiculum imperatoris reserat, filium eius sinu complexus et genibus accidens. Causam confusionis quaerenti, non se proprio metu nec sui anxium, sed pro fratre, pro liberis 15
fratris preces lacrimasque attulisse. Frustra Vespasianum timeri, quem tot Germanicae legiones, tot provinciae virtute ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris inmensis spatiis arceat. In urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem, Iunios Antoniosque avos iactantem, qui se stirpe imperatoria, comem ac magnificum 20
militibus ostendet. Versas illuc omnium mentes, dum Vitellius

used of any mansion raised to a great height. The houses of the rich were often so raised to get the view and for the sake of air; in v. 11 we have "conspicuo fastigio turris Antonia." *Vicino*, in the neighbourhood; Tacitus is fond of the local ablative; see above, c. 16, *medio*.

5. *Caecinam Tuscum*. He is mentioned, Ann. xiii. 20, as thought of by Nero as a possible successor to Burrus, in the capacity of *praefectus praetorii*. Suetonius (Ner. 35) tells us that he was a son of Nero's nurse, and appointed by Nero *praefectus Aegypti*. Nero subsequently banished him, for bathing in a bath specially built for the emperor. He was recalled after Nero's death. *praecipuum honore*. "Being the principal guest."

6. *cetera*, sc. *nuntiantur*. "Much else." Tacitus often uses *cetera* to denote other points, which he does not care to enumerate in detail.

11. *L. Vitellio*. The emperor's brother; see i. 88, note on line 6.

11. *aemulatione prava* — *maculosum*. There might, of course, be an honourable rivalry; so *prava* is added to show that, in this case, the rivalry was of a mean kind. For *maculosum* used of moral blemishes, see i. 7.

14. *genibus accidens*. Tacitus has

repeated the same phrase, Ann. xv. 53; *pedibus advolvi* is the more usual phrase. Livy has this expression, xlv. 31.

15. *sui anxium*. "Anxious on his own account;" so Ann. ii. 75, "*anxia sui*." The genitive is objective, Furn. Int. § 33 d.

19. *Iunios Antoniosque avos iactantem*. In both lines he was connected with Octavia, sister of Augustus; but in both also he was connected with those who had been the foes of the imperial house, with Junius Brutus, Caesar's murderer, and with M. Antonius, who fought against Augustus at Actium. He was either son, or grandson, of the Junius Blaesus who commanded the legions in Pannonia (Ann. i. 19), won the *triumphalia*, serving against Tacfarinas (Ann. iii. 35), and was saluted *imperator* by his soldiers. The death of his father and uncle, or of two brothers, is told in Ann. vi. 40.

20. *stirpe imperatoria*. This is variously explained, either of his father or grandfather having been saluted "imperator" (Ann. iii. 74), or of his connection with the imperial house of Augustus through Octavia, Augustus's sister; see last note.

21. *illuc*. "On him," used of persons, iv. 18; iv. 79; Ann. i. 3, "*illuc cuncta vergere*."

amicorum inimicorumque negligens fovet aemulum principis labores e convivio prospectantem. Reddendam pro intemptiva laetitia maestam et funebrem noctem, qua sciat et sentiat
 25 vivere Vitellium et imperare, et si quid fato accidat, filium habere.

39. Trepidanti inter scelus metumque, ne dilata Blaesii mors maturam perniciem, palam iussa atrocem invidiam ferret placuit veneno grassari. Addidit facinori fidem nobili gaudio, Blaesum visendo. Quin et audita est saevissima Vitellii vox,
 5 qua se (ipsa enim verba referam) pavisse oculos spectata inimici morte iactavit. Blaesio, super claritatem natalium et elegantiam morum, fidei obstinatio fuit. Integris quoque rebus a Caecina et primoribus partium iam Vitellium aspernantibus ambitus abnuere perseveravit. Sanctus, inturbidus, nullius repentini
 10 honoris, adeo non principatus appetens, parum effugerat ne dignus crederetur.

40. Fabius interim Valens multo ac molli concubinarum spadonumque agmine segnius quam ad bellum incedens, proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem pernicibus nuntiis accepit. Et si coeptum iter properasset, nutantem Caecinam

22. *amicorum inimicorumque negligens*. "Not distinguishing friends from foes."

22. *principis labores*. "The pains" from illness, which the emperor was suffering.

25. *si quid fato accidat*. The Romans could not bear mentioning death, so often refer to it by an euphemism; Ann. xiv. 47, "si quid fato pateretur."

39. 2. *maturam perniciem*. Speedy death to himself at the hands of Blaesius; it would seem from this, that he had really believed his brother's story.

3. *nobili gaudio*. "With noteworthy, conspicuous joy." Heraeus and others alter this into *notabili*, which Tacitus elsewhere uses; some into *ignobili*. For the use of *nobilis* no exact parallel is quoted. Suetonius, Vit. 14, seems to refer to Blaesius's death by poisoning, but gives a rather different version.

6. *super claritatem natalium*. "In addition to his distinguished birth;" for *super*, see ii. 77; iv. 38; for *natalium*, i. 49; iv. 15. The Junii were one of the great families of Rome; Juvenal, viii. 27, takes a Silanus (*i.e.* a Junius), as a typical noble, and Tacitus, Ann. iii. 24, speaks of the family of the Junii as *illustris domus*.

7. *integris quoque rebus*. While Vitellius's power was still unshaken.

8. *ambitus*. "Solicited by."

9. *inturbidus*. "A man of peace;" so iv. 38, "nequaquam turbidus ingenio."

10. *adeo non*. "Much less;" so Ann. iii. 34; and below, c. 64, iv. 39. The usage is post-Augustan.

10. *parum effugerat ne dignus crederetur*. He did not succeed in escaping being thought worthy of it; οὐκ ἐξέφυγε τὸ μὴ ἀξιόδοθαι. Tacitus means that it was the being held worthy of it which wrought his ruin.

40. 3. *proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem*. For the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, see c. 12, and for the motive which led him to it, ii. 100.

4. *nutantem Caecinam praevenire aut ante discrimen pugnae*. *Prævenire*, like other words compounded with a prep., gets a transitive sense; see Madvig, § 224 a, obs. 1. "Prevent us" had the same transitive use in old English, *e.g.* in the Collect, "Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings." Several other words compounded with *prae* are similarly used with the accusative: *praeagredior*, *praeefluo*, *praecedo*. *Ante discrimen pugnae*, "before the decisive battle."

praevenire aut ante discrimen pugnae adsequi legiones potuisset. 5
 Nec deerant qui monerent ut cum fidissimis per occultos tra-
 mites, vitata Ravenna, Hostiliam Cremonamve pergeret. Aliis
 placebat accitis ex urbe praetoriis cohortibus valida manu perrum-
 pere. Ipse, inutili cunctatione, agendi tempora consultando
 consumpsit: mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter 10
 ancipitia deterrimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est
 satis nec providit.

41. Missis ad Vitellium litteris auxilium postulat. Venere
 tres cohortes cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus
 numerus neque ad penetrandum. Sed Valens ne in tanto
 quidem discrimine infamia caruit, quo minus rapere illicitas
 voluptates adulteriisque ac stupris polluere hospitum domus 5
 crederetur. Aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae novis-
 sima libido. Adventu demum peditum equitumque pravitas
 consilii patuit, quia nec vadere per hostes tam parva manu
 poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec integram fidem attulerant.
 Pudor tamen et praesentis ducis reverentia morabatur, haud 10
 diuturna vincla apud avidos periculorum et dedecoris securos.
 Eo metu et paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus

7. Hostiliam Cremonamve per-
 geret. These being the two points to
 which the forces under Caecina's com-
 mand had been originally despatched.
 See ii. 100; iii. 9 and 14.

9. agendi tempora. "The moments
 for action." *Tempora* is a translation of
 the Greek *καιρος*; so above, we have
 '*prima tempora belli*, but in c. 50, "*dies*
rerum verbis terentem."

10. quod—est. The parenthetical
 observation applies to what follows.

11. dum media sequitur. "In fol-
 lowing a middle course." The phrase is
 almost adverbial, and this is why the
 present is used. Madvig, § 336, 2, says
 "when the particle *dum* denotes what
 happens, while something else happens,
 and especially what happens, *because*
 something else happens, it is usually
 constructed with the present, though the
 action be past."

12. nec satis providit. "He neither
 showed foresight enough." Cicero uses
providere thus absolutely, *e.g.* in 2 Verr.
 i. 61, "*nisi providisses tibi ipsi pereun-
 dum fuisset*."

41. 2. neque ad fallendum—neque
 ad penetrandum. "Neither for slip-
 ping through unobserved, nor for forcing

its way through." For *fallo* used abso-
 lutely, see above, ii. 98, "*plures fefellere
 fide amicorum aut suomet astu occultati*."

6. ruentis fortunae novissima libido.
 "Those lusts which linger on amidst the
 wreck of fortune." Tacitus's meaning is
 that a wretch like Valens, when he sees
 fortune turning against him, hastens to
 seize every opportunity of gratifying
 desires, from the satisfaction of which in
 the future his impending ruin will debar
 him; cf. ii. 47, "*difficilius est temperare
 felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum*."

10. morabatur is here active, "de-
 layed" their treachery. *avidos peri-
 culorum*. This is the reading of M.,
 altered by Faërnus (copied by Ernesti
 and Heraeus) into *pavidos*. The change
 is scarcely a change for the better. The
 troops at this time showed far more
 recklessness than fear, and as the result
 of the battle of Cremona was not yet
 known, the troops of Vitellius might well
 have believed themselves to be secure.
dedecoris securos. "Careless of dis-
 honour." Galba and Otho had already
 been betrayed; they felt no sense of
 disgrace in another act of treachery.

12. eo metu. "In fear of that," *i.e.* of
 their proving treacherous. Tacitus uses

- cohortes Ariminum praemittit, alam tueri terga iubet : ipse flexit in Umbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi cognito pugnae
 15 Cremonensis eventu non ignavum et, si provenisset, atrox consilium iniit, ut arreptis navibus in quamcunque partem Narbonensis provinciae egressus Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes novumque bellum cieret.

42. Digresso Valente trepidos qui Ariminum tenebant, Cornelius Fuscus, admoto exercitu et missis per proxima litorum Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit. Occupantur plana Umbriae et qua Picens ager Hadria alluitur. Omnisque
 5 Italia inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium Apennini iugis dividebatur. Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano segnitia maris aut adversante vento portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur. Haud procul

the simple ablative again, Ann. vi. 32, but more often he has in *metu*. The cohortes are the three praetorian cohorts; the ala is the ala Britannica. Ariminum is Rimini in Umbria on the Adriatic. M. has *eo metu et paucis*—cohortes Ariminum praemittit. Acidalius proposed the omission of the *et* and the transposition of the words *paucis* etc., into the next sentence, so that the sentence runs—*eo metu cohortes Ariminum praemittit, alam tueri terga iubet; ipse paucis, quos . . . comitantibus*. He is followed by Ernesti and Heraeus. The smallness of Valens's reliable escort can scarcely be the reason for his sending on the cohorts in advance; whereas to keep but a small retinue would be natural enough, if he wished to make a hasty advance through Umbria and Etruria, either into Cisalpine or Transalpine Gaul: under these circumstances, the transposition is, perhaps, justified.

15. non ignavum et, si provenisset, atrox. *Ignavus* is, in classical writers, applied only to persons; Tacitus extends it to things, just as we do the word "cowardly." In i. 62, we have "ignava pax;" ii. 31, "ignavae voluptates." *Atror*, "formidable," so i. 51, "atroces nuntii." For *si provenisset*, see Ann. i. 19, "ubi prima provenissent."

16. in quamcunque partem—egressus. *Quamcunque* is here only an indefinite adjective. This use, says Madvig, § 87, *obs.* 1, is rare, and occurs in classical writers only in the phrases *quacunque ratione, quocunque modo*.

18. *ciere* is used with *Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes novumque bellum* by a kind of zeugma. Each expression, *exercitus ciere* and *bellum*

ciere, is to be found singly, c. 62 and ii. 25. Romans no longer hesitated to call in foreign tribes to take a share in their civil feuds. See the case of the Suevi and Sarmatae Iazyges above.

42. 2. Cornelius Fuscus. He had been appointed, see c. 12, above, admiral of the fleet at Ravenna, in succession to Lucilius Bassus.

2. missis per proxima litorum Liburnicis. Tacitus is very fond of this neuter plural adjective with the genitive; we have just below, "plana Umbriae;" Ann. iii. 1, "proxima maris;" H. v. 16, "propiora fluminis." For the Liburnian galleys, see ii. 16, note on line 8.

4. Picens ager. To the south of Umbria, along the coast of the Adriatic, now the Romagna. Vespasian had thus the command of Eastern, Vitellius of Western Italy. M. reads *Appenninis iugis*. This has been corrected by Ritter and most of the editors into *Apennini*, the more usual form.

6. e sinu Pisano. The harbour of Pisa in Etruria, into which he had turned aside. With *e sinu Pisano*, we must supply some word like *profectus*.

6. segnitia maris—portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur. *Depellitur* is coupled with *segnitia maris* by a kind of zeugma, since you can hardly be said to be driven out of your course by a calm. *Segnitia maris* is substituted for the technical term *malacia*; in some inferior MSS., *segnitia* has been altered into *saevitia*. Valens had intended to strike across well to the west into Gaul; the calm and the adverse winds forced him to land at Monaco in the district of the Maritime Alps.

inde agebat Marius Maturus Alpium Maritimarum procurator, fidus Vitellio, cuius sacramentum cunctis circa hostilibus nondum exuerat. Is Valentem comiter exceptum, ne Galliam Narbonensem temere ingrederetur, monendo terruit; simul ceterorum fides metu infracta.

43. Namque circumiectas civitates procurator Valerius Paulinus, strenuus militiæ et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in verba eius adegerat; concitisque omnibus qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Foroiuliensem coloniam, claustra maris, praesidio tuebatur, eo gravior auctor quod Paulino patria Forum Iuli et honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat. Ipsique pagani favore municipali et futurae potentiae spe iuvare partes adnitebantur. Quae ubi paratu firma et aucta rumore apud varios Vitellianorum animos increbruiere, Fabius Valens cum quattuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis, totidem centurionibus, ad naves regreditur; Maturo ceterisque remanere et in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit. Ceterum ut mare tutius Valenti quam litora aut urbes, ita futuri ambiguus, et

8. agebat. "Was stationed," a favourite use of the word with Tacitus, but found previously in Livy and Sallust.

8. Alpium Maritimarum procurator. The Maritime, the Cottian, and the Graian Alps, together with Raetia and Noricum, were each of them formed into separate districts and placed under the command of a *procurator* by Augustus, who interposed them as a sort of barrier between the larger armies and Italy. See Mommsen, *P. R. E.* vol. i. pp. 17, 18; *Introd.* § iv. 9.

9. cunctis circa hostilibus. Copied from Liv. xxxiv. 30, "omnibus circa hostilibus." For the previous conduct of Marius Maturus, see above, ii. 12.

43. 1. procurator Valerius Paulinus. He was *procurator* of Gallia Narbonensis, the next province to that of the Maritime Alps; in it Fréjus was situated.

2. strenuus militiæ. For this use by Tacitus of the genitive with adjectives, to express that in respect of which the quality is assigned, see *Furn. Int.* v. § 33. For ante fortunam amicus, see i. 10, "before his accession to power."

2. in verba eius adegerat. The practice of making, not only the soldiers, but also civilians and even the provincials take the oath, had begun as early as the days of Tiberius; see *Ann.* i. 34. The province of Gallia Narbonensis had been

made previously to swear allegiance to Vitellius, ii. 14.

3. qui exauctorati a Vitellio. These would be chiefly the praetorians. See ii. 67.

4. Foroiuliensem Coloniam. Called also Forum Iulium or Iulii. claustra maris. "The keys of the sea." It was founded by Julius Caesar, and was a station of the Roman fleet; *Ann.* iv. 5.

5. eo gravior auctor. "All the more weighty authority on this account." That it was chiefly discharged praetorians who flocked to Fréjus is shown by the next line.

7. Ipsique pagani. The civilians, or countryfolk themselves; for *pagani*, see i. 53, ii. 14. favore municipali. "From good will to a fellow-townsmen." potentiae spe. "From the hope of the influence" he would have with Vespasian, which might procure favours for them.

8. quae paratu firma. "These preparations, of weight in themselves." varios means "distracted."

12. volentibus fuit. A copy of the Greek phrase τῷ πλεθει οὐ βουλευμένῳ ἦν, Thuc. ii. 3; Livy had first adopted the phrase, xxi. 50, "quibusdam volentibus novas res fore." Tacitus uses it again, *Ag.* 18, "quibus volentibus bellum erat," and *Ann.* i. 59. See *Madvig*, § 246 a, obs. 3.

magis quid vitaret quam cui fideret certus, adversa tempestate
 15 Stoechadas Massiliensium insulas adfertur. Ibi eum missae a
 Paulino Liburnicae oppressere.

44. Capto Valente cuncta ad victoris opes conversa, initio
 per Hispaniam a prima Adiutrice legione orto, quae memoria
 Othonis infensa Vitellio decimam quoque ac sextam traxit.
 Nec Galliae cunctabantur. Et Britanniam inditus erga Vespasi-
 5 anum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus
 et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adiunxit ceterarum, in
 quibus plerique centuriones ac milites a Vitellio provecti exper-
 tum iam principem anxii mutabant.

45. Ea discordia et crebris belli civilis rumoribus Britannii
 sustulere animos, auctore Venutio, qui super insitam ferociam
 et Romani nominis odium propriis in Cartismanduam reginam
 stimulis accendebatur. Cartismandua Brigantibus imperitabat,
 5 pollens nobilitate; et auxerat potentiam, postquam capto per
 dolum rege Caractaco instruxisse triumphum Claudii Caesaris

15. Stoechadas Massiliensium insulas. Now les Iles d'Hyères. They got their name from being in a row (*στραίχας*). There were five of them in all, three larger, two smaller. They lie just off the harbour of Marseilles.

16. oppressere. "Overtook."

44. 2. a prima Adiutrice legione. This was the legion originally raised by Nero among those who had served in the fleet, i. 6, second note on line 9. It had been sent into Spain by Vitellius, after the first battle at Bedriacum, ii. 67.

3. decimam quoque ac sextam traxit. The tenth, called Gemina, had been employed by Cluvius Rufus to check the intended descent of Luccius Albinus, ii. 58. The sixth, with the surname Victrix, had been brought by Galba with him from Spain, and was held primarily responsible for the revolution which had made him emperor. It had been sent back to Spain after his death.

4. inditus erga Vespasianum favor. This has been variously altered. Heraeus reads, *inclinatus*; many editors *inclitus* = *praecipuus*, which can hardly stand; Ritter, *olim inclitus*. Orelli suggests *insitus*, explaining that it was so habitual to them as to have become natural.

5. a Claudio praepositus. In the year 43 A.D.; A. Plautius Silvanus was then governor. Heraeus quotes Ag. 13, "divus Claudius auctor iterati operis

transvectis legionibus et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano."

6. et bello clarus egerat. Heraeus inserts, without authority, *et pace* before *et bello*. If the text of M. stands, *praepositus* is a verb. For *agere* used absolutely with an adjective, see Ann. i. 68, "haud minus iniquis Germanus agebat."

6. non sine motu — ceterarum. "Not without disturbance on the part of the rest of the legions," *i.e.* the others except the 2d. The 20th was specially disaffected, see Ag. 7, "is (Mucianus) Agricolam vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit." The three legions stationed in Britain were the 2d, the 9th, and the 20th.

45. 2. auctore Venutio. He is described (Ann. xii. 40), as the most experienced general the British had, after Caractacus. He had been brought up in the Roman service, and was originally the ally of Rome, till his quarrel with Cartismandua involved him also in difficulties with Rome.

4. Brigantibus imperitabat. They occupied the North of England from the Humber to the Solway Firth. pollens nobilitate. She belonged to the royal stock.

6. instruxisse triumphum Claudii Caesaris videbatur. "She was thought to have furnished the triumph of Claudius

videbatur. Inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus. Spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus) armigerum eius Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque accepit. Concussa statim flagitio domus. Pro marito studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia. Igitur Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione, in extremum discrimen Cartismanduam adduxit. Tum petita a Romanis praesidia. Et cohortes alaeque nostrae, variis proeliis, exemere tamen periculo reginam. Regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.

46. Turbata per eosdem dies Germania et socordia ducum et seditione legionum. Externa vi, perfidia sociali prope afflicta Romana res. Id bellum cum causis et eventibus (etenim longius provectum est) mox memorabimus. Mota et Dacorum gens nunquam fida, tunc sine metu abducto e Moesia exercitu. Sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur: ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in vicem hostilia acceperere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danubii ripa potiebantur. Iamque castra legionum exscindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam

Caesar;" *i.e.* by the treacherous surrender of Caractacus, who had sought protection from her, Ann. xii. 36. It was not at Claudius's own triumph (in 44 A.D.) that Caractacus was displayed as a captive, but some years later, when Claudius exhibited the great military display described, Ann. xii. 36-37 (50 or 51 A.D., in the 9th year of the war).

9. *concussa—domus*. "The house was shaken to its foundation by the crime." *studia civitatis*. "The good will of the citizens;" the abstract for the concrete.

12. *in extremum discrimen—adduxit*. He besieged her in her palace, and it was only by the interference of the Romans that she was rescued.

14. *varils proellis exemere tamen*. The ablative absolute takes the place of a concessive clause. "*Though* the battles were indecisive;" we have the same construction, ii. 73, "*etsi vagis adhuc et incertis rumoribus, erat tamen in ore famaue Vespasianus*."

15. *bellum nobis relictum*. It lasted on till 71 A.D., when it was brought to an end by Petilius Cerealis, Ag. 17.

46. 2. *externa vi, perfidia sociall*. The first refers to the attacks of the German tribes from across the Rhine, the second to the outbreak of the Batavians, the Treveri and the rest of the Gauls.

4. *mox memorabimus*. In the Fourth Book, c. 12, etc. and c. 54, etc.

4. *Dacorum gens*. They lived in Servia and Roumania, and waged great wars against Rome in the reigns of Domitian and Trajan. See Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. chap. vi. pp. 219-221. The three legions in Moesia, the garrison of the Danubian provinces, had gone away to join Antonius.

5. *tunc sine metu*. The omission of all parts of the verb substantive often occurs in Tacitus, *e.g.* i. 85, "*vix secreta domum sine formidine*."

7. *cuncta in vicem hostilia*. "The universal spread of mutual hostilities." For *in vicem* a classical writer would have used *inter se*. *In vicem* for *inter se* is frequent in Tacitus, i. 74, ii. 25. *Cuncta* means all the parts of the empire.

9. *castra legionum exscindere parabant*. These camps were stationed along the Danube from Belgrade, nearly to its mouth. "The imperfect," says Madvig, § 348 b, "is used of an event which was on the point of happening, and on a certain condition would have been completely effected." The sense here is "they were already making their preparations, and would have completed them, had not etc."

9. *sextam legionem*. This is the Sexta Ferrata, to be distinguished from

- 10 legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. Aduit, ut saepe alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum viresque Orientis illuc tulit; et quod Cremonae interim transegimus. Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule
15 eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.

47. Nec ceterae nationes silebant. Subita per Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, moverat. Is fuit Anicetus Polemonis libertus, praepotens olim, et postquam regnum in formam provinciae verterat, mutationis
5 inpatiens. Igitur Vitellii nomine adscitis gentibus quae Pontum adcolunt, corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque, haud temnendae manus ductor, Trapezuntem vetusta fama civitatem,

the Sexta Gallica Victrix stationed in Spain, c. 44. The legion had accompanied Mucianus towards Byzantium, ii. 83.

10. *victoriae gnarus ac ne*. His knowledge of the victory at Cremona, his desire to prevent two wars from bursting on the empire at once, are given as the coordinate reasons which induced him to send the legion. We find two different kinds of reasons thus coordinated in ii. 34, "incohato ponte transitum Padi simultantes . . . , ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret."

12. *aduit*. "Stood by us," see c. 59, "quae (fortuna) Flavianis ducibus non minus saepe quam ratio aduit." *Aderse* is used of the presence of any favouring deity or influence.

14. *transegimus*. Used absolutely, "we had brought matters to a termination." It is so used, Ag. 34, "transigite cum expeditionibus."

14. *Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia*. He is not mentioned elsewhere in Tacitus; Josephus, Bell. Jud. vii. 4 *ad fin.*, says that he was afterwards killed fighting against the Sarmatae. *Ex Asia* means: he was taken from the command of Asia to be given that of Moesia.

17. *pars consilii pacisque erat*. "It was in the interests of prudence and peace." So iv. 86, "pars obsequii in eo deprehenderentur." Cicero only uses the plural in this sense.

47. 1. *subita — arma — moverat*. A poetical expression for *bellum movere*.

Tacitus uses it more than once, v. 26; Ann. xii. 52.

2. *quondam* expresses that the fleet had now ceased to exist; the native fleet was probably disbanded, when the country was made over to the Romans.

3. *is fuit Anicetus Polemonis libertus*. Tacitus not unfrequently describes the man first and gives his name later, introducing it with this expression, e.g. Ann. ii. 1, "is fuit Vonones" and elsewhere. Polemo was the second of that name, son of Polemo I; he was the last king of Pontus, having in 63 A.D. ceded his kingdom to the Romans, Suet. Ner. 18. His father, the older Polemo, who had received his kingdom from Antony, is mentioned in Ann. xi. 56.

4. *verterat*, intransitive. Tacitus is fond of using transitive verbs in intransitive senses.

6. *corrupto in spem rapinarum*. We should say in English "by the hope;" the more logical Latin says "into the hope," since that was the condition of mind into which they were brought. Livy and Curtius had previously used the same phrase. See Nipperdey on Ann. xiv. 63, "praefectum in spem sociandae classis corruptum."

6. *haud temnendae manus ductor*. Copied from Verg. Aen. x. 737, "pars belli haud temnenda." The simple form *temno* is very rare in prose.

7. *Trazuntem — subitus inrupit*. Trebizond was founded by the people of Sinope, itself a colony of

a Graecis in extremo Ponticae orae conditam, subitus inrupit. Caesa ibi cohors, regium auxilium olim; mox donati civitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiā licentiam- 10 que Graecorum retinebant. Classi quoque faces intulit, vacuo mari eludens, quia lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat. Quin et barbari contemptim vagabantur, fabricatis repente navibus. Camaras vocant, artis lateribus, latam alvom sine vinculo aeris aut ferri connexas; et 15 tumido mari, prout fluctus attollitur, summa navium tabulis augent, donec in modum tecti claudantur. Sic inter undas volvuntur, pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio, quando hinc vel illinc appellere indiscretum et innoxium est.

48. Advertit ea res Vespasiani animum, ut vexillarios e legionibus ducemque Virdium Geminum, spectatae militiae, deligeret. Ille inconpositum et praedae cupidine vagum hostem adortus coëgit in naves: effectisque raptim Liburnicis adse- 5 quitur Anicetum in ostio fluminis Cohibi, tutum sub Sedoche-

Miletus, in the 8th century B.C. It was situated on a peninsula and backed by a high mountain. *Subitus inrupit*, "made a sudden attack upon;" the adjective and verb in these cases make up one notion between them. So Liv. xxii. 12, "Hannibal occultus substitit;" Madvig, § 300.

10. *Romana signa—desidiā—retinebant*. The verb is used with the two nouns by a kind of zeugma: "they wore Roman arms, carried Roman standards, but retained their Greek sloth and licence."

11. *classi quoque faces intulit*. M. reads *classis quoque*; various attempts have been made to explain it. Walther, e.g. "his fleet carried fire and sword into the enemy's country;" but he does not seem to have had a fleet yet. If *classi* be read, we must understand it of ships belonging to the Pontic squadron, left behind when the others had been ordered off to Byzantium (ii. 83), for Mucianus had taken with him only the pick of the ships.

11. *vacuo mari eludens*. "Having free play in the undefended sea." Heraeus quotes Cic. Cat. i. 1, "quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus eludet." *Vacuus* is the regular word for a district or sea unprotected by armed force; see c. 2, "vacuum Illyricum mare." Cicero and Livy speak in this sense of "vacua respublica."

14. *camaras vocant—connexas*.

Strabo mentions the name, and describes the vessels. They were called *camarae*, or arched chambers, from their shape. *Connexam*, the reading of M., has been perhaps needlessly altered by the editors into *connexas*; each vessel consisted of a flat bottom with low sides, bound together without link of brass or iron. If *connexas* be read, *latam alvom* is an accusative of respect.

19. *indiscretum et innoxium est*. "It is matter of indifference, and equally safe." Similar ships, with steering gear at each end, were constructed by Germanicus, Ann. ii. 6, and were familiarly used by the Suiones, G. 44, and among the Veneti, Caesar, B. G. iii. 13.

48. 1. *advertit ea res Vespasiani animum*. "Drew to it the attention of Vespasian." Tacitus has here reversed the ordinary expression, partly for the sake of variety, but also to indicate that the matter forced itself on Vespasian's attention, Ann. i. 41, ii. 17.

2. *spectatae militiae*. "Of proved capacity in war." For this genitive of quality, see Furn. Int. v. § 34.

4. *coegit in naves*. "Drove him into his ships," instead of the more usual *compulit in naves*.

5. *fluminis Cohibi, or Ohobi*. It rises in the Caucasus and flows into the Euxine, some distance north-west of the Phasis. Pliny (N. H. vi. 4) calls it *Cobus*,

zorum regis auxilio, quem pecunia donisque ad societatem perpulerat. Ac primo rex minis armisque supplicem tueri: postquam merces proditiōis aut bellum ostendebatur, fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide pactus Aniceti exitium perfugas tradidit,
 10 belloque servili finis inpositus.

Laetum ea victoria Vespasianum, cunctis super vota fluentibus, Cremonensis praelii nuntius in Aegypto adsequitur. Eo properantius Alexandriam pergit, ut fracto Vitellii exercitu urbem quoque externae opis indigam fame urgeret. Namque
 15 et Africam, eodem latere sitam, terra marique invadere parabat, clausis annonae subsidiis inopiam ac discordiam hosti facturus.

49. Dum hac totius orbis nutatione fortuna imperii transit, Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam agebat, satisfactum bello ratus et cetera ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam superbiam ceteraque occulta mala
 5 patefecit. Ut captam, Italiam persultare; ut suas, legiones colere; omnibus dictis factisque viam sibi ad potentiam struere. Utque licentia militem inbueret, interfectorum centurionum ordines legionibus offerebat. Eo suffragio turbidissimus quisque

Arrian $\Sigma\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$, now *Kobidskali*. The *Se-dochesi* are only mentioned besides by Pomponius Mela, i. 19.

7. *minis armisque*, a sort of hendiadys, since he did not actually take up arms. So Cic. pro Sest. § 53, "cum telis minisque cessissem."

8. *fluxa—fide*. "His faith giving way." So iv. 23, "fluxa servitorum fide."

9. *perfugas*. "The fugitives," those who had taken refuge with him.

11. *cunctis super vota fluentibus*. The phrase occurs in Sallust, II. Fr. i. 70, "rebus supra (or super) vota fluentibus," and Cic. de Off. i. 26, "in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus." Tacitus has also used it, Ann. xv. 5, "nec praesentia prospere fluebant," and Dial. 5, "rebus prospere fluentibus."

14. *urbem quoque*. M. reads *urbem-que*. Heraeus suggests *Italiam urbemque*.

14. *externae opis indigam*. "Dependent on foreign supplies;" Ann. iii. 54, "Italia externae opis indigit." The other passages describing the dependence of Rome on foreign supplies are c. 8; Ann. ii. 59; iv. 6; xii. 43.

15. *eodem latere sitam*. "Situated in the same quarter of the globe;" a local ablative.

49. 1. *dum hac—nutatione for-*

tuna imperii transit. *Nutatione* is the reading of M., sometimes wrongly altered into *mutatione*. Pliny, Pan. 5, has "periculo patriae et nutatione rei publicae." With *fortuna imperii transit*, cf. i. 21, "transitus rerum," "a change of dynasty."

2. *post Cremonam*. Some take this "after the destruction of Cremona," quoting Florus, iii. 1, "quis speraret post Carthaginem aliud in Africa bellum?" But it seems simpler to take it quite generally, as we might say in English, "after Cremona."

3. *cetera ex facili*. "All else was easy;" a Graecism like $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. In Ag. 15, we have "ex facili tolerantibus;" Ov. Am. ii. 2, 55, "culpa nec ex facili quamquam manifesta." So we have *ex improviso*, *ex praeparato*, *satisfactum ratus*—*sæu*, give the two alternative explanations of his conduct; *sive* is omitted, as so often in Tacitus.

6. *viam sibi—struere*. *Viam* is Lipsius's correction for *vim* of M. Walther has tried to defend *vim*, but *vim ad potentiam* is hardly possible.

8. *ordines legionibus offerebat*. "He placed the commissions at the disposal of the legions," *i.e.* allowed them to nominate to the vacant offices whom they

delecti ; nec miles in arbitrio ducem, sed duces militari violentia
trahebantur. Quae seditiosa, et corrumpendae disciplinae, mox
in praedam vertebat, nihil adventantem Mucianum veritus ; quod
exitiosius erat quam Vespasianum sprevisse.

50. Ceterum propinqua hieme et humentibus Pado campis
expeditum agmen incedere. Signa aquilaeque victricium legio-
num, milites volneribus aut aetate graves, plerique etiam integri,
Veronae relict : sufficere cohortes alaeque et e legionibus lecti
profligato iam bello videbantur. Undecima legio sese adiun-
xerat, initio cunctata, sed prosperis rebus anxia quod defuisset.
Sex milia Dalmatarum, recens delectus, comitabantur. Duce-
bat Pompeius Silvanus consularis : vis consiliorum penes
Annum Bassum legionis legatum. Is Silvanum socordem bello
et dies rerum verbis terentem specie obsequii regebat, ad omnia
que quae agenda forent quieti cum industria aderat. Ad has
copias e classicis Ravennatibus, legionariam militiam poscenti-
bus, optimus quisque adsciti : classem Dalmatae supplere.
Exercitus ducesque ad Fanum Fortunae iter sistunt, de
summa rerum cunctantes, quod motas ex urbe praetorias
cohortes audierant, et teneri praesidiis Apenninum rebantur.

would. For this sense of *ordines*, see i. 52, "redditi plerisque ordines."

10. quae seditiosa, et corrumpendae disciplinae, mox in praedam vertit. *Corrumpendae disciplinae* is a genitive of quality, here used as equivalent to an adjective. He used the power he had given to the soldiers as a means of extorting money ; since his influence was still great with the soldiers, and any candidate he was known to favour would be likely to be elected.

11. quod exitiosus erat. Vespasian could afford to despise rivals, Mucianus could not, and so his appearance on the scene at once led to Antonius's overthrow, iv. 11.

50. 1. propinqua hieme. We have now reached the month of November. humentibus Pado campis. All the plain of North Italy is, in the winter, liable to be flooded by the Po. expeditum agmen incedere. "The march is made as little encumbered as possible."

3. volneribus aut aetate graves. "Hampered by wounds or old age." Livy, ii. 19, has a somewhat similar Zeugma, "quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior."

5. profligato. "All but finished."

Cic. ad Fam. xii. 30, § 2, "profligato bello ac paene sublato ;" Liv. xxi. 40 *ad fin.*

5. undecima legio, called Claudia, was a veteran legion stationed in Dalmatia. It had been sent back to its quarters after the first battle at Bedriacum, ii. 67.

7. The Dalmatae are the people who inhabit the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

8. Pompeius Silvanus — Annum Bassum. For the first, see ii. 86. Notice the large part which the *legati legionum* now play in public affairs.

10. dies rerum. "The time for action;" like *agendi tempora*, above, c. 40.

10. ad omniaque. *Que* is here, as in Ann. v. 10 "per dolumque," transposed for the sake of euphony.

12. legionariam militiam poscentibus. Service in the legions was esteemed more highly than service on shipboard ; see i. 87, "spe honestioris in posterum militiae ;" and Liv. xxxii. 23, "navales socii, relictis nuper classibus, ad spem honoratoris militiae transgressi."

14. ad Fanum Fortunae. A town on the Adriatic, half way between Ancona and Ariminum ; now Fano, sometimes called *Fanum* simply, sometimes *Colonia Julia Fanestris*.

2. d. 11.

Et ipsos in regione bello attrita inopia et seditiosae militum voces terrebant, clavarium (donativi nomen est) flagitantium. Nec pecuniam aut frumentum providerant; et festinatio atque
20 aviditas praepediebant, dum quae accipi poterant rapiuntur.

51. Celeberrimos auctores habeo tantam victoribus adversus fas nefasque inreverentiam fuisse, ut gregarius eques occisum a se proxima acie fratrem professus praemium a ducibus petierit. Nec illis aut honorare eam caedem ius hominum aut ulcisci
5 ratio belli permittebat. Distulerant tamquam maiora meritum quam quae statim exsolverentur; nec quidquam ultra traditur. Ceterum et prioribus civium bellis par scelus inciderat. Nam praelio quo apud Ianiculum adversus Cinna pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein cognito facinore se ipsum
10 interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat. Tanto acrior apud maiores, sicut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis paenitentia fuit. Sed haec aliaque ex vetere memoria petita, quotiens res locusque exempla recti aut solatia mali poscet, haud absurde memorabimus.

18. *clavarium*. This seems to be a military term, which is perhaps the reason why Tacitus has added the explanation. (Some editors, however, regard the explanation as spurious.) It was properly applied to a small payment made to supply nails for their boots. Heraeus quotes the following curious story from Suetonius, Vesp. 8, "classarios qui ab Ostia et Puteolis Romam pedibus per vices commeant, petentes constitui aliquid sibi calcearii nomine—iussit posthac ex-calceatos cursitare, et ex eo ita cursitant."

19. *et festinatio atque aviditas*. Those of the soldiers sent to collect supplies. *dum* is here almost equivalent to *cum*, and gives the reason, hence with the present; see above, c. 40, note on line 11. "While things, which might have been had for the army at large are being carried off as private plunder."

51. 1. *celeberrimos auctores habeo*. Livy, ix. 36, uses the phrase *habeo auctores*; *celeber* was not applied to persons or writers by the earlier classical authorities. Tacitus has, Ag. 1, "celeberrimus quisque ingenio." Who the authorities referred to are he does not state, perhaps Pliny and Messalla.

2. *inreverentiam adversus fas nefasque*. "Such irreverence towards all distinctions of right and wrong." *Inreverentia* is used absolutely only here, and Ann. iii. 31; xiii. 26; it has usually a genitive of object. On *fas nefasque*, see H. ii. 56.

4. *honorare*. "To honour by rewarding." *ius hominum*. "Natural justice." *ratio belli*. "The exigencies of war;" see iv. 63.

5. *distulerant*. The pluperfect is used, because the event had taken place at an earlier date than that which he had now reached.

8. *quo apud Ianiculum*. The battle referred to took place in 87 B.C., when Marius, Cinna, and Sertorius were attacking Rome, the elder Pompey and the consul Octavius were defending it, Mommsen, R. H. iv. c. 9. Livy's epitome agrees with Tacitus, but Valerius Maximus and Orosius state that the dead man belonged to the army of Sertorius, not of Cinna. Sertorius's army, however, might be regarded as part of that of Cinna, since they fought on the same side.

10. *Sisenna* (L. Cornelius), was praetor in 78 B.C. He died in Crete in 67 B.C., while acting as Pompey's legate against the pirates. He wrote a history of his own times, specially of the wars between Marius and Sulla, Sall. Jug. 100.

10. *tanto acrior apud maiores*. In Ag. i. we have a very similar sentiment, "adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur quibus facillime gignuntur."

13. *haud absurde memorabimus*. "It will be not inappropriate in us to relate." Cf. Ann. iv. 65; xii. 24.

52. Antonio ducibusque partium praemitti equites omnem-
que Umbriam explorari placuit, si qua Apennini iuga clementius
adirentur; acciri aquilas signaque et quidquid Veronae militum
foret, Padumque et mare commeatibus compleri. Erant inter
duces qui necerent moras: quippe nimius iam Antonius, et 5
certiora ex Muciano sperabantur. Namque Mucianus tam
celeri victoria anxius, et ni praesens urbe potiretur, expertem
se belli gloriaeque ratus, ad Primum et Varum media scripti-
tabat, instandum coeptis aut rursus cunctandi utilitates edis-
serens, atque ita compositus ut ex eventu rerum adversa 10
abnueret vel prospera agnosceret. Plotium Griphum nuper a
Vespasiano in senatorium ordinem additum ac legioni prae-
positum, ceterosque sibi fidos apertius monuit. Hique omnes
de festinatione Primi ac Vari sinistre et Muciano volentia re-
scripsere. Quibus epistulis Vespasiano missis effecerat, ut non 15
pro spe Antonii consilia factaque eius aestimarentur.

53. Aegre id pati Antonius, et culpam in Mucianum con-
ferre, cuius criminationibus eviluissent pericula sua. Nec

52. 2. si qua Apennini iuga clemen-
tius adirentur. *Clementius*, "by a
gentle slope;" cf. G. i., "clementer edito
montis iugo;" Ann. xii. 33, "hinc mon-
tibus arduis et si qua clementer accedi
poterant." It is surprising that Antonius
and the other leaders should not have
known the Apennines thoroughly, but
they had been more trained in the
provinces than in Italy.

3. acciri aquilas. They had been
left behind at Verona when the march
was resumed, c. 50. *commeatibus*.
"Convoys of provisions."

5. quippe nimius — sperabantur.
Nimius is "overbearing," as in Ag. 7,
"quippe legatis quoque consularibus
nimia ac formidolosa erat legio." Ritter
understands by *certiora*, "more clear com-
mands;" but *sperabantur* is against this,
and it is better to take it with Orelli and
Heraeus, "more sure rewards," on the
ground that Mucianus's influence with
Vespasian was greater and more firmly
established.

8. ad Primum et Varum media
scriptitabat. Varus is Arrius Varus,
Primus's companion, the free-lance who
commanded the cavalry; see chaps. 6
and 16. *Media*, "neutral counsels," the
more precise character of which he goes
on to explain. *Ita compositus* means
"with such studied ambiguity."

11. Plotium Griphum. He is men-
tioned again in iv. 39, as endowed with
the praetorship which was taken away
from Tettius Julianus. It seems most
likely that it was the 7th Claudian legion
which he had been given the command of,
as this was the legion which the flight of
Julianus had left without a commander,
see above, ii. 85. *additum*, the reading
of M., is corrected by the editors into
adscitum. *Additum in* is strange Latin,
whereas *adscitus in* constantly occurs;
ii. 53, "in senatum nuper adscitus;"
iv. 24, "adsciri in societatem Germanos,"
etc.

14. Muciano volentia. "Things pleas-
ing to Mucianus." Tacitus repeats the
phrase, Ann. xv. 36, "haec atque talia
plebi volentia fuere." He perhaps
borrowed it from Sall. Hist. Fr. iv. 56,
"multisque suspicionibus volentia plebi
facturus habebatur."

53. 2. nec sermonibus tempera-
bat, inmodicus lingua. "Nor did
he abstain from giving expression to his
feelings in words." *A* or *ab* with *tem-
perare* is the familiar use in classical
Latin, as Verg. Aen. ii. 8, "temperat
a lacrymis;" but Tacitus prefers the
simple ablative, i. 69; Ann. i. 59, etc.
Inmodicus has either a genitive or
ablative, more usually an ablative in
Tacitus.

- sermonibus temperabat, inmodicus lingua et obsequii insolens. Litteras ad Vespasianum composuit iactantius quam ad principem, nec sine occulta in Mucianum insectatione : se Pannonicas legiones in arma egisse ; suis stimulis excitos Moesiae duces, sua constantia perruptas Alpes, occupatam Italiam, intersepta Germanorum Raetorumque auxilia. Quod discordes dispersasque Vitellii legiones equestri procella, mox peditum vi per diem noctemque fudisset, id pulcherrimum et sui operis. Casum Cremonae bello inputandum : maiore damno, plurium urbium excidiis veteres civium discordias rei publicae stetisse. Non se nuntiis neque epistulis, sed manu et armis imperatori suo militare. Neque officere gloriae eorum qui Asiam interim composuerint. Illis Moesiae pacem, sibi salutem securitatemque Italiae cordi fuisse ; suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque, validissimam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conversas. Sed cecidisse in inritum labores, si praemia periculorum soli adsequantur qui periculis non adfuerint. Nec fefellere ea Mucianum : inde graves simultates, quas Antonius simplicius, Mucianus callide eoque inplacabilius nutribat.

54. At Vitellius fractis apud Cremonam rebus nuntios cladis occultans, stulta dissimulatione remedia potius malorum quam mala differebat. Quippe confitenti consultantique supererant spes viresque ; cum e contrario laeta omnia fingeret, falsis ingravescbat. Mirum apud ipsum de bello silentium ; pro-

4. *iactantius quam ad principem.* One of Tacitus's very condensed expressions, formed on the analogy of the better known phrase, *quam pro.* It is like the phrase in c. 40, "segnius quam ad bellum incedens."

7. *intersepta Germanorum Raetorumque auxilia.* He refers to the operations described in c. 8.

10. *et sui operis, sc. fuisse.* "Was all his own doing." The cavalry engagement and subsequent battle have been described in chaps. 17 and 18.

12. *rei publicae stetisse.* "Had cost the republic ;" so Liv. xxiii. 30, "multo sanguine et vulneribus ea victoria Poenis stetit."

14. *qui Asiam interim composuerint.* There had been no rising in Asia, therefore the words, if they stand, must be taken as ironical. Heraeus suggests *Daciam*, but this can hardly be said to have been reduced to order, and the defence of Moesia is men-

tioned in the next line ; Ritter suggests *alia.* For Mucianus's defence of Moesia, see c. 46.

17. *validissimam terrarum partem.* In Ag. 24, Spain and Gaul are called by Tacitus himself "valentissimam imperii partem." For his letters to Spain and Gaul, see above, ii. 86.

18. *cecidisse in inritum labores.* "His labours had been spent in vain." Livy, ii. 6, has "ad irritum cadentis spei."

54. 2. *stulta dissimulatione.* *Dissimulatio* has here its proper meaning of pretending that that has not occurred, which has occurred.

3. *confitenti consultantique.* "If he could confess and take measures." This conditional use of the participles, copied from the Greek, common in Tacitus, is comparatively rare in earlier writers.

5. *ingravescbat.* "His condition grew worse and worse." The word is a medical one, but used in a metaphorical sense even by Cicero, ad Att. x. 4,

hibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque plures, ac, si liceret, vere narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora volgaverant. Nec duces hostium augendae famae deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora victoris exercitus noscerent, remittendo; quos omnis Vitellius secreto percunctatus interfici iussit. 10 Notabili constantia centurio Iulius Agrestis, post multos sermones quibus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit ut ad vires hostium spectandas quaeque apud Cremonam acta forent ipse mitteretur. Nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium tentavit, sed mandata imperatoris suumque animum 15 professus, ut cuncta viseret, postulat. Missi qui locum praelii, Cremonae vestigia, captas legiones ostenderent. Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit, abnuentique vera esse quae adferret, atque ultro corruptum arguenti, "quandoquidem" inquit "magno documento opus est, nec alius iam tibi aut vitae aut mortis 20 meae usus, dabo cui credas." Atque ita digressus voluntaria morte dicta firmavit. Quidam iussu Vitellii interfectum, de fide constantiaque eadem tradidere.

55. Vitellius, ut e somno excitus, Iulium Priscum et Alfenium Varum cum quattuordecim praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alis obsidere Apenninum iubet. Secuta e classicis

"alter ardet furore et scelere, nec remittit aliquid, sed in dies ingravescit."

6. eoque plures ac, si liceret, vere narraturi. *Sermones* is the substantive with which these words agree. *Vere narraturi* equals *qui vere narraturi erant*, an attempt to reproduce the Greek aorist participle with *dv*. *atrociora volgaverant*. "Had exaggerated the bad news."

7. nec—augendae famae deerant. For *nec deerant*, see i. 22, and for its use with the gerundive, Ann. i. 1, "temporibus Augusti dicendis non defuerunt decora ingenia."

13. perpulit. "He prevailed upon him." For the use with *ut*, see i. 66, "his et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerunt ut . . ." ii. 33, "deterioris consilii auctores perpulere ut Brixellum concederet."

14. fallere tentavit. The infinitive is not found after *tento* in classical writers, but occurs in Cornelius Nepos, Hirtius, etc.

16. ut cuncta viseret postulat. The imperfect is explained by *postulat* being an historical present. After verbs like *postulo*, the imperfect subjunctive gets the sense of being allowed to do so and so.

17. Cremonae vestigia. "The traces of Cremona;" constantly used of the ruins of a city or place; c. 72, "iisdem rursus vestigiis situm est;" iv. 53, "ut templum iisdem vestigiis sisteretur."

22. quidam iussu Vitellii interfectum. It is interesting to observe how much of the courage and virtue of the time resided in the common soldiers or centurions. We have here one of Tacitus's comparatively rare references to the conflict of the authorities he consulted.

56. 1. Iulium Priscum et Alfenium Varum. They had been appointed *praefecti praetorii*, the latter in succession to Publius Sabinus, who was deposed on account of his intimacy with Caecina, see ii. 92; iii. 36. Some MSS. read *Alfenum*.

2. cum quattuordecim praetoriis cohortibus. The number of these cohorts had been raised by Vitellius to sixteen. See ii. 93.

3. secuta e classicis legio. This was a new legion, just raised from the sailors belonging to the fleet at Misenum. It must not be confounded with the Prima Adiutrix, raised earlier in the

- legio. Tot milia armatorum, lecta equis virisque, si dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant. Ceterae cohortes ad tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratri datae. Ipse nihil e solito luxu remittens, et diffidentia properus, festinare comitia, quibus consules in multos annos destinabat; foedera sociis, Latium externis dilargiri; his tributa dimittere, alios immunitatibus iuvare; denique nulla in posterum cura lacerare imperium. Sed volgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum aderat; stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur; apud sapientes cassa habebantur, quae neque dari neque accipi salva re publica poterant. Tandem flagitante exercitu, qui Mevaniam insederat, magno senatorum agmine, quorum multos ambitione, plures formidine trahebat, in castra venit, incertus animi et infidis consiliis obnoxius.

56. Contionanti (prodigiosum dictu) tantum foedarum

same way, which had been sent off to Spain, ii. 67.

4. *lecta equis virisque*. We should say "picked men and horses." Tacitus says "picked *in* men and horses," the ablative being used to show that in point of which they were picked; so Ann. xii. 40, "*lecta armis iuventus*." *Inferendo bello* means "for taking the offensive," carrying the war into the enemy's country.

5. *ceterae cohortes*, *i.e.* the two other praetorian cohorts, the four urban cohorts, ii. 93, and the seven *cohortes vigilum*.

7. *festinare comitia*—quibus—*destinabat*. The elections had become an empty form, as the people no longer chose their chief magistrates; only, after the election, the names of the candidates chosen were returned to them (*renuntiatur*). The *comitia* referred to here is the meeting of the senate, in which the emperor, according to the powers vested in him, commended a certain number of candidates, *sine ambitu et repulsa designandos*, and nominated others as eligible for election. The word *destinabat* perhaps applies to both these processes. Suetonius says that he designated magistrates for ten years to come.

8. *foedera sociis*. Allies to whom special privileges were secured under treaty were called *civitates foederatae*; it is these special privileges, immunities from taxation and the like, that Tacitus designates by the word *foedera*.

8. *Latium externis dilargiri*. By *Latium* is meant *ius Latii* or *Latinitas*.

It conferred the right of *commercium* with Rome (though not *conubium*) and also the *ius honorum* for those who had held office in their own city and migrated to Rome. In 64 A.D., Nero conferred the *ius Latii* on the people of the Maritime Alps, Ann. xv. 32.

9. *his tributa dimittere*. Orelli says that *dimittere* means to abolish, while *remittere* would be used when the remission took place only for a limited time.

10. *denique—lacerare imperium*. The term *lacerare* is taken from Sall. Cat. 14, "*bona patria lacerare*;" H. Fr. i. 56, "*largitionibus rempublicam lacerare*." The expression means "to sap the strength of."

11. *volgus aderat*. This seems to mean "were prepared to swallow." Heraeus inserts *hians*.

13. *salva republica*. "Without ruin to the state."

14. *Mevaniam*. This was in Umbria, at the foot of the Apennines, north-west of Spolegium, now called Bevagna.

15. *ambitione*. "With interested motives," with the hope of winning his favour. In the same way, some of the senators, who accompanied Otho on his march, sought to win his favour by the magnificence of their trappings; see i. 88.

16. *incertus animi et infidis consiliis obnoxius*. The *animi* respects the subject in which the uncertainty resides; cf. Ann. vi. 46; Liv. i. 7; the *infidis consiliis* are the faithless counsels given by his own partisans; *obnoxius*, "exposed to, easily led by."

56. 1. *prodigiosum dictu*. The pro-

volucrum supervolitavit ut nube atra diem obtenderent. Accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus disiecto sacrificii apparatu, longe, nec ubi feriri hostias mos est, confossus. Sed praecipuum ipse Vitellius ostentum erat, ignarus militiae, 5 improvidus consilii, quis ordo agminis, quae cura explorandi, quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus, alios rogitans, et ad omnis nuntios voltu quoque et incessu trepidus, dein temulentus. Postremo taedio castrorum, et audita defectione Misenensis classis, Romam revertit, recentissimum quodque vulnus pavens, 10 summi discriminis incuriosus. Nam cum transgredi Apenninum integro exercitus sui robore et fessos hieme atque inopia hostes adgredi in aperto foret, dum dispergit vires, acerrimum militem et usque in extrema obstinatum trucidandum capientemque tradidit, peritissimis centurionum dissentientibus et, si 15 consulerentur, vera dicturis.] Arcuere eos intimi amicorum Vitellii, ita formatis principis auribus ut aspera, quae utilia, nec quidquam nisi iucundum et laesurum acciperet.

digy consisted in a flight of these ill-omened birds, such as carrion crows; as a rule, such birds of prey are solitary. *nube atra diem obtenderent* is the reverse construction of the one above, c. 36, "*curis luxum obtendebat*;" cf. Dio, lxx. 16; and Cic. ad Quint. Fr. i. 1, 5, § 15, "*quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur uniuscuiusque natura*."

3. *profugus altaribus taurus*. Festus gives (p. 129) the following list of *piacularia*, i.e. unfavourable omens which may befall those sacrificing, "*cum aut hostia ab ara fugit aut percussa mugitum dedit, aut in aliam quam oportuit partem corporis cecidit*." Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 223.

4. *longe, nec ubi mos est*. "At a distance from the altar, not where it should be slain, at the foot of it."

6. *improvidus consilii*. "Not providing any definite plan."

6. *quis ordo agminis*. These questions depend on *alios rogitans*. *quae cura explorandi* seems to mean "what are the measures necessary for reconnoitring." *quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus*. "What are the due limits to hurrying on or protracting the war." M. reads *dein temulentus*, which Heraeus needlessly alters into *denique*.

10. *recentissimum quodque vulnus pavens*. "Shuddering at each fresh wound as it occurred." *Pavens* is used

actively by Sallust, Horace, and Livy. We have elsewhere noticed Tacitus's fondness for the transitive use of neuter verbs. So Ann. v. 4, "*incerta pavet*."

12. *fessos hieme atque inopia*. It was now November or December, and the advance of Vitellius's own force earlier in the year had largely desolated the country.

13. *In aperto foret*. "Would be obvious to do." *In aperto* is nearly the same as *pronum* which is coupled with it, Ag. 1, "*sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat*." At this time he would have found the enemy scattered and off their guard.

13. *dum dispergit vires*. "In breaking up his strength;" on this use of *dum* with the present, see c. 40, note on line 11.

14. *usque in extrema obstinatum*. The sequel gives the history of the obstinate valour shown, even when all was lost, by Vitellius's troops.

16. *vera dicturis*. "Ready to speak the truth." This use of the future participle, in imitation of the Greek participle with *δὲ*, is a feature of Tacitus's style.

17. *aspera* is the reading of M., and is certainly to be preferred to the correction of the editors *asperie*. *Aspera* means "disagreeable." The change of construction which follows is quite in Tacitus's manner.

57. Sed classem Misenensem (tantum civilibus discordiis etiam singulorum audacia valet) Claudius Faventinus centurio per ignominiam a Galba dimissus ad defectionem traxit, fictis Vespasiani epistulis pretium prodicionis ostentans. Praeerat
 5 classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans neque strenuus in perfidia. Et Apinius Tiro praetura functus ac tum forte Minturnis agens ducem se defectoribus obtulit. A quibus municipia coloniaeque impulsae, praecipuo Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studio, contra Capua Vitellio fida, municipalem
 10 aemulationem bellis civilibus miscebant. Vitellius Claudium Iulianum (is nuper classem Misenensem molli imperio rexerat) permulcendis militum animis delegit. Data in auxilium urbana cohors et gladiatores, quibus Iulianus praeerat. Ut collata utrimque castra, haud magna cunctatione Iuliano in partes
 15 Vespasiani transgresso Tarracinam occupavere, moenibus situ-que magis quam ipsorum ingenio tutam.

58. Quae ubi Vitellio cognita, parte copiarum Narniae cum

57. 2. *Claudius Faventinus centurio.* We have a monument of him in the so called *Ara Casali* (still preserved at Rome) erected by him. It has the inscription, surrounded by a civic crown : *Ti. Claudius Faventinus D.D. V.* (Orelli) Tacitus is surprised that a simple centurion should play so large a part in the civil war.

5. *Claudius Apollinaris.* We do not know anything more of him than what is mentioned here, and below, chaps. 76, 77. He must have been appointed to the command of the fleet after Bassus's treachery became known, for in ii. 100 Bassus is said to have been given the command of both fleets.

5. *neque fidei constans neque strenuus in perfidia.* He was not loyal to Vitellius, nor did he throw himself heartily into the cause of Vespasian. There is no doubt about the sense, but the brevity of the expression causes a slight confusion.

7. *Minturnis agens.* "Quartered at Minturnae." Minturnae was near the mouth of the Liris, on the borders of Latium and Campania.

7. *municipia coloniaeque.* The towns of Italy were at this time ordinarily called *municipia*; the *coloniae* being partly the colonies founded after the civil wars by Julius and Augustus, partly old Roman and Latin colonies. There were a considerable number of such colonies in

Latium and Campania. The colonies ranked above the *municipia*. The two names are constantly coupled together by Tacitus as descriptive of the Italian towns, Ann. i. 79.

9. *municipalem aemulationem.* "Their local rivalries." There was much rivalry at this time between the different Campanian towns, and indeed between the cities of Italy generally. Such rivalry in North Italy had been already alluded to in ii. 21.

10. *Claudium Iulianum.* Pliny, N. H. xxxvii. 3, 11, mentions a Julianus, who in Nero's time had the care of the gladiatorial school; and the connexion of the Julianus mentioned here with the gladiators (*quibus praeerat*) makes it probable that the two are identical.

15. *Tarracinam.* Known also by the name of *Anxur*, situated on the Appian road, above the Pontine marshes. Horace, Sat. i. 5, 26, speaks of it as "*impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur*," which explains Tacitus's allusion to its being protected by its position. *Ipsorum* is variously explained. Ritter understands it of the townsfolk, Orelli of those who now occupied it, Julianus and Apollinaris, who took but little pains to put it in a position of defence.

58. 1. *parte copiarum Narniae cum praefectis praetorii relicta.* He had now altogether retired from Mevania and fallen back on Narnia. Here eight

praefectis praetorii relictis, L. Vitellium fratrem cum sex cohortibus et quingentis equitibus ingruenti per Campaniam bello opposuit. Ipse aeger animi studiis militum et clamoribus populi arma poscentis refovebatur, dum vulgus ignavum et nihil 5 ultra verba ausurum falsa specie exercitum et legiones appellat. Hortantibus libertis (nam amicorum eius quanto quis clarior, minus fidus) vocari tribus iubet, dantes nomina sacramento adigit. Superfluente multitudine curam delectus in consules partitur. Servorum numerum et pondus argenti senatoribus 10 indicit. Equites Romani obtulere operam pecuniasque, etiam libertinis idem munus ultro flagitantibus. Ea simulatio officii a metu profecta verterat in favorem; ac plerique haud perinde Vitellium quam casum locumque principatus miserabantur. Nec

cohorts were left, under the command of Julius Priscus and Alfenius Varus. Narnia commanded the Flaminian Way, but in falling back there Vitellius left the passage of the Apennines unopposed. It was nearly two days' march south of Mevania.

7. *quanto quis clarior minus fidus*. The omission of *tanto* is frequent in Tacitus, Furn. Int. v. § 64, 3. Tacitus forms the comparative of *fidus* by *magis fidus*, Ann. i. 57; of *infidus* by *minus fidus*.

8. *vocari tribus iubet*. There is a question who were included within the tribes at this time. Heraeus maintains that they were restricted to the population of the capital, and this seems almost certainly the case, both from the present and other passages. But was the whole population of Rome—except the senate and equites—so included? Most of the authorities answer this question in the affirmative. Ritter, in a learned note on this passage, maintains the opposite opinion. He holds that the *plebs infima*, who were supported by the dole of public corn, were not included within the tribes, who thus consisted of the better-to-do people who prided themselves on their free descent. In support of his position, he relies mainly on two authorities—(1) a passage in Augustus's will, who left (according to Suetonius, Aug. 101) "quadringenties populo Romano, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium." Here, he argues, the large amount was left to the poor populace, a much smaller amount to the members of the tribes, who were comparatively well off; (2) an inscription to the following effect: "Imp. T. Caesari

Divi F. Vespasiano Aug. Plebs Urbana quae Frumentum Publicum accepit et Tribus," where the tribes seem clearly distinguished from those who received the public dole. It points in the same direction that the *vulgus urbanum*, c. 80, are mentioned as taking up arms at a much later date. The tribes had, of course, now lost all political significance.

8. *sacramento adigit*. This was the regular phrase for tendering the military oath.

9. *in consules partitur*. The two consuls were Caecilius Simplex and Quinctius Atticus, c. 73.

10. *servorum numerum et pondus argenti senatoribus indicit*, i.e. which they were to furnish for the public service. Gold and silver contributions were still paid by weight.

11. *equites Romani obtulere operam*. *Opera* seems to mean "personal service." They volunteered, since no obligation was imposed upon them. Others understand it of the service of their slaves.

13. *verterat in favorem*. The perfect is used because, when the offers were made, it had already changed into genuine good-will.

13. *haud perinde—quam casum locumque—miserabantur*. The substitution of *haud perinde quam* for *haud perinde ac* is peculiar to Tacitus. *Casum locumque*, "the fall and the position of," is nearly, but not quite, a hendiadys, = "the fallen position of."

14. *nec deerat ipse—ellicere*. We have the same construction, i. 36, "nec deerat Otho adorare vulgus." Sometimes, instead of an infinitive, we have a substantive, e.g. "nec deerat Ptolemaeus

- 15 deerat ipse voltu voce lacrimis misericordiam elicere, largus promissis, et quae natura trepidantium est, inmodicus. Quin et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea; sed tunc superstitione nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudentium et volgi rumor iuxta audiuntur. Ceterum ut omnia inconsulti impetus
20 coepta initiis valida spatio languescunt, dilabi paulatim senatores equitesque, primo cunctanter et ubi ipse non aderat, mox contemptim et sine discrimine, donec Vitellius pudore inriti conatus, quae non dabantur, remisit.

59. Ut terrorem Italiae possessa Mevania ac velut renatum ex integro bellum intulerat, ita haud dubium erga Flavianas partes studium tam pavidus Vitellii discessus addidit. Erectus Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi aemulatione, quod Campania
5 praevenisset, ut in novo obsequio, ad cuncta belli munia acres erant. Sed foeda hieme per transitum Apennini conflictatus exercitus; et vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus patuit quantum discriminis adeundum foret, ni Vitellium retro fortuna vertisset, quae Flavianis ducibus non minus saepe quam ratio
10 adfuit. Obvium illic Petilium Cerialem habuere, agresti cultu

iam et sceleris instructor," i. 22; or the dative of the gerundive, c. 54, "nec duces hostium augendae famae deerant."

17. *aspernatus antea*, i. 62, ii. 62. *superstitione nominis*. "From superstition reverence for the name." *Nominis* is an objective genitive; Sen. Epp. 95, 35, "huius (sc. virtutis) quadam superstitione teneantur."

21. *mox contemptim et sine discrimine*. "Later on contemptuously, and making no difference whether he were there or not."

59. 1. *possessa Mevania*. "The occupation of Mevania." So c. 8, "possessa ipso transitu Vicetia."

3. *studium—addidit* is formed on the analogy of *animum addere*.

3. *erectus*. "Roused to energy." So used, Ann. iii. 7, "erectis omnium animis." The Samnites, Peligni, Marsi, are the nations of central Italy, neighbours of the Campanians.

5. *ut in novo obsequio*. *Ut* gives the ground on which their alacrity rested, and nearly = *ut fieri solet*; cf. i. 4, "ut erga principem novum et absentem," "as was natural when there had been a change of allegiance." It is frequently used in this sense, in imitation of the Greek *ὥς*, by Tacitus, rarely by Cicero.

6. *foeda hieme per transitum*

Apennini conflictatus exercitus. "The army was harassed by dreadful weather in its passage over the Apennines." It advanced from Fanum Fortunae by one of the passes which lead down into the valley of the Arno, or by the Flaminian Way. We have now reached the month of December.

7. *et vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus patuit*. "And, as they with difficulty made their way over the snow when their march was undisturbed, it was plain," etc. *Eluctari* is used again with the accusative, Ag. 17, "locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus." *Quietum agmine* refers to their not being molested during the passage by the troops of Vitellius.

10. *illo*. "On the passage."

10. *Petillum Cerialem*. His full name was Q. Petilius Cerialis Caesius Rufus, as we learn from the Fasti. He had originally served in Germany, and was in 61 A.D. appointed legate of the ninth legion, then serving in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus, Ann. xiv. 32. He was appointed *consul suffectus* in 70 A.D., and was immediately afterwards selected to command against Civilis in Germany, iv. 68, 71, 79, 86, v. 14, and seqq. He was again *consul suffectus* in 74 A.D.; what his relationship with Vespasian was we do not know.

et notitia locorum custodias Vitellii elapsam. Propinqua adfinitas Ceriali cum Vespasiano, nec ipse inglorius militiae; eoque inter duces adsumptus est. Flavio quoque Sabino ac Domitiano patuisse effugium multi tradidere; et missi ab Antonio nuntii per varias fallendi artes penetrabant, locum ac praesidium 15 monstrantes. Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciae valetudinem causabatur: Domitiano aderat animus; sed custodes a Vitellio additi, quamquam se socios fugae promitterent, tamquam insidiantes timebantur. Atque ipse Vitellius, respectu suarum necessitudinum, nihil in Domitianum atrox parabat. 20

60. Duces partium ut Carsulas venere, paucos ad requiem dies sumunt, donec aquilae signaque legionum adsequerentur, et locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto copiarum adgestu, florentissimis pone tergum municipiis. Simul colloquia 5 cum Vitellianis decem milium spatio distantibus et proditio sperabatur. Aegre id pati miles, et victoriam malle quam pacem. Ne suas quidem legiones opperiebantur, ut praedae quam periculorum socias. Vocatos ad contionem Antonius docuit esse adhuc Vitellio vires, ambiguas, si deliberarent, acres, si desperassent. Initia bellorum civilium fortunae permittenda: 10 victoriam consiliis et ratione perfici. Iam Misenensem classem et pulcherrimam Campaniae oram descivisse; nec plus e toto terrarum orbe reliquum Vitellio quam quod inter Tarracinam Narniamque iaceat. Satis gloriae praelio Cremonensi partum, et exitio Cremonae nimium invidiae. Ne concupiscerent 15 Romam capere potius quam servare. Maiora illis praemia, et multo maximum decus, si incolumitatem senatui populoque

11. *custodias Vitellii elapsam.* *Custodias* for *custodes*. "The outposts;" so used by Cicero and Caesar. *Elabor* occurs again with the accusative, Ann. i. 61, iv. 64. The use is peculiar to Tacitus.

13. *Flavio quoque Sabino.* He was Vespasian's brother and *praefectus urbis*, i. 46.

19. *suarum necessitudinum respectu.* "Having regard to his own relations." So Suet. Aug. 17, "remisit hosti iudicato necessitudines amicosque omnes."

60. 1. *ut Carsulas venere.* A town on the western slopes of the Apennines, south of Mevania, but ten miles north of Narnia; now Casigliano.

2. *donec aquillae signaque.* Those which had been left at Verona. See c. 52.

3. *tuto copiarum adgestu.* A descriptive ablative: "when supplies could be safely collected." The towns referred to in the neighbourhood are Mevania, Spoletium, Urbinum, and farther off, those of Etruria.

5. *et proditio sperabatur.* The verb agrees with the nearer nominative as the more important, for the *colloquia* would be at most a means to this result.

11. *perfici.* *Profici* is probably the reading of M.; the correction is easy. Others read *proficisci a*.

14. *iaceat.* As we say "lies between." Not a classical use of the word, but found in Curtius.

17. *si—sine sanguine quaesissent.* "If they had gained without bloodshed." That is to say, if they could without

Romano sine sanguine quaesissent. His ac talibus mitigati animi.

61. Nec multo post legiones venere. Et terrore famaue aucti exercitus Vitellianae cohortes nutabant, nullo in bellum adhortante, multis ad transitionem, qui suas centurias turmasque tradere, donum victori et sibi in posterum gratiam, certabant. Per eos cognitum est Interamnam proximis campis praesidio quadringentorum equitum teneri. Missus extemplo Varus cum expedita manu paucos repugnantium interfecit; plures abiectis armis veniam petivere. Quidam in castra refugi cuncta formidine implebant, augendo rumoribus virtutem copiasque hostium, quo amissi praesidii dedecus lenirent. Nec ulla apud Vitellianos flagitii poena, et praemiis defectorum versa fides, ac reliquum perfidiae certamen. Crebra transfugia tribunorum centurionumque. Nam gregarius miles induruerat pro Vitellio, donec Priscus et Alfenius desertis castris ad Vitellium regressi pudore prodicionis cunctos exsolverent.

62. Isdem diebus Fabius Valens Urbini in custodia interficitur. Caput eius Vitellianis cohortibus ostentatum, ne quam ultra spem foverent: nam pervasisse in Germanias Valentem et

bloodshed represent themselves as having saved the senate and people of Rome from the risk which, under Vitellius and amid the din of arms, they would run.

61. 1. *legiones venere*. They had in the main been left behind at Verona and in North Italy, detachments of them only being sent forward. See c. 50.

2. *cohortes*, i.e. the eight praetorian cohorts, which were now the backbone of Vitellius's army.

4. *donum victori et sibi in posterum gratiam*. The accusatives express the result of the action of the verb, as in i. 44, "*munimentum in praesens, in posterum ultionem*." *tradere certabant*. Tacitus uses the infinitive after many more verbs than it would be found with in classical authors; in this use he had been anticipated by Curtius.

5. *Interamnam proximis campis*. It lay to the east of the Via Flaminia, some little distance from it; it is now Terni.

7. *Varus* is of course Arrius Varus, the general of Vespasian's cavalry, chaps. 6, 16, 52. On the genitive *repugnantium*, see note on line 9, c. 12. *in castra*. The camp was at Narnia.

11. *versa fides*. *Versa* is for *subversa*.

M. reads *verba*, which some editors have altered into *vera*, understanding it "men believed in the certainty of the rewards." This is less likely. *ac reliquum perfidiae certamen*. "And all that was left was a contest in perfidy."

13. *induruerat pro Vitellio*. Before, ii. 101, the common soldiery had been described as having "*animos obstinatos pro Vitellio*." The bulk of his army now consisted of newly-made praetorians, who were afraid of being supplanted by Vespasian's troops.

14. *donec — exsolverent*. Tacitus has repeated the phrase, Ann. vi. 44, "*donec Tiridates cum paucis in Suriam re-rectus pudore prodicionis omnes exsolvit*," "deprived their desertion of its disgrace," i.e. all felt entitled to desert when the very generals had themselves abandoned the cause. *Donec*, with the subjunctive, expresses not only the time up to which a thing takes place, but also that the preceding sentence is the cause of that which follows upon it.

62. 1. *Urbini*. Urbinum, a town of Umbria, south-west of Fanum Fortunae, now Urbino. His capture at the Stoechades Insulae had been already described, c. 43.

veteres illic novosque exercitus ciere credebant. Visa caede in desperationem versi. Et Flavianus exercitus immane quantum 5 animo exitium Valentis ut finem belli accepit. Natus erat Valens Anagniae, equestri familia. Procax moribus, neque absurdus ingenio, famam urbanitatis per lasciviam petere. Ludicro iuvenum sub Nerone velut ex necessitate, mox sponte mimos actitavit, scite magis quam probe. Legatus legionis et 10 fovit Verginium et infamavit. Fonteium Capitonem corruptum, seu quia corrumpere nequiverat, interfecit. Galbae proditor, Vitellio fidus et aliorum perfidia inlustratus.

63. Abrupta undique spe Vitellianus miles transiturus in partes, id quoque non sine decore, sed sub signis vexillisque in subiectos Narniae campos descendere. Flavianus exercitus, ut ad praelium intentus ornatusque, densis circa viam ordinibus adstiterat. Accepti in medium Vitelliani, et circumdatos 5

5. *immane quantum*. An adverbial expression, like the Greek *θαυμαστόν δσον*. See Hor. Od. i. 27, 5, "vino et lucernis Medus acinaces immane quantum discrepat." The expression has thus become so entirely adverbial that it is followed by the indicative.

6. *animo*. Acidalius reads *animo auctus*, Heraeus *aucto animo*. *Immane quantum animo* is certainly a very harsh expression, yet it is rash to affirm that Tacitus would not have used it.

7. *Anagnia* is the old capital of the Hernici, but counted at this time as a town of Latium; it is now Anagni.

7. *neque absurdus ingenio*. Copied from Sall. Cat. 25, "ingenium Semporniae haud absurdum."

9. *ludicro iuvenum sub Nerone*. For the institution of these by Nero, see Ann. xiv. 15. Most of the editors have altered *iuvenum* into *iuvencium*, since it is the name uniformly given to them in the *Annals*, xiv. 15, xv. 33, xvi. 21; and *ludicrum iuvenum* is the name given to the sports of the youths of the equestrian order. Orelli, on the other hand, maintains that *ludicrum iuvenum* constantly occurs in inscriptions, as the name of the theatrical amusements instituted by Nero.

9. *velut ex necessitate*. "As he alleged from necessity." *Velut* generally expresses a false excuse.

10. *mimos actitavit scite magis quam probe*. "He took to acting farces with more credit to his skill than good name." Nero instituted a regular

club for dramatic performances, and encouraged the members of noble families and the youth of the equestrian order to take part in them. Their doing so was a great shock to all the better feelings of Rome; Ann. xiv. 15.

11. *et infamavit*. "And blackened him." See i. 64, "secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius." For the history of Verginius, see i. 8, note on line 11. For Fonteius Capito, see i. 7, second note on line 1.

12. *Galbae proditor—et aliorum perfidia inlustratus*. For his treachery to Galba, see i. 57. He shone in these latter days, by contrast with the treachery of Caccina.

63. 1. *abrupta undique spe*. Abandoned by their emperor, deserted by their generals, they had just had their last hope of assistance from Germany destroyed by the proof which had been given them of Valens's death.

2. *id quoque non sine decore*. We must supply *facere*, as in i. 84, "vos quidem istud pro me." Ritter, however, makes *descendere* the principal verb, regarding *id quoque—vexillisque*, as parenthetical, and for this there is much to be said. Those who had been captured at Cremona had been made to give up their arms and their colours, c. 31.

4. *ornatusque*. "With all their military decorations on." The road, which they lined, was the Flaminian Way which passed through Narnia.

Primus Antonius clementer adloquitur. Pars Narniae, pars Interamnae subsistere iussi. Relictae simul e victricibus legiones, neque quiescentibus graves et adversus contumaciam validae. Non omisere per eos dies Primus ac Varus crebris
 10 nuntiis salutem et pecuniam et secreta Campaniae offerre Vitellio, si positis armis seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset. In eundem modum et Mucianus composuit epistulas; quibus plerumque fidere Vitellius, ac de numero servorum, electione litorum loqui. Tanta torpedo invaserat animum ut, si
 15 principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur.

64. At primores civitatis Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis secretis sermonibus incitabant, victoriae famaеque partem capesseret. Esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum, nec defuturas vigilum cohortes, servitia ipsorum, fortunam
 5 partium, et omnia prona victoribus. Ne Antonio Varoque de gloria concederet. Paucas Vitellio cohortes, et maestis undique nuntiis trepidas; populi mobilem animum, et si ducem se

6. *pars—pars—iussit*. On the conjunction of the masculine plural verb with the feminine singular substantive, see Madvig, § 215 a. The construction is possible, because our thoughts are naturally led to the individual soldiers. So Liv. ii. 14, "*pars perexigua, duce amisso, Romam inermes delati sunt.*"

8. *neque quiescentibus graves et*. "Not offensive to them if they kept quiet, and yet strong enough." This combination of particles is found even in Cicero; cf. Cat. M. 15, § 51; Madvig, § 258, obs. c.

10. *secreta Campaniae*. "A retirement in Campania." The plural is used, because the choice of the particular town was still open. In i. 85 we have "*secreta domuum*" for the retirement of home.

11. *si—permisisset*. The pluperfect is used because the offer is made conditionally on his having already given himself up, *seque ac liberos suos*. The conjunctions are intended to represent *et al.* In Ann. i. 34, we have "*seque et proximos.*"

12. *in eundem modum*. As we say, "in the same sense;" Liv. xxvi. 12, "*in hanc sententiam literae conscriptae.*"

13. *quibus plerumque fidere*. The use of the historical infinitive after a relative is rare. It is found, however, in Livy and Sallust of a state of things which suddenly begins; Madvig, § 392. *Plerumque*, "in their outline."

14. *ut—oblivisceretur*. A sort of

double subjunctive. In classical writers, we should rather have had *obliturus fuisset*. This description of Vitellius losing both his throne and life, from sheer inertness and incapacity to exert himself, is one of the most powerful bits of writing in the *Historiae*.

64. 2. *victoriae famaеque* is almost equivalent to a hendiadys: "the glory of victory."

3. *esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum*. There were at present four of these cohorts (ii. 93), instead of the three that were usual. They were under the *praefectus urbis*, who was responsible for the safety and order of the capital.

4. *vigilum cohortes*. Of these there were seven. They were instituted by Augustus in 5 A.D., Dio, lv. 26. They carried arms, but also a shovel and pick, and acted as a fire brigade. They were mainly, but not entirely, recruited from the freedmen.

4. *servitia ipsorum, i.e.* the slaves of those who tendered the advice.

5. *de gloria concederet*. Livy uses the same construction, iv. 6, "*aut hostibus aut civibus de victoria concedendum esse.*"

6. *paucas Vitellio cohortes*. All but two had been sent out to Mevania, and some of these had been moved into Campania. In c. 78, it is mentioned that three took part in the siege of the capital.

praeuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore. Ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem parem: adeo ruentibus debilitatum. Gratiam patrati belli penes eum qui urbem occu- 10 passet. Id Sabino convenire, ut imperium fratri reservaret; id Vespasiano, ut ceteri post Sabinum haberentur.

65. Haudquaquam erecto animo eas voces accipiebat, invalidus senecta. Erant qui occultis suspicionibus incesserent, tamquam invidia et aemulatione fortunam fratris moraretur. Namque Flavius Sabinus aetate prior privatis utriusque rebus auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum anteibat, et credebatur 5 adfectam eius fidem praeiuisse domo agrisque pignori acceptis; unde, quamquam manente in speciem concordia, offensarum operata metuebantur. Melior interpretatio, mitem virum abhorrere a sanguine et caedibus, eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de pace ponendis per condicionem armis 10 agitare. Saepe domi congressi, postremo in aede Apollinis, ut fama fuit, pepigere. Verba vocesque duos testes habebant, Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum. Voltus procul visentibus

9. ne prosperis quidem — adeo ruentibus debilitatum. *Prosperis, ruentibus* are probably ablative. Tacitus is very fond of these neuter plurals. *Adeo*, "much more." See i. 9, note on line 3.

10. patrati belli. Ann. i. 26, "posse bellum patrari;" "brought to a close." The use of the word is said to be one of Tacitus's archaisms; it is not found in Livy or Caesar. Furn. Int. v. § 96.

65. 2. occultis suspicionibus incesserent. For the verb, see ii. 43, "variis criminationibus incessebat," and iii. 77 "fuere qui Triariam incesserent."

3. tamquam invidia et aemulatione — moraretur. *Tamquam* gives the substance of their insinuations.

6. adfectam eius fidem praeiuisse. This last word has been objected to as an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, and various corrections have been hazarded. Doederlein reads *prave*, Heraeus *parce*. Ritter thinks that *praeiuisse* means "to have helped before it was necessary," and it was this that gave offence. But the offence clearly consisted in his taking a mortgage of the property, and *praeiuisse* means probably "to help before the crash came." The fact is stated by Suetonius, Vesp. 4, "ex Africa rediit nihilo opulentior, ut qui

prope labefactata iam fide omnia praedia fratri obligarit."

7. offensarum operata. "Dark secrets of offence." Tacitus has preferred this form, as more pointed, to the more usual *offensae operatae*.

11. in aede Apollinis. This was on the Palatine, built by Augustus in B.C. 28; Suet. Aug. 29; Dio, liii. 1; Hor. Od. i. 31. Suetonius gives the agreement as an actual fact.

12. verba vocesque. It is hard to draw a distinction; if one must be drawn, *verba* refers to the words of the agreement come to, *voices* are the speeches interchanged in the course of the negotiations.

13. Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum. For the first, see i. 8, second note on line 2. Silius Italicus is the poet who wrote the *Punica*. He had been consul under Nero in 68 A.D., afterwards governor of Asia. He retired subsequently to the country to devote himself to the Muses, but in 100 A.D. he committed suicide, being then 75 years old. Pliny (Epp. iii. 7, § 3) says of him "laeserat famam suam sub Nerone (credebatur sponte accusasse) sed in Vitellii amicitia sapienter se et comiter gesserat; ex proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportaverat, maculam veteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat."

notabantur, Vitellii proiectus et degener, Sabinus non insultans
15 et miseranti propior.

66. Quodsi tam facile suorum mentes flexisset Vitellius quam ipse cesserat, incruentam urbem Vespasiani exercitus intrasset. Ceterum ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita pacem et condiciones abnuebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes, et fidem
5 in libidine victoris. Nec tantam Vespasiano superbiam ut privatum Vitellium pateretur: ne victos quidem laturos. Ita periculum ex misericordia. Ipsum sane senem et prosperis adversisque satiatum: sed quod nomen, quem statum filio eius Germanico fore? Nunc pecuniam et familiam et beatos Campaniae sinus promitti: sed ubi imperium Vespasianus invaserit,
10 non ipsi, non amicis eius, non denique exercitibus securitatem nisi exstincto aemulatore redituram. Fabium illis Valentem captivum et casibus dubiis reservatum praegravem fuisse: nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium Mucianus ullam
15 in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant. Non a Caesare

14. *proiectus et degener*. "Abject and mean." For *proiectus*, see Ann. iii. 65, "tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat;" *degener*, unworthy of his ancestors, his position, himself.

66. 2. *cesserat*. The indicative is used, because he had actually already yielded.

4. *et fidem in libidine victoris*. "Their sole guarantee is the caprice of the conquerors." *Fides* is here a ground of confidence, not confidence itself.

5. *tantam Vespasiano superbiam*. "Nor could Vespasian have so proud a spirit of contempt." I think that Orelli is right in considering that *superbiam* is here used in a neutral sense and nearly means "sense of security."

6. *ne victos quidem laturos*. "The vanquished party even would not allow him to remain in obscurity." They were certain to make some pronouncement in his favour.

6. *ita periculum ex misericordia*. This is very obscure. Whose is the *misericordia* and whose is the *periculum*? Heraeus understands it: That Vespasian's pity would be a source of danger to Vespasian himself, and Vitellius was not, therefore, to expect it. Orelli thinks that the pity is that felt by Vitellius's own adherents, who would be sure to bring him into danger in their attempts to rescue him from his ignominious position. The latter is to be preferred.

9. *Germanico*. For this son of Vitellius, see ii. 59. His death is told, iv. 80.

12. *exstincto aemulatore*. This, Orelli's reading, is practically that of M., the actual reading being *aemulatore dituram*, but as elsewhere Tacitus uses the form *aemulo*, this has been adopted here by Heraeus. Some editors read *aemulatu*, "if their rivalry is brought to a close," others *aemulato* as equivalent to *aemulo*, but *exstincto aemulato* is impossible.

13. *et casibus dubiis reservatum*. *Casibus dubiis* seems not to refer so much to the uncertainty of his own future as to that of his captors. He was reserved in case any reverse should happen to them, that they might have wherewithal to obtain pardon from Vitellius.

13. *praegravem*. "Burdensome;" as i. 21, Ann. iv. 71. This sense of it, applied to persons, is peculiar to Tacitus.

14. *specimen partium*. "A sample of his whole party;" i.e., one from whose character that of the rest might be judged; Ann. vi. 37, we have, "columen partium Abdageses."

15. *non a Caesare Pompelium, non ab Augusto Antonium*. As both Pompey and Antony were killed without the orders of their conquerors, the present statement must be taken as a mere rhetorical exaggeration.

Pompeium, non ab Augusto Antonium incolumes relictos, nisi forte Vespasianus altiores spiritus gerat, Vitellii cliens, cum Vitellius collega Claudio foret. Quin, ut censuram patris, ut tres consulatus, ut tot egregiae domus honores deceret, desperatione saltem in audaciam accingeretur. Perstare militem, 20 superesse studia populi. Denique nihil atrocius eventurum quam in quod sponte ruant. Moriendum victis, moriendum deditis: id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per ludibrium et contumelias effundant an per virtutem.

67. *Surdæ ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures.* Obruebatur animus miseratione curaque, ne pertinacibus armis minus placabilem victorem relinqueret coniugi ac liberis. Erat illi et fessa aetate parens; quae tamen paucis ante diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil principatu filii adsecuta nisi 5 luctum et bonam famam. XV. Kalendas Ianuarias audita defectione legionis cohortiumque, quae se Narniae dediderant, pullo amictu Palatio degreditur, maesta circum familia. Simul ferebatur lecticula parvulus filius, velut in funebrem pompam. Voces populi blandae et intempestivae; miles minaci silentio. 10

68. *Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum inmemor quem*

17. *Vitellii cliens*, probably "a client of Vitellius;" perhaps referring to some favour which L. Vitellius (the father of the emperor) had, from his influence with Claudius, been able to obtain for Vespasian.

17. *cum Vitellius collega Claudio foret.* L. Vitellius, the emperor's father, was twice Claudius's colleague in the consulship, in 43 A.D. and 47 A.D. He was Claudius's colleague in the censorship from 47 to 51 A.D. The reference can hardly be to Vitellius's own consulship in 48 A.D., as in that year Claudius was not his colleague, but L. Vipstanus Publicola, Ann. xi. 23.

18. *quin—accingeretur.* The direct question *quin accingeris* turned into oratio obliqua; see Madvig, § 35, 163.

19. *tres consulatus.* Those of his father in 34 A.D., 43 A.D. and 47 A.D. The three consulships, the censorship, and his being colleague of Claudius, had been already referred to in i. 52.

23. *id solum referre.* "That that only was of importance."

67. 1. *surdæ ad fortia consilia.* He might have written *contra*, but *ad* expresses the point in which the deafness was exhibited. Livy also says, ix. 7,

"*surdæ ad omnia solacia aures,*" and xxiv. 32, "*surdæ ad omnia aures.*"

3. *fessa aetate parens.* A poetical phrase already used, i. 12.

4. *opportuna morte.* The gossip of Rome, retailed by Suetonius, Vit. 14, represents her as starved to death by the emperor himself, because a witch whom he familiarly consulted had prophesied that if he survived his parent, he would rule in peace. Such idle gossip Tacitus passes by.

5. *nihil adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam.* He had said almost the same, ii. 64.

7. *defectione legionis.* The legion he had raised from the fleet, which had gone first to Nevania (c. 55), had fallen back on Narnia and there given itself up.

8. *maesta circum familia, i.e.* attended by the freedmen and numerous slaves of the imperial household.

10. *blandæ et intempestivæ.* Tacitus is fond of connecting two contrasted notions by *et*, e.g. c. 56, "*nisi iucundum et laesurum*;" iv. 33, "*maior numerus et imbellior*," etc.

68. 1. *quem non commoveret.* We should say in English, "who would not have been moved." Latin carries

non commoveret illa facies, Romanum principem et generis
 humani paulo ante dominum, relictā fortunae suae sede, per
 populum, per urbem exire de imperio. Nihil tale viderant,
 5 nihil audierant. Repentina vis dictatorem Caesarem oppres-
 serat, occultae Gaium insidiae; nox et ignotum rus fugam
 Neronis absconderant; Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere.
 In sua contione Vitellius, inter suos milites, prospectantibus
 etiam feminis, pauca et praesenti maestitiae congruentia locutus,
 10 cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa—retinerent tantum
 memoriam sui, fratremque et coniugem et innoxiam liberorum
 aetatem miserarentur,—simul filium protendens, modo singulis
 modo universis commendans, postremo fletu praepediente ad-
 sistenti consuli (Caecilius Simplex erat) exsolutum a latere
 15 pugionem, velut ius necis vitaeque civium, reddebat. Asper-
 nante consule, reclamantibus qui in contione adstiterant, ut in
 aede Concordiae positurus insignia imperii domumque fratris
 petiturus discessit. Maior hic clamor obsistentium penetibus

the thought back to the time at which the event happened; we soliloquise about it, after the event has already taken place.

2. *illa facies*. "That spectacle, sight, picture." The word is thus used several times by Tacitus, i. 85; ii. 89; c. 83, below; iv. 22; Ann. i. 41. The accusative and infinitive which follow give the substance of the picture. The same epexegetical use of the infinitive occurs, Ann. i. 41.

3. *fortunae suae sede*, i.e. his palace. *Fortuna* had become almost a technical term to express the position of the emperor.

6. *occultae Gaium insidiae*. The emperor Caligula was murdered by Cassius Chaerea, tribune of his body-guard, in an underground passage as he was on his way from the Palace to preside at the Palatine games, Suet. Cal. 56-58; Merivale, vi. 96, 97.

6. *nox et ignotum rus*. Nero was slain, or rather killed himself, in the villa of his freedman Phaon, situated about four miles from Rome, between the Salarian and Nomentane roads, Suet. Ner. 48. The deaths of Piso and Galba were described in i. 41-43.

8. *in sua contione*, i.e. one which he had himself convened as *imperator*. It was held in the Forum in front of the Rostra. *prospectantibus etiam feminis*. They stood on the steps of

the temples and basilicas that overlooked the Forum.

10. *cedere se*. "He resigns." The full expression would be *cedere se imperio*, which occurs in ii. 77.

14. *Caecilius Simplex erat*. He was *consul suffectus* for the two months, November and December.

15. *pugionem reddebat*. "He sought to give up or back:" the imperfect of attempted action. *Pugionem*, the dagger was the sign of authority of the emperor's power of life and death. Suetonius says, Vit. 14, that he offered the dagger first to the consul, then to the magistrates, then to individual senators. When all declined it, he went off to deposit it in the temple of Concord.

16. *in aede Concordiae*. This was on the Clivus Capitolinus, overlooking the Forum. It was built originally by Camillus in 367 B.C., and was the usual meeting place of the senate, Cic. 2 Phil. viii. § 19. On his way to the temple, says Suetonius, a bystander cried out that he was himself concord, on which he consented to retain the dagger, and to receive the sobriquet *Concordia*.

18. *obsistentium penetibus priva- tis*. Those who opposed his entrance into a private house, that of his brother, which overlooked the Forum. His entrance into a private house would have meant his retirement into private life.

privatis, in Palatium vocantium. Interclusum aliud iter, idque solum quod in Sacram viam pergeret patebat. Tum consilii inops in Palatium rediit. Praevenerat rumor eiurari ab eo imperium, scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis ut militem cohiberent.

69. Igitur tamquam omnis res publica in Vespasiani sinum cecisset, primores senatus et plerique equestris ordinis omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini complevere. Illuc de studiis volgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium adfertur. Longius iam progressus erat quam ut regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disiectos eoque minus validos Vitelliani consecrarentur, cunctantem in arma impellebant. Sed quod in eiusmodi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpserunt. Circa lacum Fundani descendit, qui Sabinum comitabantur, armatis occurrunt promptissimi Vitellianorum. Modicum ibi praelium inproviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem Capitolii insedit mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum equitumque; quorum nomina tradere haud

19. *allud iter*. "All other roads" except the *via Sacra*, along which lay his route back to the Palace. The account of Suetonius is less exact and full than that of Tacitus. He places Vitellius's attempt to resign the empire, and his subsequent return to the Palace, after the burning of the Capitol. Tacitus was most likely an eye-witness of what he describes. See *Introd.* § iii.

21. *prævenerat rumor eiurari*. "The report had already got abroad that he is resigning the throne." *Eiurare* is the technical term for a magistrate resigning office, when he went to the Capitol with his clients and friends, and there swore that he had done nothing contrary to the laws; hence the origin of the word.

69. 1. *in Vespasiani sinum cecisset*. A variation for the more usual form *cedere in aliquem*. The metaphor is that of throwing oneself into another's arms, so Pliny, *Paneg.* 6, 3, "confugit in sinum tuum concussa respublica."

2. *omnisque miles urbanus, i.e.* the four city cohorts.

4. *Germanicarum cohortium*. Vitellius had enrolled his German troops in the praetorian cohorts; of these praetorian cohorts, there were still three in Rome, ii. 93; c. 78.

6. *consecrarentur*. Should give them chase and fall on them.

9. *circa lacum Fundani*. This basin of Fundanius, though its position is not very well determined, seems to have lain between the Quirinal and the Capitol. It is mentioned in an inscription quoted by Orelli.

11. *inproviso tumultu*. "From an unforeseen outbreak." The ablative is partly causal, partly descriptive. *re trepida*. "In the hurry of the moment."

13. *arcem Capitolii*. By his expression Tacitus seems to denote the whole of the Capitol hill. Livy and the earlier writers uniformly distinguish the two summits, giving the name of *Capitolium* to the more south-westerly, that of *Arx* to the more north-easterly part. The depression between these was called *Inter duos lucos* or *Asylum*.

13. *mixto milite*. This has been understood in two ways, either that the soldiers were composed of *urbanas cohortes* and *vigiles*, or that the soldiers were mixed with senators and *equites*.

14. *quorum nomina*. This well illustrates the difficulty Tacitus had in composing his history; the general outline was well known, but the details were hard to fill in and authenticate.

- 15 promptum est, quoniam victore Vespasiano multi id meritum
 erga partes simulavere. Subierunt obsidium etiam feminae, inter
 quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque
 propinquos sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus miles socordi custodia
 clausos circumdedit; eoque concubia nocte suos liberos Sabinus
 20 et Domitianum fratris filium in Capitolium accivit, misso per
 neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni
 subveniretur, artas res nuntiaret. Noctem adeo quietam egit,
 ut digredi sine noxa potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii adversus
 pericula ferox, laboribus et vigiliis parum intentus erat, et
 25 hibernus imber repente fusus oculos auresque impediabat.

70. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam in vicem hostilia
 coeptarent, Cornelium Martialem e primipilaribus ad Vitellium
 misit cum mandatis et questu quod pacta turbarentur. Simula-
 tionem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii fuisse, ad
 5 decipiendos tot illustres viros. Cur enim e Rostris fratris
 domum, inminentem foro et inritandis hominum oculis, quam
 Aventinum et penates uxoris petisset? Ita privato et omnem
 principatus speciem vitanti convenisse. Contra Vitellium in
 Palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum; inde armatum
 10 agmen emissum; stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam

17. *Verulana Gratilla*. Pliny (Epp. iii. 11, v. 1) tells us that she was banished, under Domitian, from Rome.

20. *per neglecta*. "Through the unguarded intervals."

22. *artas res*. "A failure of supplies." See iv. 50, "*artas Leptitanis res*;" Liv. xxviii. 24, "*artiores res*."

70. 2. *Cornellum Martialem e primipilaribus*. There is a Cornelius Martialis, a military tribune in the praetorian guard, mentioned in Ann. xv. 71, as deprived of his rank by Nero. He is probably not to be identified with the *primipilaris* mentioned here, as it is unlikely that a tribune would afterwards have held the rank of *primipilus*. *Primipilaris* means one who had held the rank of *primipilus*, as *consularis* means one who had been consul. The *primipilus* was the leading centurion of the first century of the legion or praetorian cohort.

5. *cur enim—petisset?* The rule about questions in the oratio obliqua is that, where in oratio recta the question is in the first or third person, the infinitive is used, where in the second person,

the subjunctive. Here the question in oratio recta would be "why did you seek?" but below, when the direct question would be *quantum proficitur*, we get *quantum profici* as an indirect question. e *Rostris*. means "after quitting the Rostra," from which he had announced his purpose of abdicating.

6. *inminentem foro et inritandis—oculis*. It seems from this that the house of his brother was situated on the slope of the Quirinal, looking towards the Forum. The dative of the gerundive is a dative of object. This dative expresses the use for which a thing serves. Cf. c. 20, "*cetera expugnandis urbibus*."

6. *quam Aventinum*. This omission of *potius* before *quam* is frequent enough in Tacitus; see e.g., c. 60, iv. 55, 76 etc.; Ann. i. 58; it is hardly found in other writers.

7. *Ita—convenisse*. "This was the course suitable to. . ."

10. *celeberrimam urbis partem*. "A most frequented part of the city," i.e. that round the Lacus Fundani, where the skirmish described in the last chapter had taken place.

urbis partem ; ne Capitolio quidem abstineri. Togatum nēpse et unum e senatoribus, dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium praeliis legionum, captivitatibus urbium, deditionibus cohortium iudicatur, iam Hispaniis Germanisque et Britannia desciscentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ultro ad condiciones vocaretur. Pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse. Si conventionis paeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, non filium Vespasiani vix puberem : quantum occisis uno sene et uno iuvene profici ? Iret obviam legionibus, et de summa rerum illic certaret ; cetera secundum eventum praelii cessura. Trepidus ad haec Vitellius pauca purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam in militem conferens, cuius nimio ardori inparem esse modestiam suam. Et monuit Martialem ut per secretam aedium partem occulte abiret, ne a militibus internuntius invisae pacis interficeretur. Ipse neque iubendi neque vetandi potens, non iam imperator sed tantum belli causa erat.

71. Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor. Cito agmine forum et imminetia foro templa praetervecti erigunt aciem per adversum

11. *togatum nēpse se et unum e senatoribus*. "He himself a civilian and a mere simple senator." *Togatum* means that he was in civil, not military, dress : *unum e senatoribus* implies that he was not in any way distinguished from the other senators.

12. *dum*—*iudicatur*. This sentence, occurring in the indicative in the middle of the oratio obliqua, must be regarded as a kind of parenthesis ; such parentheses introduced by *dum* are frequent in Tacitus, see Furn. Int. v. § 49. *Iudicatur*, the simple for the more usual compound *diudicatur*, e.g. Vell. ii. 3, "discordiae civium ferro diudicatae."

13. *captivitatibus urbium*. "The capture of cities ;" so again Ann. xvi. 16, "in cladibus exercituum aut captivitate urbium."

14. *Hispaniis Germanisque*. The two Spains, further and hither ; the two Germanies, Lower and Upper.

15. *ultro*. Without any seeking of it on his part.

16. *pacem et concordiam victis utilia*. For this conjunction of a neuter plural adjective as predicate with feminine nouns, see Madvig, § 214 c.

20. *summa rerum*. "The supreme

power," as in Cic. pro Rosc. Am. § 91, "dum is in aliis erat occupatus qui summam rerum administrabat," and de Rep. i. § 42, "cum penes unum est omnium summa rerum regem illum unum vocamus."

21. *cessura*, "would turn out ;" Ann. i. 28, "prosperaque cessurum qua pergerent si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur."

23. *cuius nimio ardori inparem esse modestiam suam*. The infinitive is here used in the relative clause, because the relative is strictly equal to *et eius* ; some word like *dicens* has however to be supplied from *auferens* above ; Madvig § 402. M., however, reads *cuius nimius ardor* ; *inparem esse modestiam suam*.

24. *secretam aedium partem*, i.e. the *posticum*, or back door.

25. *a* is wanting before *militibus* in M., but is found in some of the inferior MSS.

71. 2. *sibi quisque auctor*. "Every man acting on his own responsibility." The description is very like that of the conduct of the praetorians, after they had hailed Otho emperor, i. 38, "miscentur auxiliariis galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator."

3. *imminetia foro templa*. These

collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores. Erant anti-
 5 quitus porticus in latere clivi, dextrae subeuntibus; in quarum
 tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. Neque
 illis manus nisi gladiis armatae; et arcessere tormenta aut
 missilia tela longum videbatur. Faces in prominentem porticum
 iecere. Et sequebantur ignem, ambustasque Capitolii fores
 10 penetrassent, ni Sabinus revolsas undique statuas, decora
 maiorum, in ipso aditu vice muri obiecisset. Tum diversos
 Capitolii aditus invadunt, iuxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia
 rupes centum gradibus aditur. Inprovisa utraque vis; propior
 atque acrior per asylum ingruerat. Nec sisti poterant scan-
 15 dentes per coniuncta aedificia, quae, ut in multa pace, in altum
 edita solum Capitolii aequabant. Hic ambigitur, ignem tectis

would be the temple of Saturn and the temple of Concord. *erigunt aciem per adversum collem*. *Erigere* seems a technical term for the advance of a line up hill, see iv. 71, "*aciem in collem erigere*;" Ag. 18, "*erexit aciem*;" 36, "*erigere in collem, aciem capere*;" Liv. ix. 31, "*in adversum collem erigitur acies*;" x. 26, "*in collem aciem erexit*."

4. *ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores*. This was situated in the building occupying the lower part of the Capitoline hill, now called the Tabularium. From this door, a flight of steps led straight up to the Asylum, the space between the Capitol proper to the south-west and the Arx to the north-east.

4. *erant antiquitus porticus in latere clivi, dextrae subeuntibus*. *Antiquitus* looks as if, when Tacitus wrote, the colonnade had disappeared. It may have been blocked up by the temple of Vespasian, which Domitian erected against this part of the *tabularium*. *Dextrae subeuntibus*; as the ordinary way up to the Capitol was not by the straight flight of steps above mentioned, but by a carriage road which turned more to the left, and led not to the Asylum but to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the *porticus* was thus to the right of the latter; and so between this and the flight of steps. *Dextrae* is just as we say, "to the right."

8. *in prominentem porticum*. This was one of the colonnades already described; it seems to have been tolerably high up the hill, and farther to the west than where they had originally forced an entrance.

10. *revolsas undique statuas*.

Revolsas, "torn from their pedestal."

The whole of the Capitol was adorned with innumerable statues, some of the chief of which Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 18, has enumerated for us. The three chief were a statue of Apollo, another of Hercules, a third in bronze of Jupiter cast from the bronze armour taken from the Samnites. These fortunately escaped, but there were besides them many smaller statues which supplied the material for the impromptu barricade.

11. *diversos Capitolii aditus*. "The two opposite approaches to the Capitol." They abandoned the way they had first tried, and took instead, either to the hundred steps which led up to the Tarpeian rock more to the west, or to the road by the Asylum which was, as we have already seen, more to the east between the Capitol proper and the Arx. The Tarpeian rock is on that side of the Capitol which looks towards the Tiber.

13. *centum gradibus*. The ablative is used, without a preposition, to express the way or direction in which a movement takes place. It is a kind of instrumental ablative, so we say, "by the hundred steps," Madvig, § 274. These hundred steps led up to the Tarpeian rock from a point west of the Forum.

13. *inprovisa utraque vis*. "Either storm broke unexpectedly." *propior atque acrior*. Because, as he explains, the buildings on the side of the Asylum almost came up to the temple floor.

15. *quae ut in multa pace in altum edita*. For *ut = ut fieri solet*, see c. 59, note on line 5; *multa pace* is formed on the analogy of *multo die, multa nocte*.

obpugnatores iniecerint an obsessi, quae crebrior fama, nitentes ac progressos depulerint. Inde lapsus ignis in porticus adpositas aedibus; mox sustinentes fastigium aquilae vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque. Sic Capitolium, clausis foribus, indefensum et indireptum conflagravit.

72. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit, nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus, pignus imperii, conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi. Arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata: nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis

17. an obsessi, quae crebrior fama, nitentes ac progressos depulerint. For this Halm reads *dum nitentes depulerunt*. The objection to this is not only that all the MSS. omit *dum*, they also read *depulerint* or *depellerent*. Meiser suggests that *flamma* may have fallen out after *fama*. It is doubtful, however, whether *flamma* could = *missili igni*. The Oxford MSS. read *quo* after *fama* and *depellerent*. If any change is to be made Meiser's suggestion seems, on the whole, more probable; Halm's involves too much alteration of the text. *Nitentes* is for *enitentes*.

18. adpositas aedibus, i.e. the three shrines of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. That of Jupiter was in the middle, those of Juno and Minerva on either side, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, iv. 61.

19. sustinentes fastigium aquilae. The great beams which supported the roof, meeting in a point, and being connected by a tie-beam below, got their name from their supposed resemblance to eagles with outstretched wings.

72. 1. id facinus. These words are nearly copied from Sall. Cat. 18, "eo die post conditam urbem pessimum facinus patratum foret."

2. nullo externo hoste, propitiis si permores nostros liceat deis. Tacitus's indignation has, at this point, somewhat interfered with the grammar. These abrupt ablative absolutes without a verb, and the infinitive that follows, giving the substance of the crime, express very well the passion of the writer. The latter words throw light on Tacitus's theology; the gods are not unpropitious to men, as long as they are not roused by

their sins; but sin it is the necessity of their nature to punish. His doctrine is more explicitly stated, i. 3, "nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indicis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem."

4. auspicato—pignus imperii conditam. *Auspicato* is properly an ablative absolute. The permanence of the empire was supposed to be bound up with the permanence of the temple, so that Tacitus tells us below (iv. 54) that nothing had such influence in inducing the Gauls to revolt, as the news of the burning of the Capitol; for the destruction of the temple portended, they thought, the downfall of the empire. In the same spirit Livy (i. 55) calls the Capitol "arcem imperii caputque rerum."

5. non Porsenna dedita urbe. Livy (ii. 13) does not admit that the city was surrendered to Porsenna. It was preserved, he says, by the bravery of Horatius Cocles. Tacitus's statement is confirmed by Pliny, who writes, N. H. xxxiv. 14, 39, "in foedere quod expulsi regibus populo Romano dedit Porsenna nominatim comprehensum invenimus ne ferro nisi in agri cultu uterentur." Hor. Epod. 16, 4, has *Porsena* with one *s* and the *e* short, "Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus."

5. temerare. A poetical word introduced into prose by Livy, and adopted by Tacitus; see iv. 53.

7. civili bello. In the year 83 B.C., when Sulla marched on Rome; who set it on fire then is not known, Appian, B. C. i. 83; Cic. Cat. iii. 4; Plut. Sulla 27.

8. quibus armorum causis, quo

- pretio stetit? Pro patria bellavimus? Voverat Tarquinius
 10 Priscus rex bello Sabino, ieceratque fundamenta spe magis
 futurae magnitudinis quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani
 res sufficerent. Mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio, dein
 Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia hostium spoliis
 exstruxere. Sed gloria operis libertati reservata: pulsus regibus
 15 Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul dedicavit, ea magnificentia
 quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius
 quam augerent. Isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam
 interiecto quadringentorum quindecim annorum spatio L.
 Scipione C. Norbano consulibus flagraverat. Curam victor
 20 Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati eius
 negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tot Caesarum opera
 usque ad Vitellium mansit. Ea tunc aedes cremabatur.

tantae cladis pretio stetit? pro patria bellavimus? These are the indignant exclamations of Tacitus, "what were the causes for which we took up arms? what gain was there to compensate such a disaster? was it for our country we were at war?" The nominative to *stetit* is *Capitolii deflagratio*. Various corrections have been suggested; none are satisfactory. Heraeus substitutes *sedit* (from *sidere*) for *stetit*; Pichena *quo tanta clades pretio stetit?* Gronovius *quid tantae cladis pretio stetit?* Ritter would reject the whole passage as spurious or rewrite it thus: *nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio? Stetit incoluimus quamdiu pro patria bellavimus*. But the imperfect, not the perfect, would be required in this case. Ruperti reads *quando tantae cladis pretio stetit pro patria bellavisse?*

9. *voverat Tarquinius*. This is taken nearly verbatim from Liv. i. 38, "aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis."

12. *mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, iv. 26, and Livy, i. 45, make Servius Tullius the founder of the temple of Diana on the Aventine, but make no mention of his taking part in the building of the temple of Capitoline Jove. The words *sociorum studio* lend some countenance to the view that Tacitus has made some confusion between the two edifices; but it is also possible, as Orelli contends, that he has followed some independent authority

which is now lost, as he has done just above in crediting Porsenna with the capture of the city.

13. *Suessa Pometia* was the capital of the Volsci, see Liv. i. 53. *exstruxere*. "Carried on the work."

14. *gloria operis*. Heraeus would insert *patrati*, but there is no authority for it.

15. *iterum consul*, A.U.C. 247, B.C. 507. So Dionysius of Halicarnassus, v. 35, Polybius, and Livy ii. 8. Plutarch put it two years earlier, in his first consulship.

17. *situm est*. This use of *situm* for *positum* and *conditum* occurs in no other writer but Tacitus. He often has it, e.g. iv. 22, Ann. ii. 7. Some think it is a participle of *sisto*.

18. *interiecto quadringentorum quindecim annorum*. Really 425, from 507 to 83 B.C.; perhaps Tacitus has miscalculated, perhaps a *X*. has dropped out.

19. *curam*, sc. *operis*. He brought columns for it, so Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 25, tells us, from the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

20. *hoc solum felicitati eius negatum*. Sulla prided himself on his good luck, and took the title of *Felix*; Pliny, N. H. vii. 44, says that he himself acknowledged that the dedication of the temple was the one thing wanting to fill up the cup of his happiness.

21. *Lutatii Catuli nomen*. Quintus Lutatius Catulus was *princeps senatus* and leader of the aristocracy in the period after Sulla's death. Dio states (xliii. 14) that the senate ordered that the name of

73. Sed plus pavoris obsessis quam obsessoribus intulit. Quippe Vitellianus miles neque astu neque constantia inter dubia indigebat: ex diverso trepidi milites, dux segnis et velut captus animi, non lingua non auribus competere; neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedire; huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi; quae iusserat, vetare, quae vetuerat, iubere. Mox, quod in perditis rebus accidit, omnes praecipere, nemo exsequi. Postremo abiectis armis fugam et fallendi artes circumspectabant. Inrumpunt Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine ferro flammisque miscent. Pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur. Flavium Sabinum inermem neque fugam coeptantem circumsistunt, et Quintium Atticum consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum, quod edicta in populum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium iecerat. Ceteri per varios casus elapsi, quidam servili habitu, alii fide clientium contexti et inter sarcinas abditi. Fuere qui excepto Vitellianorum signo, quo

Catulus should be effaced, and that of Caesar substituted for it on the temple. But the order cannot have been carried out, for Tacitus's statement here is explicit, and it was not a point in which he was likely to have been mistaken. Catulus received the name of Capitolinus for the share he took in dedicating the temple. It was dedicated in 69 B.C., in which year Catulus was consul. He contributed the gilded tiles for the temple roof. *Inter tot Caesarum opera.* M. reads *ta*. *Tot* is Orelli's suggestion; this suits the passage, though *tanta* would do equally well. Augustus states that he spent great sums on the temple without inscribing his name on it. The temple was further enriched by gifts of foreign kings and princes. *ea tunc aedes credebatur.* The temple which Vespasian had erected was itself burned directly after his death, Plut. Vesp. 8; Dio, lvi. 10; Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5.

73. 3. *ex diverso.* "On the side of the enemy," "on the opposite side," as above, c. 5.

4. *captus animi.* "Demented," like *promptus animi* etc., the use of the genitive *animi* with adjectives being specially common. Livy (vi. 36) has a slightly different construction, "*capti et stupentes animi.*"

4. *non lingua non auribus com-*

petere. "Is master neither of his tongue nor his ears." Tacitus has repeated the phrase in Ann. iii. 46, "*oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis competeabant;*" he, perhaps, borrowed it from Sallust, who has, Hist. Fr. i. 88, "*formidine attonitus neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere.*"

8. *fallendi artes.* "Means for slinking away undetected."

11. *Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis.* The first of these had been Sabinus's envoy to Vitellius, c. 70. Aemilius Pacensis, tribune of the urban cohorts, had been cashiered by Galba (i. 20), restored to his rank by Otho (i. 87), despatched with certain others to the province of the Maritime Alps and Gallia Narbonensis at the commencement of hostilities between Otho and Vitellius. He had been then thrown into chains by his own soldiers, ii. 12.

14. *Quintium Atticum.* Nothing is known of him, except that he was *consul suffectus* for the two last months of the year. His colleague, Caecilius Simplex, was a supporter of Vitellius.

15. *edicta in populum—iecerat.* "He had these proclamations scattered from the Capitol among the people."

18. *excepto Vitellianorum signo.* "Catching up the password of the Vitellians." *Excipere* has the meaning of

inter se noscebantur, ultro rogantes respondentesve audaciam
20 pro latebra haberent.

74. Domitianus prima inruptione apud aedituum occul-
tatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbæ sacrîcolarum inmixtus
ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum patrum clientem
iuxta Velabrum delituit. Ac potente rerum patre disiecto
5 aeditui contubernio, modicum sacellum Iovi Conservatori
aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam; mox im-
perium adeptus Iovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei
sacravit. Sabinus et Atticus onerati catenis et ad Vitellium
ducti nequaquam infesto sermone voltuque excipiuntur, fremen-
10 tibus qui ius caedis et præmia enavatae operæ petebant.
Clamore a proximis orto sordida pars plebis supplicium Sabini
exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. Stantem pro gradibus
Palatii Vitellium et preces parantem pervicere, ut absisteret.
Tum confossum conlaceratumque et absciso capite truncum
15 corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt.

catching up that which another has let fall; so Liv. viii. 6, "assensu populi excepta vox consulis."

19. ultro means doing it first, taking the initiative. *audaciam pro latebra haberent*. Copied from Sall. Cat. 58, § 17, "audacia pro muro habetur."

74. 1. *apud aedituum*. "In the house of the attendant of the temple." For *aedituus*, see i. 43.

2. *lineo amictu turbæ sacrîcolarum inmixtus*. The *lineus amictus* is the dress of the priest of Isis, and by the *sacrîcolæ* are meant those who took part in the rites of that or other deities, this Egyptian cult being especially affected at Rome at this time. Suetonius has given an account which, though substantially the same, differs in some details. He says that Domitian spent the night at the attendant's house, and escaped the next morning to the house of the mother of a fellow-student on the other side of the Tiber. Probably Tacitus's account is the more correct.

4. *iuxta Velabrum*. The Velabrum is a street near the Aventine, a continuation of the Vicus Tuscus leading to the Tiber, and passing near the Forum Boarium. Dio says that the young Sabinus shared Domitian's flight.

5. *aeditui contubernio*. The slave's residence was attached to the temple. See i. 43.

5. *Iovi Conservatori*. There are

many of Domitian's coins extant, with the inscription on the reverse, "Iovi Conservatori S.C.," or "Iovi Custodi." The chapel and altar were on the Capitol, between the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and Jupiter Custos.

6. *casus suos in marmore expressam*. An imitation of the Greek τὰς τύχας αὐτοῦ ἐκτεχαραγμένην. In the Argon. of Valerius Flaccus (i. 398) we have "casusque tuos expressa, Phalere, arma geris" = "with the story of thy misfortunes on them." The accusative is joined with the passive, because the verb is supposed still to retain its action, though turned into the passive.

7. *Iovi Custodi templum ingens*. Situated on the Capitol, in the neighbourhood of the Hundred Steps. The statue of the god was seated, and the effigy of Domitian was placed in its lap, Suet. Dom. 5.

10. *præmia enavatae operæ*. "The rewards of the work brought to a successful termination." *Enavatae* is an ἀναξ λεγόμενον, and has been on this ground rejected by many of the editors. Tacitus is, however, fond of these compounds with *e*, as *evitescere*, *evalescere*, etc.

13. *pervicere ut absteret*. "Induced him to desist." The same construction occurs with *pervinco*, Liv. xlii. 45, "pervicerat Rhodios ut societatem Romanorum retineret."

15. *in Gemonias*, sc. *scalas*. These

75. Hic exitus viri haud sane spernendi. Quinque et triginta stipendia in re publica fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus. Innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres; sermonis nimius erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor. In fine vitae alii segnem, multi moderatum et civium sanguinis parcum credidere. Quod inter omnes constiterit, ante principatum Vespasiani decus domus penes Sabinum erat. Caedem eius laetam fuisse Muciano accepimus. Ferebant plerique etiam paci consultum dirempta aemulatione inter duos, quorum alter se fratrem imperatoris, alter consortem imperii cogitaret. Sed Vitellius consulis supplicium poscenti populo restitit, placatus ac velut vicem reddens, quod interrogantibus quis Capitolium incendisset se reum Atticus obtulerat, eaque confessione, sive aptum tempori mendacium fuit, invidiam crimenque agnovisse et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbatur.

76. Isdem diebus L. Vitellius positus apud Feroniam castris excidio Tarracinae imminabat, clausis illic gladiatoribus remigibusque, qui non egredi moenia neque periculum in aperto aude-

steps led down from the Mamertine prison to the Forum. On them the bodies of criminals were cast.

75. 2. *in re publica*. "In the service of the state." The words are regarded as suspicious by some editors, but on no sufficient grounds.

3. *non argueres*. "You could not find fault with;" the potential use of the subjective. So i. 10, "*palam laudares*;" Ag. 22, "*silentium eius non timeres*;" *sermonis nimius erat*. The genitive expresses that, in respect of which he was apt to run to excess.

4. *septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit*. The custom of prolonging the tenure of provincial governorships, originally inaugurated by Tiberius, prevailed under subsequent emperors. For the *praefectura urbis*, see ii. 63, note on line 6.

6. *alii segnem, multi moderatum*. Tacitus may well have himself heard these different opinions expressed.

7. *quod inter omnes constiterit*. We should say in English, "What would be admitted by all." In Latin, they looked back to the contemporary period, when the judgment was passed. Nearly in the same way, we have ii. 2, "*haud fuerit longum initia religionis disserere*."

9. *accepimus*. Tacitus is probably here recording contemporary gossip.

11. *sed* is resumptive after the digression, almost like δ'οὖν in Greek.

13. *vicem reddens*. "Repaying one good turn by another." What the good turn was, he goes on to explain.

14. *sive—fuit*. The omission of the first *sive*, and the introduction into the second alternative of the finite verb, are both distinctive of Tacitus's style. *invidiam crimenque*. "The odium and the charge which incurred it:" almost an hendiadys. *agnovisse* is best taken simply "to have recognised."

76. 1. *apud Feroniam*. A temple of Feronia, round which a town had grown up. Feronia was the goddess of Personal Freedom, to whom slaves, who had obtained their freedom, made a gift. Feronia, we learn from Hor. Sat. i. 5, 24, was situated only three miles from Tarracina, "*ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympa; milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur*." For the way in which the Flavians had occupied Tarracina, see above c. 57.

3. *in aperto*. "In the open field or country." So used by Livy, xxiii. 46, "*egredi portis et castra ante urbem in aperto communire*."

bant. Praeerat, ut supra memoravimus, Iulianus gladiatoribus,
 5 Apollinaris remigibus, lascivia socordiaque gladiatorum magis
 quam ducum similes. Non vigilias agere, non intuta moenium
 firmare: noctu dieque fluxi et amoena litorum personantes, in
 ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de bello tantum inter
 convivia loquebantur. Paucos ante dies discesserat Apinius
 10 Tiro, donisque ac pecuniis acerbe per municipia conquirendis
 plus invidiae quam virium partibus addebat.

77. Interim ad L. Vitellium servus Verginii Capitonis per-
 fugit, pollicitusque, si praesidium acciperet, vacuum arcem
 traditurum, multa nocte cohortes expeditas summis montium
 iugis super caput hostium sistit. Inde miles ad caedem magis
 5 quam ad pugnam decurrit. Sternunt inermos aut arma capi-
 entes, et quosdam somno excitos, cum tenebris, pavore, sonitu
 tubarum, clamore hostili turbarentur. Pauci gladiatorum resis-
 tentes neque inulti cecidere. Ceteri ad naves ruebant, ubi
 cuncta pari formidine implicabantur, permixtis paganis, quos
 10 nullo discrimine Vitelliani trucidabant. Sex Liburnicae inter
 primum tumultum evasere, in quis praefectus classis Apollinaris;
 reliquae in litore captae, aut nimio ruentium onere pressas
 mare hausit. Iulianus ad L. Vitellium perductus et verberibus
 foedatus in ore eius iugulatur. Fuere qui uxorem L. Vitellii
 15 Triariam incesserent, tamquam gladio militari cincta inter luctum
 cladesque expugnatae Tarracinae superbe saeveque egisset.
 Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit, percunctatus
 statim regredi se an perdomandae Campaniae insistere iuberet.

7. fluxi et amoena litorum personantes. *Fluxi* is "reeling;" *personantes* is active, as in Verg. Aen. vi. 171, "forte cava dum personat aequora concha."

9. Apinius Tiro. He was an ex-praetor and self-appointed leader of the Flavian forces, iii. 57.

77. 1. Verginii Capitonis. Nothing more is known of him; he was, perhaps, a native of Tarracina. For the slave's death, see below, iv. 3.

2. praesidium. "An escort, a small force;" so iv. 56, "pollicitus si praesidium daretur iturum in Batavos."

12. reliquae—captae, aut—pressas mare hausit. Tacitus is fond of using the same noun as the nominative to one verb and the accusative to another.

ruentium is for *irruentium*, and refers back to *ruebant* above.

14. foedatus. It was a disgrace to be scourged; hence the use of the word. in ore eius. "Before his eyes;" so Sen. de Benef. vii. 19 *ad fin.*, "si in ore parentum filios iugulat," and above, c. 36, "non in ore volgi agere."

15. Triariam. For her licence and cruelty, see chaps. 63 and 64. tamquam gives the substance of the charge, so ii. 63, "ei obiecit tanquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus ostenderet."

17. lauream gestae prospere rei. For this use of laurel branches to accompany despatches announcing victory, see Plin. N. H. xv. 30, 40, "laurus Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris et militum lanceis pilisque, fasces imperatorum decorat."

Quod salutare non modo partibus Vespasiani sed rei publicae fuit. Nam si recens victoria miles et super insitam pervicaciam 20 secundis ferox Romam contendisset, haud parva mole certatum nec sine exitio urbis foret. Quippe L. Vitellio quamvis infami inerat industria; nec virtutibus, ut boni, sed quomodo pessimus quisque, vitiis valebat.

78. Dum haec in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narnia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Ocriculi per otium agitabat. Causa tam pravae morae, ut Mucianum opperirentur. Nec defuere qui Antonium suspicionibus arguerent tamquam dolo cunctantem post secretas Vitellii epistulas, 5 quibus consulatum et nubilem filiam et dotaes opes pretium prodicionis offerebat. Alii ficta haec et in gratiam Muciani composita. Quidam omnium id ducum consilium fuisse, ostentare potius urbi bellum quam inferre, quando validissimae cohortes a Vitellio descivissent, et abscisis omnibus praesidiis 10 cessurus imperio videbatur. Sed cuncta festinatione, deinde ignavia Sabini corrupta, qui sumptis temere armis munitissimam Capitolii arcem et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugnabilem adversus tres cohortes tueri nequivisset. Haud facile quis uni

20. recens victoria. "Fresh from victory." *Recens a victoria* is the more classical phrase. The omission of the preposition is poetical, as in Verg. Aen. ix. 455, "*recens caede locus*;" Tac. Ann. i. 41, "*recens dolore et ira*."

21. haud parva mole certatum —foret. "This would have been a conflict of no small dimensions."

22. quamvis infami. He had incurred bad odour by acting as an informer, see c. 38.

23. quo modo pessimus quisque. Tacitus here, and elsewhere, e.g. Ann. iv. 36, uses *quo modo*, where Cicero and classical authors would have used *quemadmodum*.

78. 2. festos Saturni dies. The Saturnalia lasted for six days, from December the 17th after the Julian reform of the Calendar; before, they used to begin on the 19th. They were observed at Rome as an universal holiday; Sen. Ep. 18, 1, 3, "December est mensis quo maxime civitas desudat. Ius luxuriae publicae datum est. . . . Hoc multo fortius est, ebrio ac vomitante populo, siccum ac sobrium esse." Ocriculum was a town of Umbria, south-west of

Narnia, situated at a point where the Nar falls into the Tiber.

3. causa—ut. We should say in English "the cause of their delay was their waiting for . . ." Cicero uses *ne* after *causa*, of a negative cause.

4. nec defuere — alii — quidam. Notice the care taken to vary the expression. Tacitus is reporting the common talk of the time.

5. tamquam dolo cunctantem. This use of *tamquam* with the present participle is comparatively rare. Tacitus often uses it with the future participle, and with the past participle of the deponent verb. Most frequently of all, with the pluperfect subjunctive, of grounds of suspicion from events which had taken place.

11. videbatur. Observe the insertion here of the imperfect indicative between two pluperfect subjunctives, *descivissent* and *nequivisset*. This is partly to be accounted for by Tacitus's love of variety, partly because it perhaps expresses Tacitus's own view.

14. adversus tres cohortes. Two cohorts of praetorians had been left behind as a garrison for the city, when

15 *adsignaverit* culpam, quae omnium fuit. Nam et Mucianus ambiguis epistulis victores morabatur, et Antonius praepostero obsequio, vel dum *regerit* invidiam, crimen meruit; ceterique duces dum peractum bellum putant, finem eius insignivere. Ne Petilius quidem Cerialis, cum mille equitibus praemissus ut
20 transversis itineribus per agrum Sabinum Salaria via urbem introiret, satis maturaverat, donec obsessi Capitolii fama cunctos simul exciret.

79. Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa Rubra multo iam noctis serum auxilium venit. Illic interfectum Sabinum, conflagrasse Capitolium, tremere urbem, maesta omnia accepit; plebem quoque et servitia pro Vitellio armari nuntiabatur. Et
5 Petilio Ceriali equestre praelium adversum fuerat. Namque incautum et tamquam ad victos ruentem Vitelliani, interiectus equiti pedes, excepere. Pugnatum haud procul urbe, inter aedificia hortosque et anfractus viarum; quae gnara Vitellianis, inconperta hostibus metum fecerant. Neque omnis eques
10 concors, adiunctis quibusdam qui nuper apud Narniam dediti fortunam partium speculabantur. Capitur praefectus alae Tullius Flavianus; ceteri foeda fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas secutis victoribus.

Vitellius had led forth the bulk of his forces to Mevania, c. 55. When Vitellius, however, returned to Rome, he seems to have brought back with him another cohort as his bodyguard. This left a total of thirteen at Narnia, but of these thirteen, six were despatched with Lucius Vitellius into Campania, and the neighbouring seven gave themselves up at Narnia. The Capitol may once have been impregnable; it was hardly so at this time.

15. *adsignaverit*. In Latin, speaking of an event which had already happened, the perfect subjunctive, or potential, is used, where in English we have the present.

16. *praepostero obsequio*. "Ill-timed obedience." *vel dum regerit invidiam, crimen meruit*. "Even while shifting the odium from his own shoulders, pleaded guilty to the charge." *Dum regerit* is equal to a gerund *regerendo*. He means that Antonius, while excusing himself, condemned himself in obeying orders which were preposterous.

20. *Salaria via*. It led from the Colline gate north-east into the country of the Sabines, running farther east than the Via Flaminia. Orelli thinks that it was

probably named from the salt mines in the Sabine country to which it led. This is not, however, the ordinary view; Pliny, N.H. xxxi. 7, says that it gets its name, because by it the Sabines imported their salt from the sea, and the same is stated also by Festus. Petilius was probably chosen for this purpose, on account of his knowledge of the country, c. 59.

79. 1. *Saxa Rubra*. A little town of Etruria, situated on the right bank of the Tiber, some six or seven miles from Rome. *multo iam noctis* for *multa nocte*; Livy has *ad multum diei*, x. 32; *in multum diei*, xxvii. 2. For the ablative, cf. Ann. ii. 21, "*sero diei*."

8. *anfractus viarum*. "The winding lanes." *gnara*, generally active, is here passive; in the *Annals*, the passive use is frequent.

12. *foeda fuga consternantur*. *Fuga* is a modal ablative, and its use is made more easy by the adjective attached; probably had *fuga* been used alone, Tacitus would have adopted the more usual and natural form of expression *in fugam consternantur*.

13. *Fidenas* lay on the left of the Tiber,

80. Eo successu studia populi aucta; volgus urbanum arma cepit. Paucis scuta militaria; plures raptis quod cuique obvium telis signum pugnae exposcunt. Agit grates Vitellius, et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere iubet. Mox vocato senatu deliguntur legati ad exercitus, ut praetexto rei publicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. Varia legatorum sors fuit. Qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant, extremum discrimen adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis. Volneratur praetor Arulenus Rusticus. Auxit invidiam, super violatum legati praetorisque nomen, propria dignatio viri. Palantur comites, occiditur proximus lictor, dimovere turbam ausus: et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam in exterarum gentes legatorum ius ante ipsa patriae moenia civilis rabies usque in exitium temerasset. Aequioribus animis accepti sunt qui ad Antonium venerant, non quia modestior miles, sed duci plus auctoritatis.

81. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum aemulatus; coepta-

about four miles from Rome, on the Via Salaria. In early days it had been a great battle-ground between Rome and the Etruscans, Liv. i. 27, iv. 17, 22, 33, 34.

80. 1. *volgus urbanum*, i.e. probably the poorer sort of citizens, subsisting on the public dole, not included in the tribes. The part of the population included in the tribes had been already enrolled and armed, c. 58.

2. *raptis quod cuique obvium telis*. Perhaps copied from Verg. Aen. vii. 507, "quod cuique repertum rimanti, telum ira facit."

5. *ad exercitus*, i.e. to the two armies, the one advancing by the Flaminian, the other by the Salarian Way.

8. praetor Arulenus Rusticus. He had been tribune of the *plebs* in 66 A.D., at which time though still young, he had, as Tacitus relates (Ann. xvi. 26) offered that he would veto the *senatus consultum* against Thrasea. From this he was deterred by Thrasea himself. In Ag. 2, Tacitus states that he was put to death by Domitian for singing Thrasea's praises. This was in the year 94 A.D.; see Suetonius (Dom. 10), who adds that Domitian made his book a pretext for banishing all philosophers from Italy. Pliny (Epp. i. 5) states that one M. Regulus had fomented Domitian's hostility against Aru-

lenus, had exulted in his death, going to the length of reciting and publishing a book, in which he rails at Rusticus and calls him a Stoic ape, and adds that he was marked by a Vitellian scar, alluding to the event here recorded. For Pliny's high opinion of Rusticus, see Epp. i. 14; v. 1.

11. *proximus lictor*, i.e. the one who walked immediately in front of him, who ranked above the others and was the more special attendant of the magistrate. A praetor had six *lictors*.

12. *sacrum etiam in exterarum gentes*. *In* is altered by some editors on the authority of the inferior MSS. into *inter*. But it has the authority of Cic. 2 Verr. iv. c. 11, "ordinis auctoritati, quae nisi gravis erit apud socios, in exterarum nationes ubi erit imperii nomen et dignitas?" Many recent editors read, however, *et* for *in*. Cf. also ii. 26, "in volgus adverso rumore fuit;" and Ann. vi. 22, "tristitia in bonos." usque in exitium. "Even to the point of killing him."

81. 1. *Musonius Rufus*, O. Twice mentioned in the *Annals*, xiv. 59, xv. 71. He was a native of Volsinii in Etruria, a famous philosopher and teacher of Epicureanism. He had been banished by Nero, who was jealous of his fame as a philosopher. After Nero's death, he returned to Rome. We hear of him again, iv. 10 and 40.

2. *studium philosophiae et placita*

batque permixtus manipulis, bona pacis ac belli discrimina disserens, armatos monere. Id plerisque ludibrio, pluribus 5 taedio; nec deerant qui propellerent procularentque, ni admonitu modestissimi cuiusque, et aliis minitantibus, omisisset intempestivam sapientiam. Obviae fuere et virgines Vestales cum epistulis Vitellii ad Antonium scriptis. Eximi supremo certamini unum diem postulabat: si moram interiecissent, 10 facilius omnia conventura. Virgines cum honore dimissae; Vitellio rescriptum Sabini caede et incendio Capitoli dirempta belli commercia.

82. Tentavit tamen Antonius vocatas ad contionem legiones mitigare, ut castris iuxta pontem Mulvium positos postera die urbem ingrederentur. Ratio cunctandi, ne asperatus praelio miles non populo, non senatui, ne templis quidem ac delubris 5 deorum consuleret. Sed omnem prolationem ut inimicam victoriae suspectabant. Simul fulgentia per colles vexilla, quamquam inbellis populus sequeretur, speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. Tripertito agmine pars, ut adstiterat, Flaminia via, pars iuxta ripam Tiberis incessit; tertium agmen per 10 Salariam Collinae portae propinquabat. Plebs investis equitibus fusa; miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit.

Stolcorum aemulatus. *Philosophia* is not often used by Tacitus, who prefers *sapientia*, e.g. Ann. xv. 71, "Musonius studia iuvenum praeceptis sapientiae fovebat." *Placita* are the maxims, dogmas. *Aemulor* is to zealously embrace, and is generally used with a personal object; *placita aemulari* sounds odd, *sectam aemulari* natural. See Ann. vi. 22, "sapientissimos veterum quique sectam eorum aemulantur."

3. *bona — discrimina disserens.* *Disserere* is not by Cicero thus used with an accusative of the object discussed; we have only such phrases as *pauca disserere*. In Ann. i. 4, we have, "pauci bona pacis incassum disserere;" see also ii. 27.

5. *propellerent procularentque.* In English, we should say "who would have pushed him down and trampled him under foot;" but in Latin, after *nec deerant*, the imperfect is used, as the action never actually came into effect.

8. *cum epistulis.* On this use of the plural, when there is only one letter, see i. 70. For the Vestals, cf. Suet. Vit. 16.

8. *eximi supremo certamini unum diem postulabat.* "Demanded that a

single day's interval should be allowed before the final contest." The phrase is copied from the legal phrase *dicendo diem eximere*, Dial. 19, used of talking at such length as to defer the issue till the next day.

11. *dirempta belli commercia.* As in Verg. Aen. x. 532, "belli commercia Turnus sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto." The usual courtesies of war had been made impossible.

82. 2. *iuxta pontem Mulvium.* For the Pons Mulvius, now Ponte Molle, built by M. Aemilius Scaurus, when censor, see ii. 89, note on line 1.

5. *consuleret.* "Should spare." So Ann. iii. 46, "fugientibus consulite."

7. *inbellis populus.* The tribes and city populace whom Vitellius had armed, chaps. 58 and 79.

8. *tripertito agmine.* The centre advanced along the Flaminian road, the right wing turned to the right and followed the banks of the Tiber, the left came from further east along the Via Salaria. *Collinae portae.* Tacitus often uses the dative after *propinquare*, e.g. ii. 58; Ann. i. 63.

11. *trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit.*

Praelia ante urbem multa et varia, sed Flavianis consilio ducum praestantibus saepius prospera. Ii tantum conflictati sunt qui in partem sinistram urbis ad Sallustianos hortos, per angusta et lubrica viarum flexerant. Superstantes maceriis hortorum 15 Vitelliani ad serum usque diem saxis pilisque subeuntes arcebant, donec ab equitibus, qui porta Collina intruperant, circumvenirentur. Concurrere et in campo Martio infestae acies. Pro Flavianis fortuna et parta totiens victoria: Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant; et quamquam pulsi, rursus in urbe 20 congregabantur.

83. Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat. Quotiens pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis aut si quam in domum perfugerant, erui iugularique expostulantes parte maiore praedae potiebantur: nam milite ad sanguinem et 5 caedes obverso spolia in vulgus cedebant. Saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies. Alibi praelia et volnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum, iuxta scorta et scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem 10 et furere crederes et lascivire. Confluxerant ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus; nec tunc minus crudelitatis: nunc inhumana securitas, et ne

The distributive *trinis* is used because there was one division of the Vitellians to meet each division of the Flavians.

12. consilio ducum praestantibus. "Having the advantage in the tactics of their officers." All through the war, it is noticeable how wretchedly the Vitellian party was led.

14. in partem sinistram urbis ad Sallustianos hortos, *i.e.* to the left or east of the city as you advance from the north. The gardens, which lay on the hill of which the westernmost spur is now the Pincian Hill, had belonged originally to the historian Sallust and his adopted son Sallustius Crispus, but had passed into the possession of the emperors, Ann. xiii. 47. They lay close to the Via Salaria.

17. ab equitibus. Under the leadership of Petilius Cerialis; Dio, lxx. 18.

18. et in campo Martio. Those who advanced by the Via Flaminia, and those who came along the Tiber bank, would equally come into the Campus Martius.

This was still regarded as outside the city proper.

83. 2. hos rursus illos—fovebat. In c. 22 we had, "his rursus illis exitabile." *Fovebat*, "encouraged," a favourite word with Tacitus, i. 8, i. 14, etc.; Ann. ii. 71.

3. quotiens—inclinasset. Classical writers more often use the indicative than subjunctive in such phrases, but either is allowable; for *inclinasset*, "had given way," see Ann. i. 64.

6. spolia in vulgus cedebant. "The spoils fell to the mob." So Liv. i. 52, "quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana in Romanum cesserit imperium;" see Ann. vi. 14, "aurum ex hostibus captum in paucorum praedam cecisse." See i. 11.

12. bis Lucio Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus. Lucius Sulla appeared in Rome at the head of an armed force in 88 B.C., and again in 82 B.C.; Cinna in 87 B.C.

13. nunc inhumana securitas. "An unnatural nonchalance, or callousness."

minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissae. Velut festis
 15 diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exsultabant, fruebantur,
 nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.

84. Plurimum molis in obpugnatione castrorum fuit, quae
 acerrimus quisque ut novissimam spem retinebant. Eo inten-
 titus victores, praecipuo veterum cohortium studio, cuncta
 validissimarum urbium excidiis reperta simul admovent, testu-
 5 dinem tormenta aggeres facesque, quidquid tot praeliis laboris
 ac periculi hausissent, opere illo consummari clamitantes.
 Urbem senatui ac populo Romano, templa dis reddita: pro-
 prium esse militis decus in castris. Illam patriam, illos penates.
 Ni statim recipiantur, noctem in armis agendam. Contra
 10 Vitelliani, quamquam numero fatoque dispares, inquietare

Both words are used in their literal meaning.

14. *velut festis diebus*. *Velut* is for *velut si*; *festis diebus* the Saturnalia were not yet over.

15. *Id quoque gaudium*. That of seeing the clash of armed men, and watching the changing fortunes of the two parties. The scene stamped itself on the young mind of Tacitus, filling it with a horror which still breathes in his words. *Introd.* pp. 14, 15.

15. *exsultabant, fruebantur*. "They were wild with delight and enjoyed themselves." *Exsultare* expresses the outward transports, *frui* the inward joy. *Frui* is used absolutely again, *iv.* 70. Terence uses it so, "datur, fruere dum licet," and *Plin. Pan. c.* 34, "agnoscebamus et fruebamur."

84. 1. *plurimum molis*. "The greatest difficulty was encountered." So *Ann. i.* 45, "sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat;" above, *i.* 77, we have "haud parva mole certatum;" *Liv. xxv.* 11, "plaustris transveham naves haud magna mole;" *Verg. Aen. i.* 33, "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem." The camp is, of course, that of the praetorians, which lay just to the right of the Colline gate.

3. *veterum cohortium*, *i.e.* the praetorian cohorts who had been disbanded by Vitellius, but had joined the Flavian forces and were the backbone of the army, *ii.* 67, *ii.* 82. The extreme bitterness which they felt towards the German soldiers of Vitellius, by whom they had been replaced, added not a little to the ferocity of the contest.

4. *testudinem tormenta aggeres*

facesque. *Testudo* here means a pent-house by which they protected the battering-ram; *tormenta* includes probably both the battering-ram and engines for slinging stones, etc.; *aggeres*, the mound constructed for the use of the engines, and to enable the besiegers to mount the wall; for *faces* Ritter proposes *falces*, hooks used to tear down the battlements, contending that torches were only used when the besiegers intended to destroy the fortress, which was clearly not the case here. In a matter of this kind the authority of M. outweighs any such considerations.

7. *urbem senatui*, etc. These words well illustrate the professional feeling which had by this time taken possession of the soldiery generally, and the praetorians especially. They had lost all their citizen character, and had become mere soldiers of fortune, knowing no other home than the camp.

10. *inquietare*—*morari*—*foedare*, *suprema victis solacia amplectebantur*. The infinitives may be taken in one of two ways, either as historical infinitives, in which case they are summed up by the words *suprema amplectebantur*: or more probably as epexegetical or explanatory of *suprema solacia*. Orelli, for the sentiment, compares *Juv. Sat. xiii.* 178, "corpore trunco invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis. At vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa." *domos arasque cruore foedare* can hardly refer to the camp, but to those who broke out of it and either killed themselves, or in their desperate resistance were killed by their opponents, in the houses of the private citizens, or by the altars of the gods.

victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore foedare suprema victis solacia amplectebantur. Multi semianimes super tures et propugnacula moenium exspiravere. Convolvis portis reliquus globus obtulit se victoribus; et cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem: ea cura etiam morientibus decori 15 exitus fuit.

Vitellius capta urbe per aversam Palatii partem Aventinum in domum uxoris sellula defertur, ut si diem latebra vitavisset, Tarracinam ad cohortes fratremque perfugeret. Dein mobilitate ingenii, et quae natura pavoris est, cum omnia 20 metuenti praesentia maxime displicerent, in Palatium regreditur vastum desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis servitiorum aut occursum eius declinantibus. Terret solitudo et tacentes loci; tentat clausa, inhorrescit vacuis; fessusque misero errore, et pudenda latebra semet occultans, ab Iulio Placido tribuno 25 cohortis protrahitur. Vincitae pone tergum manus; laniata veste, foedum spectaculum, ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo inlacrimante: deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat. Obvius e Germanicis militibus Vitellium infesto ictu per iram vel quo maturius ludibrio eximeret, an tribunum adpetierit, in 30 incerto fuit: aurem tribuni amputavit ac statim confossus est.

14. *contrariis vulneribus*. "Wounds in front," properly said of the wounds which two combatants inflict on one another. Dio (lxxv. 19) says that 50,000 men perished altogether in these dreadful days.

17. *per aversam Palatii partem, i.e.* the Domus Tiberiana, the part of the palace which lay towards the Aventine and Tiber. It was by this way that he had, shortly before, dismissed Martialis. Aventinum. Heraeus brackets this word, thinking that it has been inserted from c. 70, but it is found in all the MSS. Suetonius says that it was to his father's, not his wife's, house that he went, and that he was accompanied only by his cook and his baker.

18. *si diem latebra vitavisset. Diem*, "the daylight," and the dangers it would entail. Notice the difference between the English and Latin idiom; we should say "if he could avoid," the more logical Latin "if he had avoided," since the one would only follow after the other *had* taken place.

20. *cum omnia metuenti*. Translate "and since (such is the nature of panic)

while he feared all things, it was the present evils which misliked him most."

22. *infimis servitiorum*. For *infimis servitorum*. Cicero generally uses *servitium*, *servitia* only as collective terms, a band of slaves, bands of slaves; Livy and Tacitus, as equivalent to *servus* and *servi*.

23. *terret solitudo et tacentes loci*. The editors quote Verg. Aen. ii. 755, "horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent." *tentat clausa*. To see if there were any of his friends hidden there.

25. *pudenda latebra*. Suetonius (Vit. 16) says it was the doorkeeper's lodge, of which he barricaded the door; Dio (lxxv. 20) that it was a kennel where the dogs were fed.

27. *ducebatur*. He was led to execution by a rope thrown over his neck, as Suetonius, Vit. 17, tells us. *Ducere* is the regular word "to lead off for execution."

29. *per iram vel quo*—an—in incerto fuit. These express the different explanations of the man's conduct. The *vel* shows that *per iram vel quo* are the two parts of the first alternative. Dio

85. Vitellium infestis mucronibus coactum modo erigere os et offerre contumeliis, nunc cadentes statuas suas, plerumque Rostra aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad Gemonias, ubi corpus Flavii Sabini iacuerat, propulere. Una vox non
5 degeneris animi excepta, cum tribuno insultanti se tamen imperatorem eius fuisse respondit. Ac deinde ingestis vulneribus concidit. Et volgus eadem pravitate insectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.

86. Patria illi Luceria. Septimum et quinquagesimum aetatis annum explebat. Consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua industria, sed cuncta patris claritudine adeptus. Principatum ei detulere qui ipsum non
5 noverant. Studia exercitus raro cuiquam bonis artibus quaesita perinde adfuere quam huic per ignaviam. Inerat tamen simplicitas ac liberalitas; quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur. Amicitias dum magnitudine munerum, non constantia morum contineri putat, meruit magis quam habuit. Rei

(lxv. 21), who speaks of the soldier as *Kελρός τις*, relates it as a fact, that the man struck at him in pity, saying that he would do for him all that he was now able to do.

85. 3. Rostra aut Galbae occisi locum. These were at the north-eastern end of the Forum, near the Comitium. Vitellius had addressed the people from them a few days before, chaps. 68 and 70. The Lacus Curtii, where Galba fell, i. 41, was in the Forum, near the Rostra.

3. ad Gemonias. For the Scalae Gemoniae, see c. 74; it was here that he was slain.

7. concidit. His body was dragged along by a hook, and thrown into the Tiber, Suet. Vit. 17. Cf. Juv. Sat. x. 73. For foverat, see c. 83.

86. 1. patria illi Luceria. Suetonius, Vit. 1, says that, at the time of the Samnite wars, a garrison was sent out to Luceria (the MS. reads *Nuceria*, but this is a slip), and that some of the family of Vitellius thus settled there. Long afterwards their descendants returned to the city and regained their rank in the senate. It is noticeable how many of the leading men of the period came from the *municipia* of Italy, rather than from Rome itself. Luceria was in Apulia, west of Arpi. It is now Lucera.

1. septimum et quinquagesimum annum explebat. Dio (lxv. 22) makes

him two years younger. He died on December 21 or 22, 69 A.D. He had reigned a year all but ten or eleven days.

3. patris claritudine. His father L. Vitellius was consul with Paulus Fabius in 34 A.D., governor of Syria in 35 A.D., Ann. vi. 28; he obtained a second and third consulship under Claudius in 43 A.D., and 47 A.D., and was Claudius's colleague in the censorship from 47 A.D. to 51 A.D., Ann. xi. 3. Aulus Vitellius himself was consul in 48 A.D., Ann. xi. 23.

4. qui ipsum non noverant. He had only just become governor of Lower Germany, and had not made the acquaintance of the army of Upper Germany.

6. simplicitas. "Openness, frankness."

7. quae, ni adsit modus, vertuntur. The present indicative follows the subjunctive, because the sentiment is proverbial; it occurs in Plin. Epp. i. 8, "sequi gloria, non adpeti debet, nec, si casu aliquo non sequatur, idcirco quod gloriam meruit minus pulchrum est."

9. contineri putat. "He thinks are cemented." *Contineri* is a correction of *continere* of M. constantia means "steadfastness of character." Lipsius proposed *convenientia*.

9. meruit magis quam habuit. "He bought rather than retained." Clearly there is some kind of sneer intended, so that the word cannot be

publicae haud dubie intererat Vitellium vinci: sed imputare 10
perfidiam non possunt qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum
a Galba descivissent.

Praecipiti in occasum die, ob pavorem magistratuum sena-
torumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe aut per domos clientium semet
occultabant, vocari senatus non potuit. Domitianum, postquam 15
nihil hostile metuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et
Caesarem consalutatum miles frequens, utque erat in armis, in
paternos penates deduxit.

taken literally, and *meruit* can only mean
"he bought them by the prodigality of
his gifts."

10. *imputare perfidiam*. "Claim
merit for their perfidy." Though it
was to the interest of the state that
Vitellius should be conquered, those who
helped by their perfidy to bring about
his overthrow cannot claim merit for what
they had done, since they were largely
responsible for putting him on the throne,
by revolting from Galba.

13. *praecipiti in occasum die*. "As
day drew on to its close;" a poetical
expression, but Livy has, iv. 9, "*prae-*

cipiti iam die," and x. 42, "*praeceps in
occasum sol*."

16. *ad duces partium*. To Antonius
Primus, Arrius Varus, and Cerialis.
postquam metuebatur. *Postquam*
with the imperfect indicative has a
causal sense.

17. *Caesarem consalutatum*. This
was the regular title given to the sons
and grandsons of the reigning emperor.

18. *deduxit* was the regular word
used of escorting a successful candidate
or victorious general to his own house.
The citizens used to escort their generals,
now the soldiers their emperor.

LIBER QUARTUS

CHAPTERS 1-11

AFFAIRS IN ROME, JANUARY-JULY, 70 A.D.—IMP. VESPASIANUS II,
TITUS CAESAR AUGUSTI FILIUS COSS.

1. Disturbed state of the city after the death of Vitellius. 2. Antonius assumes the chief command; Lucius Vitellius and his forces surrender. 3. Lucilius Bassus is sent to pacify Campania; the Senate votes the usual distinctions of the Principate to Vespasian. 4. Honours are decreed to Mucianus and the rest. 5. Helvidius Priscus alone speaks his mind; his character and history. 6. Quarrel between him and Marcellus Epius. 7. Summary of Helvidius's speech; 8. and of the answer of Epius. 9. Renewed conflict over questions of finance. 10. Musonius Rufus next attacks Publius Celer. 11. Mucianus when he enters the city distances all his rivals; he has Calpurnius Galerianus put to death.

CHAPTERS 12-37

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE REVOLT OF CIVILIS

12. The Batavi; their country and history. 13. Earlier history of Julius Civilis; he pretends to take up arms for Vespasian. 14. He incites his fellow-countrymen to resist the levy. 15. The Canninefates are invited to join the revolt; the Roman forts are stormed by them and the troops have to seek refuge in the upper part of the island. 16. There they are attacked by the united forces of the Batavi and Canninefates; the army is nearly annihilated and the fleet captured. 17. The Germans offer assistance to the Batavians, and Civilis attempts to win over the Gauls. 18. Hordeonius Flaccus sends two legions under Munius Lupercus against the enemy, but they are deserted by their auxiliaries and forced to retreat on Vetera. 19. The Batavian cohorts now on their way back into Italy determine to join their fellow-countrymen; fatal irresolution of Hordeonius. 20. They force their way past the Roman legion stationed at Bonn. 21. Joined by them, Civilis next attempts to win over the forces at Vetera; his overtures are indignantly repelled. 22. Vetera is placed in a state of defence and Civilis advances against it. 23. His attacks are repelled by the garrison, and the siege is converted into a blockade. 24. Murmurs of the troops against Hordeonius Flaccus. 25. At Bonn the mutiny is renewed and with difficulty allayed by Vocula. 26. Vocula advances to Novesium and proceeds to lay waste the country of the Cugerni, leaving Herennius Gallus in command of the camp at Gelduba. 27. In his absence the mutinous spirit revives. 28. Civilis sends marauding expeditions into the tribes friendly to Rome and continues to press the siege of Vetera. 29. He tries a night attack but it is foiled; 30. as also is

an assault by day. 31. After the battle of Cremona the Gauls mostly declare for Vespasian, but the soldiers still adhere to Vitellius. 32. The Romans send Montanus as an emissary to Civilis, who succeeds in corrupting him. 33. Civilis attacks Vocola at Gelduba, and would have routed his forces but for the timely arrival of some Basque troops. 34. After some delay Vocola advances and succeeds in relieving Vetera. 35. Civilis cuts off a train of provisions advancing from Gelduba; Vocola quits Vetera and retires southward. 36. At Novesium the legions mutiny and kill Hordeonius Flaccus. 37. Dissensions arise and the legions of the upper province rejoin Vocola at Mogontiacum.

CHAPTERS 38-53

AFFAIRS IN ROME AND THE PROVINCES

38. The city is agitated by fears for the corn-supply from Africa. 39. Votes in the Senate; Mucianus undermines the influence of Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus. 40. Domitian presides in the Senate; business transacted. 41. Scene in the Senate. 42. Defence of Aquilius Regulus by his brother Vipstanus Messalla; speech of Curtius Montanus against Aquilius. 43. Helvidius attacks Montanus. 44. Mucianus orders two of the *delatores* to return to exile. 45. Trial of the people of Sienna for contumely to a senator. 46. The soldiers of Vitellius clamour to be readmitted to the praetorian guard; prompt measures of Mucianus to suppress the mutiny. 47. A loan raised; Flavius Sabinus honoured with a public funeral. 48. History of the province of Africa. 49. Attempt of Valerius Festus the procurator to entrap L. Piso the proconsul. 50. Unable to tempt him Festus has him murdered and takes measures to secure the army. 51. News of his successes reaches Vespasian together with unfavourable rumours about Domitian. 52. Titus intercedes for his brother, is sent to finish the war in Judaea; Vespasian forwards corn-supplies to Rome. 53. Ceremony of restoring the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, June 21, 70 A.D.

CHAPTERS 54-79.

SEQUEL OF THE REVOLT OF CIVILIS, JULY-NOVEMBER, 70—C. LICINIUS
MUCIANUS II, P. VALERIUS ASIATICUS COSS.

54. Effect of the news of the death of Vitellius on the war in Gaul. 55. Classicus, Tutor and Sabinus put themselves at the head of the Gallic movement. 56. They tamper with the army of Germany; Vocola descends towards Vetera. 57. The Gallic auxiliaries under Classicus and Tutor openly mutiny, and corrupt Vocola's troops. 58. Speech of Vocola to his men. 59. They kill him, throw Herennius Gallus and Numisius Lupus into chains, and take the oath of allegiance to the empire of the Gauls. 60. The garrison of Vetera at last surrenders and the greater part of them are set on and murdered by the Germans. 61. Conduct of Civilis; Munius Lupercus despatched a prisoner to Velela and killed on the way. 62. The 16th and the 1st legions are ordered to leave their quarters and repair to Trèves; the ala Picentina breaks away on the march. 63. Debate as to the fate of Cologne. 64. Ultimatum of the Tencteri. 65. The Agrippinenses succeed in pacifying them. 66. Civilis wins over several tribes in Northern Gaul. 67. Julius Sabinus is defeated by the Sequani. 68. Mucianus takes measures to strengthen himself in Rome; he and Domitian start with large reinforcements for the seat of war. 69. A majority in the Gallic diet vote for peace with Rome. 70. The Treveri and Lingones continue the war alone;

on the first appearance of the Roman forces the mutinous Roman soldiers return to their allegiance and Valentinus and Tutor are forced to fall back on Trèves. 71. Cerialis advancing rapidly from Mogontiacum routs the Treveran levy at Rigodulum and captures Valentinus. 72. Cerialis the next day occupies Trèves and the revolted legions are readmitted to their allegiance. 73, 74. Cerialis addresses the Treveri and Lingones. 75. Civilis and Classicus vainly attempt to intrigue with Cerialis; they advance against him. 76. Divergence of view among the Gallic leaders; they resolve on an immediate attack on Cerialis. 77. Danger of Cerialis. 78. He succeeds in beating off the enemy. 79. The revolted leaders gain some temporary successes.

CHAPTERS 80-86

AFFAIRS IN ROME AND AT ALEXANDRIA

80. Mucianus puts to death Vitellius's son; he quarrels with Antonius who joins Vespasian in Egypt. 81. Vespasian performs miraculous cures. 82. He sees an auspicious vision in the temple of Serapis. 83, 84. Various views as to the origin of the god and his cult. 85. On receipt of the news of the victory at Trèves Mucianus dissuades Domitian from advancing farther into Gaul. 86. Domitian retires for a time into private life and gives himself up to literary pursuits.

December
A. U. C. 822,
A. D. 69.

I. Interfecto Vitellio bellum magis desierat quam pax coeperat. Armati per urbem victores inplacabili odio victos consecrabantur. Plenae caedibus viae, cruenta fora templaque, passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat. Ac mox augescente licentia scrutari ac protrahere abditos; si quem procerum habitu et iuventa conspexerant, obtruncare, nullo militum aut populi discrimine. Quae saevitia recentibus odiis sanguine explebatur, dein verterat in avaritiam. Nihil usquam secretum aut clausum sinebant, Vitellianos occultari simulantes. Initium
10 id perfringendarum domuum, vel si resisteretur, causa caedis; nec deerat egentissimus quisque e plebe et pessimi servitiorum

1. 2. *armati per urbem*. It was not usual to wear arms in the city; hence the emphatic position of these words.

4. *passim trucidatis*. "Men being slain promiscuously, as chance had presented each;" this represents the first step, the next was to search private houses, the third to kill all who were tall and young.

5. *procerum habitu et iuventa*. "Tall in person and young." *Iuventa* is a descriptive ablative rather than governed by *procerum*. It was presumed that such belonged to Vitellius's army; for the Germans were mainly tall, and the recruits came from the flower of the

youth. See c. 14, "et est plerisque procera pueritia;" v. 14, "Germanos proceritas corporum attollit." *militum* aut populi. *Populus* here means the civilians, contrasted with the soldiers.

7. *quae saevitia recentibus odiis*—verterat. *Recentibus odiis* is an ablative absolute, "while the feelings of hatred were fresh;" the pluperfect *verterat* expresses the suddenness and completeness of the change.

11. *nec—deerat prodere*. "Were ever ready to betray." For *nec deerat*, see i. 36, etc. *ultro*. "Unasked;" it has here, as elsewhere, the notion of taking the initiative.

prodere ultro dites dominos: alii ab amicis monstrabantur. Ubique lamenta, conclamationes et fortunae captae urbis, adeo ut Othoniani Vitellianique militis invidiosa antea petulantia desideraretur. Duces partium accendendo civili bello acres, 15 temperandae victoriae inpaes: quippe in turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis; pax et quies bonis artibus indigent.

2. Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat. Praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum, summa potentiae in Primo Antonio. Is pecuniam familiamque e principis domo quasi Cremonensem praedam rapere. Ceteri modestia 5 vel ignobilitate ut in bello obscuri, ita praemiorum expertes. Civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus exstinguique reliqua belli postulabat. Praemissi Ariciam equites; agmen legionum intra Bovillas stetit. Nec cunctatus est Vitellius seque et cohortes 10 arbitrio victoris permittere, et miles infelicia arma haud minus ira quam metu abiecit. Longus deditorum ordo, septus armatis, per urbem incessit, nemo supplici voltu, sed tristes et

13. lamenta conclamationes et fortunae captae urbis. Ritter seems wrong in regarding *conclamationes* as referring to the shouts of the victors, as in Ann. iii. 2 it denotes the cries of their victims. Ruperti understands it of the cries raised over the dead. Orelli retains the reading of M., *fortunae*, "the varying fortunes;" quoting Cic. pro Rosc. Am. c. 20, "ut postea neminem alium nisi fortunas vestras accusare possitis." Most other editors alter it into *fortuna*.

16. temperandae victoriae. "To check the abuses of victory, to use their victory mildly." Cic. pro Marcell. c. 3, "animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare." Also ii. 47.

2. i. sedemque Caesaris, i.e. the palace on the Palatine. He was brought there from his father's house, to which he had been previously escorted, iii. 86.

1. nondum ad curas intentus — filium principis agebat. "Not interesting himself in public affairs, he played the part of emperor's son." Cf. Ann. iv. 69, "quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas." Tacitus says the same in Ag. 7, "ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante." Suetonius, Dom. 1, gives

nearly the same account, "ceterum omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit, ut iam tum qualis futurus esset, ostenderet;" and iii. 66.

3. praefectura praetorii. Vespasian restored the old praetorians, but reduced the number of cohorts again to nine. For Arrius Varus, see iii. 6, 16, and 61. We hear of him again later.

7. occupari redeuntem Tarracina — cum cohortibus. "Should be intercepted on his way back from Tarracina," which he had just succeeded in wresting from the Flavians, see iii. 76, 77. He was at the head of six cohorts. For *occupari*, see i. 6, "occupari nutantem fortunam placuit."

8. exstinguique reliqua belli. Tacitus, Livy, and Velleius use this phrase; Cicero uses *reliquias belli*, which Livy also often has.

9. Ariciam. Aricia was sixteen miles from Rome on the Appian Way; Horace's first stage on his journey to Brundisium. Bovillae was ten miles. *intra*. "This side of."

10. seque et cohortes = *ταὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰς σὺντολὰς*. So i. 51, "seque et Gallias."

truces et adversum plausus ac lasciviam insultantis volgi in-
 15 mobiles. Paucos erumpere ausos circumiecti oppressere; ceteri
 in custodiam conditi, nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et
 quamquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama. Dein Lucius
 Vitellius interficitur, par vitiis fratris, in principatu eius vigi-
 lantior, nec perinde prosperis socius quam adversis abstractus.

3. Isdem diebus Lucilius Bassus cum expedito equite ad
 componendam Campaniam mittitur, discordibus municipiorum
 animis magis inter semet quam contumacia adversus principem.
 Viso milite quies; et minoribus coloniis inpunitas. Capuae
 5 legio tertia hiemandi causa locatur, et domus illustres adflitae,
 cum contra Tarracinenses nulla ope iuvarentur. Tanto procli-
 vius est iniuriae quam beneficio vicem exsolvere, quia gratia
 oneri, ultio in quaestu habetur. Solatio fuit servus Verginii
 Capitonis, quem proditorem Tarracinensium diximus, patibulo
 10 adfixus in isdem anulis quos acceptos a Vitellio gestabat. At
 Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit,

15. *oppressere*. This reading has been generally adopted by the editors, instead of *pressere* of M.

19. *adversis abstractus*. "Borne down by his adversities;" with *abstractus* we have to supply *in perniciem*. See Ann. iv. 13, "claritudine infausti generis et paternis adversis foret abstractus."

8. 1. *Lucilius Bassus*. He had been admiral of the fleet at Ravenna, but had joined Caecina in deserting Vitellius, and had accordingly been admitted as one of the leaders of the Flavians, ii. 100; iii. 12.

2. *discordibus municipiorum animis*. See iii. 57, "municipalem aemulationem bellis civilibus miscebant." *Discordibus* is joined by a kind of zeugma with *contumacia*, as well as with *inter semet*, the word having the double sense of "at variance" and "mutinous."

4. *Capuae legio tertia locatur*. This legion had come out of Moesia, where it led the way in declaring for Vespasian, ii. 85; it had since taken part in the battle of Bedriacum and sack of Cremona, iii. 21, 27. To give it winter quarters at Capua was at once a punishment to the city (which was loyal to Vitellius, iii. 57), and a reward to the legion.

5. *adflitae*. "Were mulcted."

6. *Tarracinenses*. Who had been taken and plundered for having declared for Vespasian, iii. 76.

7. *vicem exsolvere*. "To repay in full." So iii. 75, "vicem reddens."

9. *diximus*, iii. 71.

10. *in isdem anulis*. Tacitus had not before mentioned that he had been made a knight by Vitellius, but, from the present passage, that appears to have been the case. So Icelus (i. 13), Galba's freedman, had been knighted. He was crucified wearing his gold ring to add to the indignity.

11. *cuncta principibus solita*. So, i. 47, at the time of Otho's accession, "accurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas, et nomen Augusti, et omnes principum honores;" and ii. 55 of Vitellius, "in senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur." Besides the things mentioned above would be the *imperium* and the censorial powers. There is still extant on a brazen tablet at Rome a considerable portion of a *senatus consultum*, conferring on Vespasian all the powers of making treaties, of summoning, preparing business for, and remitting questions to, the senate, which had been enjoyed by Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius Caesar. Other enactments provide that at any meeting of the senate, called by the emperor or presided over by him, all business is to be considered legal business; the emperor is to have the right of *commendatio* to magistracies; he may extend the

laetus et spei certus, quippe sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma, motis ad bellum Germanis, mox Illyrico, postquam Aegyptum Iudaeam Syriamque et omnis provincias exercitusque lustraverant, velut ex plato terrarum orbe cepisse finem 15 videbantur. Addidere alacritatem Vespasiani litterae tamquam manente bello scriptae. Ea prima specie forma: ceterum ut princeps loquebatur, civilia de se et rei publicae egregia. Nec senatus obsequium deerat: ipsi consulatus cum Tito filio, praetura Domitiano et consulare imperium decernuntur. 20

4. Miserat et Mucianus epistulas ad senatum, quae materiam sermonibus praebuere. Si privatus esset, cur publice loqueretur? Potuisse eadem paucos post dies loco sententiae dici. Ipsa quoque insectatio in Vitellium sera et sine libertate. Id vero erga rem publicam superbum, erga principem contumeliosum, 5 quod in manu sua fuisse imperium donatumque Vespasiano iactabat. Ceterum invidia in occulto, adulatio in aperto erant.

limits of the *pomerium*; he may legally do whatever he shall consider advantageous to the state, or conducive to the majesty of divine affairs. He is not to be bound by the laws by which Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius were bound, but to have all their legal powers. Lastly, all his acts done before the *senatus consultum* was passed are legalised. See Bruns's *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, p. 128.

12. et spei certus. "And having their hopes well founded." How this was so, he goes on to explain by quippe. sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma. Vindex and Verginius had risen in Gaul, Galba in Spain, Upper and Lower Germany had followed Vitellius, Antonius Primus had brought Illyricum into the field, Egypt, Judea, Syria had flocked to the standards of Mucianus and Vespasian. There was no part of the world from which it seemed possible for a pretender to arise.

16. tamquam manente bello. "On the supposition that the war was still going on." He had heard probably of the victory of Bedriacum and Valens's death, certainly not of Vitellius's overthrow.

17. ea prima specie forma. "That was the impression of them at the first glance," i.e. that they were moderate. ceterum. "But in reality." This use, frequent in the *Annals* (e.g. Ann. i. 6, 14, 44, etc.), occurs only here in the *Historiae*. civilia de se. "Modestly about

himself," "as a citizen might." Cf. Ann. i. 8, "legata non ultra civilem modum."

18. nec senatus obsequium deerat. "Nor was the senate wanting in servility." Others have wrongly explained it, "nor did he fail to speak flatteringly of the senate."

20. praetura Domitiano et consulare imperium. The *praetura* is the *praetura urbana*, but the office was purely honorary, as he discharged none of its functions; see Suet. Dom. 1. The *consulare imperium* was conferred on him in the absence of the two consuls, his father and brother. On a coin of this time, the obverse has the inscription: "Imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug." with a laurel-crowned head; the reverse, "T. Caes. Aug. F. Cos. D. Caesar Aug. F. Pr(aetor)." This reverse has the two heads of Titus and Domitian.

4. 2. cur publice loqueretur? "Why did he speak in a public capacity?" It was not usual for any one except the emperor to address the senate by letter on public affairs generally, see ii. 55. Cicero and Livy have the phrase *publice scribere*.

3. loco sententiae. "When his turn came to speak," from his place in the senate. A sort of technical phrase; see Ann. iii. 33, "erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus si quid e republica crederent loco sententiae promere."

4. et sine libertate. "And gave no proof of freedom of speech," since he had now nothing to fear from Vitellius.

7. invidia—adulatio—erant. Tacit-

Multo cum honore verborum Muciano triumphalia de bello civium data : sed in Sarmatas expeditio fingeatur. Adduntur
 10 Primo Antonio consularia, Cornelio Fusco et Arrio Varo praetoria insignia. Mox deos respexere ; restitui Capitolium placuit. Eaque omnia Valerius Asiaticus consul designatus censuit : ceteri voltu manuque, pauci, quibus conspicua dignitas
 15 adsentiebantur. Ubi ad Helvidium Priscum praetorem designatum ventum, prompsit sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, falsa aberant, et studiis senatus attollebatur. Isque praecipuus illi dies, magnae offensae initium et magnae gloriae fuit.

tus often thus connects a plural verb with two contrasted notions, brought into relation to one another by an asyndeton.

8. *triumphalia de bello civium data*. The badges of a triumph were the triumphal robe, the *loga picta* and *tunica palmata*, and the triumphal car. The full phrase was *triumphalia insignia* or *ornamenta*. Those to whom the *triumphalia* were granted were entitled to be called *triumphales*, and to ennoble their family by *statuae laureatae*. The full honours of a regular triumph were, after the latter part of Augustus's reign, reserved for the emperor and members of the imperial family, wars being always waged under the auspices of the emperor. *de bello civium* is ironical, for a triumph could not, by Roman tradition, be granted for success in a civil war. For the expedition against the Sarmatae which furnished the excuse for the triumph, see iii. 46 and 54.

10. *consularia—praetoria insignia*. The dress of consul and praetor and the *sella curulis*. The offices were not conferred, only the badges of them.

12. *Valerius Asiaticus consul designatus*. He was probably the son of the more celebrated Valerius Asiaticus, twice consul, whose death is recorded, Ann. xi. 1, etc. We first hear of him as governor of Belgica (i. 59), and he had then lately become Vitellius's son-in-law. He seems to have been designated consul at the November elections, when Vitellius "consules in multos annos destinabat," iii. 55. In the absence of the consul, the *consul designatus* brought forward motions. *voltu manuque*. "By their looks and holding out their hands." Cf. Sen. Ep. 8, "non videor tibi plus

prodesse quam si in senatu candidato vocem et manum commodarem?"

15. *praetorem designatum*. He was already *praetor designatus* at the time of Vitellius's accession, ii. 91.

16. *ut honorificam in bonum principem, falsa aberant*. The construction, as it stands, is almost too harsh to be possible. Various attempts have been made at correction. Ritter repunctuates, *prompsit sententiam honorificam ut in bonum principem. Falsa aberant et studiis senatus attollebatur*. Heraeus and others hold that certain words have dropped out. Heraeus reads, *ut honorificam in novum principem, ita pro republica decoram. Adulationum falsa aberant*. Orelli thinks the reading of M. will do as it stands, explaining that while he assumed that Vespasian intended to be a good emperor, he did honour to him only on that supposition, and would indulge in no false flattery. The omission of *ita* he justifies by i. 75, "ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri." Ritter's reading would mean that he made his praises conditional on Vespasian turning out a good prince ; he was incapable of falsehood, and was stimulated by the divided feeling of the senate. This makes good sense, but the balance of the sentence is rather against it. *studia*. Orelli explains "enthusiasm ;" Ritter, "partisan feeling." The latter is the more general sense, but the former seems better to suit the context here.

18. *magnae offensae, magnae gloriae*. His outspokenness offended Vespasian, and ultimately brought about his death early in that emperor's reign, 73 A.D., Suet. Vesp. 15 ; Dio, lxxv. 12.

5. Res poscere videtur, quia iterum in mentionem incidimus viri saepius memorandi, ut vitam studiaque eius, et quali fortuna sit usus, paucis repetam. Helvidius Priscus e regione Caracina, e municipio Cluviano, patre, qui ordinem primipili duxisset, ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum 5 dedit, non ut plerique, *ut* nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmiter adversus fortuita rem publicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiae secutus est qui sola bona quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia, potentiam nobilitatem ceteraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis adnumerant. Quaestorius 10

5. 1. iterum—viri saepius memorandi. He had been mentioned before, ii. 91; we have mention of him in this Book, besides in the next chapters, chaps. 43 and 53; probably Tacitus detailed his banishment and death in his sixth Book, now lost. In the *Annals*, xii. 49 and xiii. 28, there is an Helvidius Priscus mentioned. In the first place, he is sent on special service into Armenia, as *legatus legionis*, 51 A.D.; in the second place, he appears as *tribunus plebis*, 56 A.D. But as the famous Helvidius Priscus was *quaestor* under Nero in 54 A.D., and *praetor designatus* only in the present year, it is very unlikely that he should have been *legatus legionis* and tribune so long before. He became Thrasea's son-in-law, *Ann.* xvi. 28. He was banished by Nero, and lived at Apollonia, but returned to Rome after Nero's death.

3. e regione—duxisset. *E regione Italiae Caracinae municipio, Cluvio patre*; this is the reading of M., pretty clearly corrupt. A good many of the MSS. read *Tarracinae municipio*. To this there are two objections. The form *Tarracinae municipio* is unusual, and the scribes were very likely to correct the little known *Caracina* or *Carecina* into *Tarracina*; on the other hand, in favour of it, it is urged that a tile has been found near Tarracina with the name L...LVID=Lucius Helvidius upon it. Heraeus suggests *origine (Italiae) Carecina e municipio Cluviano, patre qui*, etc. Ritter reads *Carnico e municipio patre*, etc. Neither of these is wholly satisfactory. Heraeus seems unnecessarily to alter *e regione*, and Ritter's reading gets altogether too far away from the text. I have ventured to suggest *e regione Caracina, e municipio Cluviano*. Ritter explains *e regione Italiae* as a gloss to show where Caracina was. The

Caracini are mentioned by Ptolemy, the geographer, and by Pliny, N. H. iii. 17, as a tribe inhabiting northern Samnium under the name Carentini in the 4th region of Italy. The district where they lived may have been called Caracina. Cluvia was a town in this district, *Liv.* ix. 31; for the use of the adjective to describe the town, see above, ii. 50, "*origo illi e municipio Ferentino*." That we may look for the name of the town in *Cluvio* seems suggested by two considerations (1), Tacitus nowhere else gives the name of the father of a man who had raised himself; (2) if the name were given, the relative clause would be *duxerat* rather than *duxisset*. The verb is here subjunctive, not indicative, because it is practically equivalent to a descriptive adjective.

5. ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis—dedit. *Ingenium inlustre* refers to his capacity for oratory, in which every educated Roman was expected at this time to excel; *altioribus studiis* are, of course, those of philosophy.

6. non ut plerique—quo. Tacitus here implies that the reason why the young men of his time took to philosophy was as an excuse for withdrawing themselves from public and active life. *firmiter adversus fortuita*. "More steeled against the buffets of fortune."

8. doctores sapientiae secutus est, i.e. the Stoics, of whose teaching the following words are a description. By *cetera extra animum*, "other goods which lie outside the mind," we must understand not only external goods strictly so called, but also goods of the body, such as health, strength, personal beauty; to all such they gave the name of *διδάσκαλα*.

10. quaestorius adhuc. We learn from the Scholiast on *Juv. Sat.* v. 36, that he was *quaestor* of Achaia under Nero.

adhuc a Paeto Thrasea gener delectus | e moribus soceri | nihil aequae ac libertatem hausit, civis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitae officiis | aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus.

6. Erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exiit. Ruina soceri in exsilium pulsus, ut Galbae principatu rediit, Marcellum Eprium delatorem Thraseae accusare adgreditur. Ea ultio, incertum
5 maior an iustior, senatum in studia diduxerat: nam si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum sternebatur. Primo minax certamen, et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum. Mox dubia voluntate

12. hausit "drank in;" so used, Ag. 4, "studium philosophiae acrius ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatorio, hausisse;" and Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 95, "ut . . haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae." His passion for liberty is alluded to in Juv. Sat. v. 36, "quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant Brutorum et Cassi natalibus." Dio thinks that he pressed his opposition to the imperial government too far. His wife's name was Fannia; she is praised by Pliny as a woman worthy of her father and her husband, Epp. 7, 19.

6. 1. quando etiam sapientibus. Tacitus repeats the sentiment, Ag. 9, "fama, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent." The thought is perhaps copied from a saying of Plato's recorded in Athenaeus, xi. 116: Πλάτων ἔφησεν, "Ἐσχάτων τὸν τῆς δόξης χιτῶνα ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῷ ἀποδύμεθα, ἐν διαθήκαις, ἐν ἐκκομιδαῖς, ἐν τάφοις; or, as it is given in another form, τὴν κενοδοξίαν ὡς τελευταίων χιτῶνα ἡ ψυχή πέφυκεν ἀποτίθεσθαι. Simplicius has a simpler form, Ἐσχάτος λέγεται τῶν παθῶν χιτῶν ἡ φιλοδοξία διότι τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις δι' αὐτὴν ἀποδυμένων αὐτὴ προσίσχεται μᾶλλον τῇ ψυχῇ. Milton had probably this passage in his mind when he described ambition as "the last infirmity of noble minds."

2. in exsilium pulsus. The Scholiast, on Juv. Sat. v. 36, tells us he retired to Apollonia, and that after Nero's death, being reinstated by Galba, he conducted himself as if the state were in the enjoyment of full liberty.

3. principatu. "In the reign." This ablative, of time during which, is rare before Tacitus, Furn. Int. v. § 26.

3. Marcellum Eprium delatorem Thraseae. Eprius's full name, as we learn from an inscription at Capua, was

Titus Clodius, M. f. Pal (atina tribu probably) Eprius Marcellus. He was *praetor suffectus* in 49 A.D., after Silanus's deposition, for a single day. He had been *consul suffectus* probably in 61 A.D. He came forward as the accuser of Thrasea in 66 A.D. We learn from another inscription that he was *consul* again in 74 A.D., with Q. Petilius Cerialis Cassius Rufus. We have had mention of him already, ii. 53, as one of the senators who accompanied Otho.

4. incertum maior an iustior. It was no slight exploit to attack a man of Eprius's influence; it was an obvious duty in the son-in-law to avenge his father-in-law. For the omission of *utrum*, see iii. 25, Ann. i. 13, and often elsewhere, particularly in the *Annals*. *diduxerat in studia*. "Had divided the senate into factions;" cf. ii. 68, "iis qui ad spectaculum convenerant in studia diductis."

6. agmen reorum. *Rei* has in Tacitus the sense of "the offenders," in Cicero, "the defendants" or "accused." It is said properly to mean those who have business (*res*) in court. *sternebatur*. "Were being ruined," i.e. their fall was involved in his.

7. egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum. It would seem from these words that the speeches were still extant. Some editors place a semicolon after *testatum*, others omit it, and make *certamen* the accusative after *omisit*. This perhaps agrees best with Tacitus's style. In the Dialogue, he has given a somewhat different account. He says there, c. 5, that in spite of the hostility of the senate, Eprius by sheer force of eloquence managed to elude Priscus, who was fluent indeed, but unpractised and inexperienced in conflicts of the kind.

Galbae, multis senatorum deprecantibus. Omisit Priscus, variis, ut sunt hominum ingenia, sermonibus moderationem laudantium aut constantiam requirentium. 10

Ceterum eo senatus die quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos. Hinc inter Helvidium et Eprium acre iurgium. Priscus eligi nominatim a magistratibus iuratis, Marcellus urnam postulabat; quae consulis designati sententia fuerat. 15

7. Sed Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat, ne aliis electis posthabitus crederetur. Paulatimque per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes proveci sunt, quaerente Helvidio quid ita Marcellus iudicium magistratum pavesceret: esse illi pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis multos anteiret, ni 5 memoria flagitiorum urgueretur. Sorte et urna mores non discerni: suffragia et existimationem senatus reperta, ut in cuiusque vitam famamque penetrarent. Pertinere ad utilitatem rei publicae, pertinere ad Vespasiani honorem, occurrere illi quos innocentissimos senatus habeat, qui honestis sermonibus aures 10 imperatoris inbuant. Fuisse Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thrasea,

10. *requirentium* = *desiderantium*. So also in Cicero.

11. *ceterum eo senatus die quo*. *Ceterum* is resumptive, like the Greek *ὅθεν*. Is the day the same as that already described in c. 3, or a different one? Probably the same, the two last chapters having been parenthetical.

14. *a magistratibus iuratis*. It was part of the oath which the consuls took, that they would select those to fill different offices, who they thought it most to the interest of the republic should be elected. In Ann. iv. 21 we have "iudicio iurati senatus."

14. *urnam*. Election by lot, the names being put into an urn and shaken out. The consul designate was Valerius Asiaticus, see above, c. 4.

7. 1. *proprius rubor*. "The sense of personal indignity." *Proprius* is constantly used by Tacitus to express some personal motive, iv. 50, "ob proprias similitudines;" Ann. ii. 46; *rubor*, "the sense of shame," "blushes," the effect for the cause, as in G. 13, "nec rubor inter comites aspici." *posthabitus*. "To have been passed over."

2. *per altercationem*. *Altercatio* is opposed in the same way to *continua oratio* by Livy, iv. 6, 1, "cum res a

perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset." Cicero uses *altercatio* in the same way, ad Att. i. 16, 8, "Clodium fregi in senatu altercatione huiusmodi."

4. *pavesceret*. This, and the cognate verb *pavere*, are constantly used by Tacitus transitively, but not by earlier writers.

7. *suffragia et existimationem*. The judgment of the senate, as expressed by its votes. *reperta* is here equivalent to *inventi*.

8. *pertinere ad*. "It is conducive to." Cic. pro Sest. § 71, "pertinere et ad concordiam civilem putavit et ad perficiendi facultatem animum Caesaris a causa non abhorreere."

10. *qui — aures imperatoris inbuant*. As in Horace, Epp. i. 2, 69-70, "quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu."

11. *Thrasea, Sorano, Sentio*. P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus was Thrasea's full name. He was *consul suffectus* in the last months of 56 A.D., headed the opposition to Nero's tyranny, and was put to death by Nero in 66 A.D. Barea Soranus was consul designate in 52 A.D., Ann. xii. 53; he was proconsul of Asia in 62 A.D., and his conduct there, and friendship with Rubellius Plautus were made

Sorano, Sentio ; quorum accusatores etiamsi puniri non oporteat, ostentari non debere. Hoc senatus iudicio velut admoneri principem quos probet, quos reformidet. Nullum maius boni
 15 imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse. Satis Marcello quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium inpulerit : frueretur praemiis et impunitate, Vespasianum melioribus relinqueret.

8. Marcellus non suam sententiam inpugnari, sed consulem designatum censuisse dicebat, secundum vetera exempla, quae sortem legationibus posuissent, ne ambitioni aut inimicitii locus foret. Nihil evenisse cur antiquitus instituta exolescerent aut
 5 principis honor in cuiusquam contumeliam verteretur ; sufficere omnes obsequio. Id magis vitandum, ne pervicacia quorundam irritaretur animus novo principatu suspensus et voltus quoque ac sermones omnium circumspectans. Se meminisse temporum quibus natus sit, quam civitatis formam patres avique institue-
 10 rint ; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi ; bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare. Non magis sua oratione Thræseam quam iudicio senatus afflictum : saevitiam Neronis per eiusmodi imagines inlusisse, nec minus sibi anxiam talem amicitiam quam aliis exsilium. Denique constantia fortitudine
 15 Catonibus et Brutis aequaretur Helvidius : se unum esse ex

charges against him ; Ann. xvi. 30-33. Of Sentius nothing is known, and Ritter, therefore, suggests *Anteius*, mentioned as one of Nero's victims in Ann. xvi. 14.

16. *frueretur praemiis*. Eprius Marcellus received 5,000,000 sesterces, about £50,000, for conducting the prosecution of Thræsea, see Ann. xvi. 33 *ad fin.*

8. 1. *consulem designatum censuisse*. The consul designate was Valerius Asiaticus, and he had given his opinion in favour of election by lot, c. 6.

2. *secundum vetera exempla*. The editors have collected two such instances, one from Cicero, ad Att. i. 19 ; and one from Dio, lix. 23. Suetonius (Aug. 35) says that under Augustus recourse was often had to lot.

3. *ambitioni aut inimicitia*. "Attempts to influence on the part of the candidates, cabals on the part of the electors, and disgust on the part of those who were passed over."

5. *sufficere omnes obsequio*. "All are good enough to go and do homage."

7. *animus novo principatu suspensus*. "The as yet unbiassed mind of the emperor fresh to power."

8. *temporum quibus natus sit*, *i.e.* the age of Augustus and the form of constitution which now two generations ago had been established then.

10. *ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi*. While he admires the more remote past, *i.e.* the Republican times, he falls in with things as they are, *i.e.* the rule of the emperors.

12. *quam iudicio senatus*. It was from the senate that Nero had obtained the formal condemnation of Thræsea and the others. It is this fact which is alluded to in the words *per eiusmodi imagines inlusisse*. Nero's cruelty had beguiled them with mock shows of that kind, *i.e.*, by bringing them for trial before the senate, and by setting up informers to justify with all the forms of a regular trial a decision he had already come to. For *imagines*, see Ann. iii. 17, "biduum super hac imagine cognitionis absumptum."

15. *Catonibus et Brutis*. For this republican cult under the Empire, see Juv. Sat. v. 36, "quale coronati Thræsea Helvidiusque bibebant Brutorum et Crassi natalibus." *se unum esse*. "He was

illo senatu qui simul servierit. Suadere etiam Prisco ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, iuvenum liberorum patrem, praeceptis coërceret. Quomodo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis placere. Haec magnis utrimque 20 contentionibus iactata diversis studiis accipiebantur. Vicit pars quae sortiri legatos malebat, etiam mediis patrum adnitentibus retinere morem. Et splendidissimus quisque eodem inclinabat, metu invidiae, si ipsi eligerentur.

9. Secutum aliud certamen. Praetores aerarii (nam tum a praetoribus tractabatur aerarium) publicam paupertatem questi modum impensis postulaverant. Eam curam consul designatus ob magnitudinem oneris et remedii difficultatem principi 5 reservabat: Helvidius arbitrio senatus agendum censuit. Cum perrogarent sententias consules, Volcatius Tertullinus tribunus plebis intercessit, ne quid super tanta re principe absente statueretur. Censuerat Helvidius ut Capitolium publice restitu-

a unit in that senate which bowed to the yoke together."

16. ne supra principem scanderet, ne — senem triumphalem — praeceptis coërceret. "Let him not set himself above the emperor, an old man who had won triumphs, let him not venture to lecture him." Vespasian was now sixty years old, and he had won the *triumphalia* in Britain under Claudius, for his exploits as commander of the 2d legion; see Ag. 13.

18. quomodo — ita modum libertatis. Tacitus has substituted *quomodo* for the sake of variety in the place of the more usual *ut*, or *quemadmodum*; *modum libertatis*, "limits to liberty," *sine fine dominationem*, "a tyranny which knows no limits," unrestricted.

22. mediis patrum. Those who were not strong partisans; so Liv. xl. 20, "hos tanquam medios nec in alterius favorem inclinos miserat;" and i. 19, "medii ac plurimi."

9. 1. praetores aerarii, nam tum — tractabatur aerarium. The management of the *aerarium*, as Tacitus hints here and states at length, Ann. xiii. 29, underwent many changes. In Republican times it had been managed by the quaestors. — In 45 B.C. Julius Caesar gave it to two of the *aediles*, Dio, xliii. 48. In 28 B.C., Augustus allowed the senate to choose from among their own number certain *praefecti aerarii*, Dio, liii. 2. This,

however, led to endless intrigues, and so five years later (23 B.C.) he determined that the management should be given to two praetors chosen by lot. The arrangement lasted till the reign of Claudius. Under this system, the lot fell from time to time on those who had no special fitness for the office, so Claudius restored it to the quaestors as under the Republic, Suet. Claud. 24. He provided that they should hold office for a term of three years, and be advanced to the rank of praetor when their term had expired. As the quaestorship was the office first held, this was to entrust the treasury to comparatively untrained men. Nero, in consequence (56 A.D.), entrusted it once more to the praetors, or rather certain *praefecti* who had held the office of praetor, reserving to himself the selection of them. This was the arrangement now in force; later on, in Nerva or Trajan's time a still further change was made, and certain special *praefecti aerarii* were appointed. The parenthesis is inserted here by Tacitus to remind his readers of the change that had taken place. The fuller account in Ann. xliii. 29 was, of course, written later.

5. cum perrogarent — consules. "When the consuls took the vote of the whole senate on it;" so Liv. xxix. 19, "perrogari eo die sententiae non potuerunt."

8. censuerat ut — restitueretur.

cretur, adiuuaret Vespasianus. Eam sententiam modestissimus
 10 quisque silentio, deinde oblivio transmisit: fuere qui et memi-
 nissent.

10. Tum invectus est Musonius Rufus in Publium Celerem,
 a quo Baream Soranum falso testimonio circumventum
 arguebat. Ea cognitione renovari odia accusationum vide-
 bantur. Sed vilis et nocens reus protegi non poterat: quippe
 5 Sorani sancta memoria; Celer professus sapientiam, dein
 testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque amicitiae, cuius se
 magistrum ferebat. Proximus dies causae destinatur. Nec
 tam Musonius aut Publius quam Priscus et Marcellus ceterique,
 motis ad ultionem animis, exspectabantur.

11. Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, ira apud
 victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in
 civitate essent, Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se
 traxit. Fracta Primi Antonii Varique Arrii potentia, male
 5 dissimulata in eos Muciani iracundia, quamvis voltu tegetetur.
 Sed civitas rimandis offensis sagax verterat se transtuleratque.

This construction, frequent in Tacitus, occurs only once in Cicero.

10. *deinde oblivio transmisit*. "Let pass in forgetfulness." *Oblivium* is not used elsewhere in the singular in prose; it is a poetical word. Heraeus's suggestion that it may be the nominative is not tenable. Some treasured up this proposal of Helvidius, which they represented as an attempt to set up the senate above the emperor, and reported it to Vespasian.

10. 1. *Musonius Rufus in P. Celerem*. For Musonius Rufus, see iii. 81, note on line 1. P. Egnatius Celer was a Stoic philosopher of Berytus in Syria. Tacitus afterwards described the trial at length, Ann. xvi. 31 and 32.

2. *circumventum arguebat*. The accusative with the infinitive to express the substance of the accusation is rare; but Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. c. 13, § 37, "*occidisse patrem Sext. Roscius arguitur*."

5. *Celer professus sapientiam—cuius se magistrum ferebat*. We have a fuller account in Ann. xvi. 32, "*cliens hic Sorani et tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem Stoicae sectae praeferibat, habitum et ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti exercitus*." We have also a reference to him in Juv. Sat. iii. 115, 116, "*audi facinus maioris abollae*. Stoicus occidit Baream

delator amicum discipulumque senex."

Lipsius suggested *amici et cuius*, translating "the betrayer of his friend and of one whose master he claimed to be;" Ritter reads *et eius cuius*, understanding by *eius* Servilia, Soranus's daughter, whose conduct is described, Ann. xvi. 33. He maintains that Celer had taught her magical arts, and then denounced her to Nero for practising them. But to make his suggestion probable, he has also to alter the text of Juvenal into *discipulumque senex*. The text, however, makes good sense as it stands, since Celer had no doubt, like other philosophers of the time, lectured on friendship, and the double change proposed is, therefore, unlikely and unnecessary.

7. *proximus dies*, i.e. the next day the senate met.

8. *Marcellus ceterique*. Marcellus and his brother informers. Celer was a foreigner and of little note; Marcellus was in their midst, and might again practise the arts by which he had already grown rich.

11. 2. *non leges, non princeps*. The laws were silenced by the clash of arms, and Vespasian was still away in Egypt.

6. *rimandis offensis sagax verterat se transtuleratque*. "Quick in ferreting out dislikes, had gone over and

Ille unus ambiri, coli. Nec deerat ipse, stipatus armatis, domos hortosque permutans, apparatu incessu excubiis vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere. Plurimum terroris intulit caedes Calpurnii Galeriani. Is fuit filius Gaii Pisonis, nihil ausus : sed 10 nomen insigne et decora ipsi iuventa rumore volgi celebrabantur, erantque in civitate adhuc turbida et novis sermonibus laeta qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent. Iussu Muciani custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa urbe conspectior mors foret, ad quadragesimum ab urbe lapidem, Appia via, fuso per venas 15 sanguine exstinguitur. Iulius Priscus praetoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium praefectus se ipse interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate. Alfenius Varus ignaviae infamiaeque suae superfuit. Asiaticus enim (is libertus) malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit. 20

12. Isdem diebus crebrescentem cladis Germanicae famam nequaquam maesta civitas excipiebat ; caesos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias, non ut mala loquebantur.

transferred its affections." The pluperfect expresses the suddenness and completeness of the change.

7. *nec deerat ipse*. This governs the infinitives *amplecti*—*remittere*. Cf. the very similar passage, i. 36, "*nec deerat Otho protendens manus . . . adorare volgus ;*" *nomen remittere*. "Waive the title."

10. *Gaii Pisonia*. His full name was Gaius Calpurnius Piso Galerianus. He was the head of the Calpurnii, and as such, selected to lead the conspiracy against Nero which cost him his life. Tacitus thus describes him, Ann. xv. 48, "is Calpurnio genere ortus ac multas insignesque familias paterna nobilitate complexus claro apud vulgum rumore erat per virtutem aut species virtutibus similes—aderant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum decora facies." In Juv. Sat. v. 109, he is called "Piso bonus." He had been *consul suffectus* under Claudius and was one of the Arval Brothers. The distinction of the father moved Mucianus's jealousy against the son. He seems too to have had something of the same influence with the mob that the father had possessed.

12. *erant — qui — circumdarent*. "There were some who spread empty reports about him, of seeking the throne." Cf. Dial. 37, "*hanc illi famam circumdiderunt*."

15. *Appia via*. This road was perhaps selected because the tomb of the Pisos lay close beside it.

16. Iulius Priscus had been promoted by Vitellius to the post, from being a simple centurion, ii. 92. He and Alfenius Varus had deserted the army at Mevania and joined Vitellius in Rome, iii. 61.

18. *superfuit* means that he continued to live on in spite of his infamy, rather than that he outlived it.

19. *Asiaticus*. He was a freedman promoted by Vitellius to equestrian rank, ii. 57. He was not allowed to survive, but was crucified because he had been originally a slave.

12. 1. *crebrescentem*. The news did not reach Rome at the beginning of the revolt, which occurred some time in the autumn (iii. 46), so that Tacitus has to go back a little to tell his story from the commencement.

2. *nequaquam maesta civitas*. The state was not much disquieted at the news, partly because it was too much occupied in the civil wars to attend to it, partly because the revolt would deprive the Vitellians of the chance of getting reinforcements from Germany.

3. *loquebantur*. "Men talked of." The verb here governs an accusative of the direct object. The construction, rare in earlier writers, is found elsewhere in Tacitus, e.g. i. 50, "*vastitatem Italiae*,

Id bellum quibus causis ortum, quanto externarum sociarumque
 5 gentium motu flagraverit, altius expediam. Batavi, donec
 trans Rhenum agebant, pars Chattorum, seditione domestica
 pulsi extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus, simulque insulam
 iuxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus
 10 amnis tergum ac latera circumluit; nec opibus Romanis,
 societate validiorum, adtriti viros tantum armaque imperio
 ministrant, diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per
 Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere
 instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. Erant et domi de-

directiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam, Philippos, et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladum nomina, loquebantur."

4. *externarum sociarumque gentium*. Cicero always speaks of *externae*, not *externae, gentes*. The *externae gentes* were the different German tribes, the *sociae gentes*, the Batavi, Canninefates, Belgae.

5. *altius expediam*. "I will detail from the very beginning." Copied from Verg. Georg. iv. 286, "*altius omnem expeditam prima repetens ab origine famam*." The poetical word *expediam*, first adopted into prose by Sall. Jug. 5, is a favourite with Tacitus, i. 51; iv. 48; Ann. iv. 1.

6. *pars Chattorum*. The same account of the origin of the Batavi is given in G. 29, "omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent." When the troubles took place which forced them to emigrate, we do not know. They were already settled in Gaul when Caesar got there, Caesar B.G. iv. 10. The Chatti, from whom they came, occupied the district called by the Romans the Hercynius Saltus, the hilly country which lies east of the Rhine and north of Mount Taunus, in what is now Hesse, G. 30. Tacitus says of the Chatti that they were superior in civilisation and military organisation to the rest of the Germans.

7. *extrema Gallicae orae—simulque insulam iuxta sitam*. *Extrema* is one of the neuter plurals of which Tacitus is so fond. The country they occupied lay immediately south of the Waal and Maas. *Insulam iuxta sitam* is Rupertii's correction of M. *insulam iuxta sita* an; the reading of the inferior

MSS. is *insulam inter vada sitam*; but this is impossible, as the island is not in the midst of shallows but has the Rhine for its northern, the Waal and Maas for its southern boundaries.

8. *quam mare Oceanus—circumluit*. *Oceanus* is a substantive used as an adjective, so Ann. i. 9, "mari Oceano." *Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera*. This is not quite correct; the Waal and Maas form really its southern boundary.

9. *nec opibus Romanis, societate validiorum, adtriti*. *Societate validiorum* is in apposition with *opibus Romanis*, and explains why the wealth of Rome should have acted as a solvent. Heraeus has somewhat rashly and needlessly altered the reading of M. into *nec opibus, rarum in societate validiorum, adtritis*. For a similar account of their position, see G. 29, "manet honor et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemuntur, nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum praeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur."

11. *Germanicis bellis exerciti, i.e.* those waged under Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus.

11. *aucta per Britanniam gloria*. In the war in Nero's reign carried on by Suetonius Paulinus, to whom eight Batavian cohorts, Ann. xiv. 38, H. i. 59, were sent as a reinforcement. Their exploits, related in Ag. 18 and 36, are of a later date.

13. *erant et domi—perrumpere*. Ritter alters *erant* into *erat*, Heraeus into *suerant*. Et, "besides," i.e. in addition to the cohorts sent to Britain. If the reading of the MS. be correct, the construction is somewhat harsh, *perrumpere* being a sort of epexegetical infinitive after *praecipuo studio*, "so as to." We may translate: "there was besides at home

lectus eques, praecipuo nandi studio arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere.

15

13. Iulius Civilis et Claudius Paulus, regia stirpe, multo ceteros anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit. Iniectae Civili catenae, missusque ad Neronem et a Galba absolutus sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adit, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu. Inde causae irarum, 5 spesque ex malis nostris. Sed Civilis ultra quam barbaris solitum ingenio sollers, et Sertorium se aut Hannibalem ferens simili oris dehonestamento, ne ut hosti obviam iretur, si a populo Romano palam descivisset, Vespasiani amicitiam studiumque partium praetendit, missis sane ad eum Primi 10 Antonii litteris, quibus avertere accita a Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare legiones iuebatur. Eadem Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monuerat, inclinato in Vespasianum animo et rei publicae cura, cui excidium adventabat,

a chosen body of horse of such special skill in swimming that, retaining their arms and horses, they could with their ranks unbroken make their way across the Rhine." Their skill in thus swimming is referred to in Ag. 18, "lectissimos auxiliarium quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit," etc.

18. 1. Iulius Civilis et Claudius Paulus. M. reads *Claudius Civilis et Iulius Paulus*. But, as Tacitus, i. 59, calls him Julius Civilis and he is uniformly so styled elsewhere, there seems to have been here a slip of the copyist. From c. 32 it appears that Claudius Paulus was his brother.

1. multo ceteros anteibant. So i. 87, "pravus et callidus bonos et modestos anteibat." In Caesar and Cicero the word is only used absolutely, or with a dative. Tacitus also uses *praeello*, and *praeiaceo* with an accusative, Furn. Int. v. § 12 c.

2. falso rebellionis crimine. Probably in connection with their refusal to follow the 14th legion, Introd. p. 88. Fonteius Capito was governor of Lower Germany at the time of Galba's accession, i. 7. Fonteius Capito was himself accused of treason, and put to death by Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, i. 7.

4. sub Vitellio rursus discrimen addit; i. 59, "Iulius inde Civilis periculo exemptus praefectus inter Batavos,

ne supplicio eius ferox gens alienaretur."

6. ultra quam barbaris solitum. Tacitus had a mean opinion of the ability of the German tribes, compared with his own more sharp-witted countrymen. Speaking of the Chatti he says, "multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae," G. 30.

8. simili oris dehonestamento. He had lost an eye, as Hannibal and Sertorius had, Liv. xxii. 2; Plut. Sert. 1.

10. missis sane. *Sane* is concessive, "it must be allowed." For the despatch of letters to Gaul, see ii. 86. They are referred to again, iv. 32, v. 26.

11. accita a Vitellio auxilia. For Vitellius's call for reinforcements, see ii. 97.

11. tumultus was originally restricted to any rising in, or threatened invasion of, Italy. By this time its use had been extended to a rising which threatened any part of the empire.

13. Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monuerat. Hordeonius Flaccus was commander of Upper Germany; *praesens* "by word of mouth," as contrasted with the letters of Antonius.

14. adventabat—si—inrupissent. This use of the imperfect indicative in the apodosis, with the pluperfect in the protasis, occurs when an event was on the point of happening, and on a certain condition would actually have happened, Madvig, § 348 a; cf. iii. 46.

15 si redintegratum bellum et tot armatorum milia Italiam intru-
pissent.

14. Igitur Civilis desciscendi certus, occultato interim
altiore consilio, cetera ex eventu iudicaturus, novare res hoc
modo coepit: iussu Vitellii Batavorum iuventus ad delectum
vocabatur, quem suapte natura gravem onerabant ministri
5 avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conquirendo, quos pretio
dimitterent. Rursus inpubes sed forma conspicui (et est ple-
risque procera pueritia) ad stuprum trahebantur. Hinc invidia;
et compositae seditionis auctores perpulere ut delectum abnue-
rent. Civilis primores gentis et promptissimos volgi, specie
10 epularum sacrum in nemus vocatos, ubi nocte ac laetitia
incaluisse videt, a laude gloriaque gentis orsus iniurias et raptus
et cetera servitii mala enumerat. "Neque enim societatem, ut
olim, sed tamquam mancipia haberi. Quando legatum, gravi
quidem comitatu et superbo cum imperio, venire? Tradi se
15 praefectis centurionibusque; quos ubi spoliis et sanguine
expleverint, mutari, exquirique novos sinus et varia praedandi

14. 1. desciscendi certus. "Re-
solved on revolting," as Verg. Aen. iv.
554, "iam certus eundi."

2. altiore consilio. This "ulterior
design" was to unite all Germany in re-
volt against Rome, and to overrun Gaul,
when he had routed the Roman armies.
novare res. "To set on foot the re-
bellion."

3. ad delectum vocabatur. To fill
up the gaps which had been left by the
withdrawal of 70,000 troops under Valens
and Caecina, besides others under Vitellius
himself, into Italy, i. 61; ii. 57.

4. quem suapte natura gravem
onerabant ministri. The levy was dis-
liked because they were called on to fight
in a cause not their own, in remote quarters
of the empire, often in the midst of hard-
ships. *Ministri*, the underlings, the re-
cruiting officers, generally centurions and
praefecti sociorum; *onerabant*, "aggra-
vated," so ii. 64, "Triariae licentiam mo-
destum e proximo exemplum onerabat."

8. compositae seditionis auctores.
M. reads *compositi*, but this seems a mere
slip; *compositae* must mean "already
hatched or agreed upon." It usually
means "fictitious," but can have no such
sense here. In Sall. Jug. iii., "composito
dolo digrediuntur," it has the same sense
as here.

9. specie epularum sacrum in

nemus vocatos. G. 22, "de pace
denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis
consultant;" and G. 9, "lucos et nemora
consecrant."

10. nocte ac laetitia. A hendiadys,
"revelry carried far into the night."

11. a laude gloriaque gentis orsus,
as c. 43, "a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus."
"Taking as his exordium the fame and
glory of their race."

12. neque enim societatem ut olim.
We have to supply *esse*. The fact that
no tribute was exacted, made it possible
for the Romans to declare that the
Batavi were their allies only. *Societatem*
is for *socios*, abstract for concrete.

13. quando legatum—venire? On
the use of the infinitive in a question in
the oratio obliqua, see Madvig, § 405 a.
Since Vitellius had gone to Italy, no
legatus consularis had been appointed,
and the subordinates left to themselves
knew no restraints of discipline. Civilis
urges that the advent of a legate, though
objectionable on other grounds, would be
better than this.

16. novos sinus. "A fresh set of
pockets," a metaphor taken from the
fact that the Romans carried their money
in the folds of their *toga*. So the soldiers
say, iii. 19, "opes Cremonensium in
sinu praefectorum legatorumque fore;"
and see ii. 92.

vocabula. Instare delectum, quo liberi a parentibus, fratres a fratribus velut supremum dividantur. Nunquam magis afflictam rem Romanam, nec aliud in hibernis quam praedam et senes. Attollerent tantum oculos, et inania legionum nomina ne paverent. At sibi robur peditum equitumque, consanguineos Germanos, Gallias idem cupientes. Ne Romanis quidem ingratum id bellum, cuius ambiguum fortunam Vespasiano imputaturos: victoriae rationem non reddi."

15. Magno cum adsensu auditus, barbaro ritu et patriis execrationibus universos adigit. Missi ad Canninefates qui consilia sociarent. Ea gens partem insulae colit, origine lingua virtute par Batavis; numero superantur. Mox occultis nuntiis pellexit Britannica auxilia, Batavorum cohortes missas in Germaniam, ut supra rettulimus, ac tum Mogontiaci agentes. Erat in Canninefatibus stolidae audaciae Brinno, claritate nata-

18. velut supremum dividantur. "Are parted so to speak for ever." This use of a neuter adjective for an adverb (Tacitus uses *aeternum* in the same way), is a peculiarity of his style, Furn. Int. v. 5. He perhaps took it from Verg. Aen. iii. 68, "magna supremum voce ciemus."

19. et senes. A rhetorical exaggeration; it was the raw recruits who were left behind and a few of the veterans, ii. 57.

20. inania legionum nomina. As we might say, "legions which exist only on paper;" the divisions of the legions were still kept up, however depleted their ranks might be. It is these shadowy divisions which they are exhorted not to fear. The *legionum nomina* are contrasted with the *legionum robur*, "the effective strength;" see below, c. 15, "nomen magis exercitus quam robur."

22. ne Romanis quidem. Not really to the whole Roman people, but the Flavians, since they hoped that the outbreak would prevent reinforcements being sent to the Vitellians.

23. cuius ambiguum fortunam—non reddi. The subject of *imputaturos* is they, the Batavi, and the meaning is, "if unsuccessful in their efforts, they would say they were fighting for Vespasian and claim merit accordingly; if successful and able to throw off the Roman yoke, they would have no account to give to anyone." Some

editors take *Romanos* as the subject of *imputaturos* and explain the passage, that if the attempt fails the Romans would consider the attempt to be due to the machinations of Vespasian. This does not give its proper sense to *imputo*, and is altogether less likely.

15. 1. barbaro ritu — adigit. *Sacramento adigere* is the more usual expression. The Germans swore, not only by their gods, but by all kinds of animate and inanimate objects, the ground, trees, rocks, rivers, mountains, their breast, their beard, their hair, their arms.

2. Canninefates — called in Plin. N. H. iv. 29, *Cannenefates*; in an inscription *Cannanefates* — occupied the western part of the island of the Batavi, and the district immediately north of it.

3. consilia sociarent. "To join the enterprise;" *consilia communicare* is the more usual phrase.

4. Britannica auxilia, Batavorum cohortes — agentes. The Batavian cohorts had themselves come from Britain, so if they are to be distinguished from the *Britannica auxilia*, it seems necessary to consider that some of them were left behind; Tacitus may, however, intend to identify them. The Batavian cohorts had been sent back by Vitellius from Ticinum, after the battle of Bedriacum, ii. 69; he was afraid of them on account of their disorderly behaviour.

6. Mogontiacum (Mainz) was the military capital of Upper, as Vetera was of Lower, Germany.

lium insigni. Pater eius multa hostilia ausus Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium 'inpune spreverat. Igitur ipso rebellis
 10 familiae nomine placuit, inpositusque scuto more gentis et sustinentium humeris vibratus dux deligitur. Statimque accitis Frisiis (Transrhenana gens est) duarum cohortium hiberna, proxima occupatu, Oceano inrumpit. Nec praeviderant impetum hostium milites; nec, si praevidissent, satis virium ad arcendum
 15 erat. Capta igitur ac direpta castra. Dein vagos et pacis modo effusos lixas negotiatoresque Romanos invadunt. Simul excidiis castellorum imminebant; quae a praefectis cohortium incensa sunt, quia defendi nequibant. Signa vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem insulae partem congregantur,
 20 duce Aquilio primipilari, nomen magis exercitus quam robur: quippe viribus cohortium abductis Vitellius e proximis Nervi-

8. *Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium*. The expedition of Gaius to Germany, undertaken in 39 A.D., is always spoken of by Roman writers as a military farce; G. 37, "mox ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae;" Ag. 13, "ni ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent;" and Suet. Cal. 43-46. Merivale suggests (vi. 80-81) that the expedition may have had, in spite of its apparent absurdity, a more serious purpose, that of restoring order and discipline to the German armies, demoralised by the lax and faithless rule of Lentulus Gaetulicus.

9. *ipso rebellis familiae nomine*. His father's attempts at successful rebellion made them now turn eagerly to the son; some editors read *omine* for *nomine*.

10. *inpositusque scuto more gentis*. This custom of hoisting a leader on their shields, common to many of the German tribes, came after the irruption of the northern tribes to be adopted as one of the ceremonies at the coronation of the later Roman emperors. Orelli in his note has collected many notices of the practice.

11. *sustinentium*. "Of the bearers;" this use of the present participle as a substantive is post-classical and almost peculiar to Tacitus, Furn. Int. v. § 54 a.

11. *accitis Frisiis*. The Frisii were divided into *maiores* and *minores*. They occupied the district between the mouths of the Rhine and what is now the Zuider Zee, G. 34; Ann. i. 60.

12. *hiberna, proxima occupatu, Oceano inrumpit*. M. reads *proxima*

occupata, which is clearly corrupt. Lipsius suggested *occupatu* which must be taken closely with *proxima*, "the nearest to be seized or occupied." Heraeus suggests *occupatum*, to be taken with *inrumpit*, "breaks into them with a view to seizing on them." This is harsh. *Oceano*, which Ritter would omit against the authority of the MSS., expresses the road by which; so in l. 61, we have "Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere." See also Ann. i. 63, "litore Oceani;" Furn. Int. v. § 25.

15. *pacis modo effusos lixas negotiatoresque*. The *lixas* were the smaller hucksters, the *negotiatores* those who traded on a larger scale. Wherever the Roman camps were set up, they became centres of trade with the surrounding nations.

17. *excidiis castellorum imminebant*. "Were bent upon;" so iii. 76, "L. Vitellius Tarracinae excidio imminebat." These forts, everywhere erected, were the chief means by which the Romans kept in subjection a conquered district.

18. *signa vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem—partem congregantur*. Heraeus considers that *signa* are the colours of the infantry, *vexilla* of the cavalry; but on the whole it seems more probable that *signa* are the colours of the cohorts, *vexilla* of their subdivisions. By *pars superior* is meant the more easterly part, that highest up the stream.

21. *Nerviorum*. The Nervii were in Caesar's time, B. G. ii. 4, 8, the most warlike of all the Belgian tribes. They and the Treveri claimed, Tacitus tells us (G.

orum Gugernorumque pagis segnem numerum armis oneraverat.

16. Civilis dolo grassandum ratus incusavit ultro praefectos quod castella deseruissent: "sese cum cohorte, cui praeerat, Canninefatem tumultum compressurum; illi sua quisque hiberna repeterent." Subesse fraudem consilio et dispersas cohortes facilius opprimi, nec Brinnonem ducem eius belli sed Civilem ' 5 esse patuit, erumpentibus paulatim indiciiis, quae Germani, laeta bello gens, non diu occultaverant. Ubi insidiae parum cessere, ad vim transgressus Canninefates Frisios Batavos propriis cuneis componit. Derecta ex diverso acies haud procul a flumine Rheno, et obversis in hostem navibus, quas incensis castellis illuc 10 adpulerant. Nec diu certato Tungrorum cohors signa ad Civilem transtulit; percussique milites inprovisa proditione a

28), a German origin. They occupied the valley of the Sambre round Tournai and Cambrai.

22. Gugernorumque. This is Ritter's correction of *Germanorum* of M. Orelli suggests that *Tun* may have slipped out, and *grorum* have been altered into *Germanorum*. He retains *Germanorum*, but understands the *Tungri* by the phrase. Tacitus (G. 2) tells us that the earliest German tribe that crossed the Rhine, known in his day by the name of *Tungri*, was originally known by the name of *Germani*—a name which had become in consequence generic for all the Transrhenane peoples. I do not think, though this is so, that Tacitus could use the name *Germani* to denote the *Tungri*; such a use would have been too confusing. The *Tungri* dwelt round Tongres, north-west of Liège and north of Namur and in Luxemburg. They are mentioned along with the *Nervii*, chaps. 66 and 79. The *Gugerni* are mentioned in c. 26, and v. 16, and in the former passage the *pagi Gugernorum* are spoken of. They occupied the left bank of the Rhine, between the *Ubii* and the *Batavi*. Heraeus would read *Tungrorum*, comparing c. 16, but perhaps, as involving the less change, Ritter's reading is to be preferred.

16. 1. dolo grassandum ratus. Cf. Liv. x. 14, 3, "consilio grassandum ratus."

1. incusavit ultro. "Went so far as to accuse;" a sense *ultro* often has. It originates in the notion of doing a thing gratuitously, wantonly, with hardness.

5. eius belli is contrasted with *tumultum* above, by which Civilis had described the insurrection of the Canninefates. The Romans took a more serious view of the matter.

6. erumpentibus. "Oozing out," coming to light; as below, c. 32, "cetera dissimulans quae mox erupere."

8. propriis cuneis componit. The *cunei* were columns in échelon. In Germany, not only did the different tribes fight each separately, but also families and relatives composed a single formation. So G. 6 and 7, "acies per cuneos componitur; nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates."

9. derecta—acies haud procul a flumine Rheno et obversis in hostem navibus. *Derecta* seems a mere variation for the more usual *directa*. ex diverso. "On the opposite side;" as in iii. 5. *Et obversis in hostem navibus*. The ships were apparently to be a sort of reserve, their prows were turned towards the shore, and so towards the enemy, who were advancing from the north and west against them.

11. adpulerant. "Had run aground."

11. nec diu certato. "And after no long conflict." The *nec* negatives the *diu*; so below, c. 36, "nec diu cunctatus." For *certato*, cf. Ann. xi. 10, "multum certato;" Furn. Int. v. § 31 a.

11. Tungrorum cohors. Heraeus relies on this passage to show that *Tungrorum* is the right reading at the end of the last chapter.

sociis hostibusque caedebantur. Eadem etiam navibus perfidia. Pars remigum e Batavis, tamquam inperitia, officia nautarum
 15 propugnatorumque impediabant. Mox contra tendere, et puppes hostili ripae obicere. Ad postremum gubernatores centurionesque, nisi eadem volentes, trucidant donec universa quatuor et viginti navium classis transfugeret aut caperetur.

17. Clara ea victoria in praesens, in posterum usui; armaque et naves, quibus indigebant, adepti magna per Germanias Galliasque fama libertatis auctores celebrabantur. Germaniae statim misere legatos auxilia offerentes. Galliarum societatem
 5 Civilis arte donisque adfectabat, captos cohortium praefectos suas in civitates remittendo, cohortibus, abire an manere mallet, data potestate. Manentibus honorata militia, digredientibus spolia Romanorum offerebantur. Simul secretis sermonibus admonebat malorum quae tot annis perpassi miseram servitutem
 10 falso pacem vocarent. "Batavos, quamquam tributorum expertes, arma contra communes dominos cepisse. Prima acie fustum victumque Romanum. Quid si Galliae iugum exuant? Quantum in Italia reliquum? Provinciarum sanguine provincias

14. officia nautarum propugnatorumque impediabant. "Interfered with the sailors and the marines in their duty." Repeated with some variation, Ann. ii. 23, "miles officia prudentum corrumpibat."

15. mox contra tendere et puppes obicere. "Pull the opposite way, and present the sterns," not as previously the bows, to the bank of which the enemy had possession.

17. nisi eadem volentes. In classical writers, *nisi* is only used where an exception is made to a negative, not as here to a positive class.

17. donec—transfugeret aut caperetur. *Donec*, in the sense of "till at last," is used by Cicero with the perfect indicative of a fact which has actually occurred, by Tacitus with the present or imperfect subjunctive.

The account of this battle, like the account of other battles in Tacitus, is not, it must be confessed, very clear. It would seem to have been fought at the upper, *i.e.* the south-eastern end of the island, where the Roman forces were concentrated, under the command of Aquilius. The ships seem to have been drawn up as a line of reserve behind the Roman lines, with their prows to the

land. The Batavian rowers managed to turn them round and to back them stern on to the shore, and then they were all easily captured. It would seem, therefore, that the whole Roman force in the island, their means of escape thus removed, were captured or destroyed.

17. 2. Germanias here means the peoples of Germany, for he did not send at present to the two Roman provinces that went by that name.

5. arte donisque adfectabat. "He sought to win over by gifts and policy." *Arte*, as in i. 5, "ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo ingenio traductus." For *adfectare*, see i. 23, "studia militum iampridem spe successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat."

8. secretis sermonibus admonebat malorum. *Sermones* covers messages which he sent, as well as personal interviews; *admonco*, and even the simple *monco*, Ann. i. 67, 3, are used by Tacitus with a genitive.

10. vocarent. The subjunctive is used because Tacitus is gradually lapsing into oratio obliqua.

10. quamquam tributorum expertes. *Quamvis*, not *quamquam*, is used with adjectives by classical writers.

13. quantum in Italia reliquum?

vinci. Ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent: Batavo equite protritōs Aeduos Arvernosque; fuisse inter Verginii auxilia Belgas, 15 vereque reputantibus Galliam suismet viribus concidisse. Nunc easdem omnium partes, addito, si quid militaris disciplinae in castris Romanorum vigerit. Esse secum veteranas cohortes, quibus nuper Othonis legiones procubuerint. Servirent Suria Asiaque et suetus regibus Oriens: multos adhuc in Gallia 20 vivere ante tributa genitos. Nuper certe caeso Quintilio Varo pulsam e Germania servitutem, nec Vitellium principem sed Caesarem Augustum bello provocatum. Libertatem natura etiam mutis animalibus datam, virtutem proprium hominum bonum. Deos fortioribus adesse. Proinde arriperent vacui 25 occupatos, integri fessos. Dum alii Vespasianum alii Vitellium foveant, patere locum adversus utrumque." Sic in Gallias Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenissent, validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno imminabat.

We have of course to supply *esse*. Italy furnished now comparatively few troops, and it is quite true that the Roman armies were at this time mainly recruited in the provinces, and that it was by provincials, coming generally from another part of the empire, that the provinces were held down.

14. ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent. For Vindex and his ill-starred attempt at revolt, see i. 6, note on line 13.

15. Aeduos Arvernosque. These are selected as the two leading tribes of Southern Gaul; the former occupied the country between the Upper Loire and the Saône, the latter Auvergne.

15. inter Verginii auxilia. It was by Verginius's army that Vindex's revolt was quelled.

16. vereque reputantibus. It is a little doubtful whether this is dative or ablative; most likely a kind of ethical dative. We find similar datives, ii. 50, "tempora reputantibus initium finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse;" G. 6, "in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris."

17. addito si quid—vigerit. This use of the participle as predicate with a sentence as subject, very rare before Livy, occurs never in the minor writings of Tacitus, only six times in the *Histories* but repeatedly in the *Annals*; e.g. i. 35, 6, Furn. Int. v. § 31 a.

18. veteranas cohortes quibus—procubuerint, i.e. the Batavian co-

horts now stationed at Mainz. They had played a considerable part in the civil war. Tacitus had described them, i. 59, as "grande momentum sociæ aut adversæ." For the dative with *procubere*, see Ann. i. 59, "sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse." Furn. Int. v. § 17.

21. ante tributa genitos. This is a rhetorical exaggeration. If the original conquest is referred to, that took place 120 years previously; if Augustus's settlement of the country be meant, that was 95 years ago.

21. nuper certe caeso Quintilio Varo. The defeat of Quintilius Varus took place in 9 A.D. This was now all but 60 years ago, so that *nuper* is very inexact. Some editors have needlessly bracketed it.

25. proinde arriperent. Translate "Let us who are at leisure fall on those who have their hands full, us with our strength unimpaired, on them weary with strife." For *arripere*, cf. Verg. Aen. ix. 13, " rumpe moras omnes et turbata arripe castra."

27. sic—intentus, si provenissent, —imminabat. In some editions this sentence makes the beginning of the next chapter. For *intentus in*, see c. 51, "Vespasianus in Italiam resque urbis intentus." *Si provenissent*, "if they had succeeded," which they did not; *imminabat* expresses a result which was on the point of occurring but for the non-

18. At Flaccus Hordeonius primos Civilis conatus per dissimulationem aluit. Ubi expugnata castra, deletas cohortes, pulsum Batavorum insula Romanum nomen trepidi nuntii adferebant, Munium Lupercum legatum (is duarum legionum
5 hibernis praeerat) egredi adversus hostem iubet. Lupercus legionarios e praesentibus, Ubios e proximis, Treverorum equites haud longe agentis raptim transmisit, addita Batavorum ala, quae iam pridem corrupta fidem simulabat, ut proditis in ipsa acie Romanis maiore pretio fugeret. Civilis
10 captarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos, et hostes memoria cladis terrentur, matrem suam sororesque, simul omnium coniuges parvosque liberos consistere a tergo iubet, hortamenta victoriae vel pulsus pudorem. Ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies,
15 nequaquam par a legionibus cohortibusque redditur clamor. Nudaverat sinistrum cornu Batavorum ala transfugiens statimque in nos versa. Sed legionarius miles, quamquam rebus trepidis, arma ordinesque retinebat. Ubiorum Treverorumque

fulfilment of a condition. Germany is referred to in *validissimarum*, Gaul in *ditissimarum* nationum. The wealth of Gaul was at this time almost proverbial. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16, says that in Gaul the sources of wealth are at home and flood the earth with their abundance. Agrippa asks his subjects whether they imagine themselves to be richer than the Gauls, braver than the Germans. Mommsen, *P. R. E.* vol. i. p. 106. We have here laid bare that *altius consilium* which Tacitus had ascribed to him in c. 14.

18. 1. *per dissimulationem*. "By pretending they did not exist, ignoring them;" the proper use of *dissimulatio*.

4. Munium Lupercum legatum (is duarum legionum hibernis praeerat). He was most likely legate of the 15th legion, while Valens was legate of the 5th. The two legions whose winter-quarters he commanded were the 5th and 15th. The main part of the legions had gone south with Vitellius. *egredi*. To advance from their camp which was at Vetera, Birten or Xanthen, on the Rhine. This was the headquarters of the army of Lower Germany.

6. *legionarios e praesentibus*, Ubios e proximis, Treverorum equites. *E praesentibus*, those he had with him in camp at Vetera; *e proximis*, those who were his immediate neighbours. The

Ubii occupied the country west of the Rhine, between it and the Maas, round Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), which was their capital. The Treveri were south-west of them, on the Upper Moselle. *transmisit*. "Sent them across" the Waal into the Insula Batavorum.

9. *maiore pretio fugeret*. "It might make its desertion more valuable." So i. 12, "*maiore praemio peccaretur*."

13. *hortamenta victoriae vel pulsus pudorem*. For these accusatives in apposition with the previous sentence, see i. 44, "*munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem*;" *Furn. Int. v. § 12 a*. For the German custom of taking wives and children into battle, see G. 7, "*et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audias, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores*."

14. *ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies*. Of the practice of singing before battle we have an account in G. 3, "*sunt illis haec quoque carmina quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies: nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videntur*." The Romans took this as an unfavourable omen.

auxilia, foeda fuga dispersa, totis campis palantur. Illuc incubuere Germani; et fuit interim effugium legionibus in castra 20 quibus Veterum nomen est. Praefectus alae Batavorum Claudius Labeo, oppidano certamine aemulus Civili, ne interfec-tus invidiam apud populares vel, si retineretur, semina discordiae praeberet, in Frisios avehitur.

19. Isdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes, cum iussu Vitellii in urbem pergerent, missus a Civile nuntius adsequitur. Intumuere statim superbia ferociaeque, et pretium itineris donativom, duplex stipendium; augeri equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut adsequerentur, sed 5 causam seditioni. Et Flaccus multa concedendo nihil aliud effecerat quam ut acrius exposcerent quae sciebant negaturum. Spreto Flacco inferiorem Germaniam petivere, ut Civili iungerentur. Hordeonius adhibitis tribunis centurionibusque consultavit num obsequium abnuentes vi coërceret. Mox insita 10

19. illuc incubuere Germani. "On that point, on them, the Germans directed their main onslaught." For *illuc* used of persons, see ii. 24; *incubere* as Ann. ii. 17, "incubuerat sagittariis."

21. Veterum. The genitive in Latin is unusual, though familiar to us in English; cf. Ann. xii. 50, "libri quibus codicillorum nomen dederat."

22. Claudius Labeo. The name Claudius, the emperor Claudius having been their great patron, is common among the Gallic and German auxiliaries of the time.

22. oppidano certamine aemulus Civili. "The rival of Civilis in some petty local contest." For the use of dative for genitive, see i. 22. "Othoni comes;" Ann. i. 24, "rector iuveni;" Furn. Int. v. § 19. Notice Tacitus's love of variation in *interfectus* (*si interficere-tur*) and *si retineretur*.

19. 1. Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes. They are the eight Batavian cohorts mentioned in c. 15 as stationed at Mogontiacum. They had got so far on their way back into Italy, whither they had been recalled by Vitellius, ii. 97. Ritter, against all MSS. authority, would omit *Canninefatium* on the ground that these cohorts are elsewhere always called *Batavorum*.

3. Intumuere. We still talk of "swelling, being puffed up" with pride; see Ann. i. 38 etc.

4. duplex stipendium. The pay of a Roman legionary soldier was, since the time of Julius Caesar who nearly doubled it, 10 asses a day; the praetorians had two denarii = 32 asses, Ann. i. 17.

4. augeri equitum numerum. The *equites* had better pay and more privileges than the foot soldier; hence the demand that their number should be increased.

8. inferiorem Germaniam petivere. Flaccus was commander of Upper Germany. The division of the two provinces was between Andernach and Remagen near Brühl; so that Coblenz and Bingen belonged to Upper, Bonn and Cologne to Lower Germany.

9. adhibitis tribunis centurioni-busque. "The tribunes and centurions being summoned into council." Generally only the leading centurions took part in councils of war, but as the object was to ascertain the feeling of the soldiers, more may have been summoned on the present occasion; see iii. 3, note on line 2.

10. mox insita ignavia. This agrees with all that had been said of him before, i. 9, "superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate;" i. 56, "spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, at segnis pavidus et socordia innocens."

ignavia et trepidis ministris, quos ambiguus auxiliorum animus et subito delectu suppletæ legiones angebant, statuit continere intra castra militem: dein paenitentia, et arguentibus ipsis qui suaserant, tamquam secuturus, scripsit Herennio Gallo legionis
 15 primæ legato, qui Bonnam obtinebat, ut arceret transitu Batavos: se cum exercitu tergis eorum haesurum. Et opprimi poterant, si hinc Hordeonius inde Gallus, motis utrimque copiis, medios clausissent. Flaccus omisit inceptum, aliisque litteris Gallum monuit ne terreret abeuntes. Unde suspicio sponte
 20 legatorum excitari bellum, cunctaque quæ acciderant aut metuebantur, non inertia militis neque hostium vi sed fraude ducum evenire.

20. Batavi cum castris Bonnensibus propinquant, prae-misere qui Herennio Gallo mandata cohortium exponeret. "Nullum sibi bellum adversus Romanos, pro quibus totiens bellassent: longa atque irrita militia fessis patriæ atque otii
 5 cupidinem esse. Si nemo obsisteret, innoxium iter fore: sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros." Cunctantem legatum milites perpulerant, fortunam praelii experiretur. Tria milia legionario-

11. ministris are the recruiting officers taken for the most part from the centurions and *praefecti sociorum*. They would be best acquainted with the temper of the newly-raised troops.

12. subito delectu suppletæ legiones. "The filling up of the legions with a hastily raised levy." This use of the past participle passive, in place of a substantive, as furnishing a reason is a favourite one with Livy and Tacitus, very rarely used by Cicero; Furn. Int. v. § 55, 1. So Ann. i. 8, "occisus Caesar," Caesar's death; "mutatus princeps," the change of emperor, Ann. i. 16; Sall. Cat. 48, "ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus deprehensi terrerent."

14. tamquam secuturus scripsit. "He wrote his intention of following them;" *tamquam* here gives the substance of the communication. It is a copy of the Greek construction with *ὥς*. See Ann. vi. 36, "subdito rumore tamquam Mesopotamiam invasurus."

15. qui Bonnam obtinebat. Originally the winter quarters of the 1st legion had been at Ara Ubiorum or Cologne (Ann. i. 39), but they had since been moved further up the Rhine to Bonn. transitu. From crossing the district of Bonn, and so making their way to join their fellow-countrymen.

16. tergis eorum haesurum. "Would hang on their rear;" *haerere* is not found in this sense elsewhere. It is used, in its literal sense, with a dative, Ann. ii. 14.

19. sponte legatorum. *Sponte* was first used with a genitive by Varro. It is found in Lucan and occurs frequently in the *Annals*, also in H. iii. 16.

20. 4. irrita. "Which had brought them in no reward;" they left the service as poor as when they had joined it.

5. sin arma occurrant. "If they are encountered by an armed resistance." *Arma* is here "an armed force," as in i. 76, "quidquid armorum mari dirimitur."

7. perpulerant. The pluperfect expresses the completeness and suddenness of the result. So ii. 73, "tunc ipse exercitusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia libidine rapti, in externos mores proruperant;" Verg. Aen. ii. 256, "flammas cum regia puppis extulerat." experiretur. The subjunctive is practically in oratio obliqua—as in Verg. Aen. xi. 513, "Aeneas levius improbus arma praemisit quaterent campos."

7. tria milia legionariorum et tumultuariæ Belgarum cohortes. That there should be only 3000 legionary troops in the legion shows how greatly the legions had been drained. *Tumultu-*

rum et tumultuariæ Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum lixarumque ignava sed procax ante periculum manus, omnibus portis rumpunt, ut Batavos numero inpares circumfundant. 10 Illi veteres militiae in cuneos congregantur, densi undique et frontem tergaque ac latus tuti. Sic tenuem nostrorum aciem perfringunt. Cedentibus Belgis pellitur legio, et vallum portasque trepidi petebant. Ibi plurimum cladis: cumulatae corporibus fossae; nec caede tantum et vulneribus, sed ruina et suis 15 plerique telis interiire. Victores colonia Agrippinensium vitata, nihil cetero in itinere hostile ausi, Bonnense praelium excusabant, tamquam petita pace, postquam negabatur, sibi ipsi consulissent.

21. Civilis adventu veteranarum cohortium iusti iam exercitus ductor, sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans, cunctos qui aderant in verba Vespasiani adigit, mittitque legatos ad duas legiones quae priore acie pulsae in Vetera castra con- 5 cesserant, ut idem sacramentum acciperent. Redditur responsum, "neque proditoris neque hostium se consiliis uti: esse sibi Vitellium principem, pro quo fidem et arma usque ad supremum spiritum retenturos; proinde perfuga Batavus

ariae, "raised for the emergency," as in Ann. i. 56, "tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium." The *Belgae* were the Nervii and Tungri or Gugerni, c. 15.

10. *rumpunt*. Altered by Heraeus into *prorumpunt* which is certainly its meaning, but perhaps Tacitus has here, as elsewhere, preferred the simple to the compound form. Heraeus holds that the simple form may be used for *perrumpere*, not for *prorumpere*.

11. *veteres militiae in cuneos congregantur*. *Vetus* with the genitive after the analogy of *peritus*; so probably Ann. i. 20, "*vetus operis ac laboris*;" vi. 12, "*scientiae caeremoniarumque vetus*." *Cunei* were wedge-shaped columns, the ordinary German formation at the time.

15. *ruina et suis—telis interiire*. Heraeus explains this *in sua tela ruendo*; but there is no authority for such a use of *ruina*, and it seems better to understand it of the fall of the earthwork, which might well have precipitated them on to their own weapons.

17. *cetero in itinere*. An unclassical phrase for *reliquo in itinere*. Cologne, though no longer the headquarters of the

first legion, was still a strong Roman garrison.

21. 2. *consilii ambiguus*. Repeated from ii. 83. The genitive is a genitive of relation, Madvig, § 290 g.

3. *in verba Vespasiani adigit*. The emperor, by his deputy, was supposed to utter the words of the oath, and the soldiers who repeated it after him were said *accipere*; see below, "ut idem sacramentum acciperent."

4. *ad duas legiones*. The 5th and 15th, which Munius Lupercus commanded; he had been already defeated by Civilis, owing to the treachery of the Tungri, and forced to retire into the camp at Vetera, see c. 18.

7. *pro quo*. *Et pro eo sc.*

8. *proinde perfuga Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret*. Ritter would read *arbitrum ne ageret*, "Let him not play the arbiter of Rome's destiny." The change, however, here and in Ann. xiii. 14, which is quite parallel, is unnecessary: "quis a Claudio impositus velut arbitrium regni agebat." *Arbitrium agere* will mean "to undertake the direction of." So Curtius vi. 1, "non est ausus ipse agere arbitria victoriae;" Liv. xlv. 15, "Rhodios in orbe terrarum

arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret, sed meritas sceleris
 10 poenas exspectaret." Quae ubi relata Civili, incensus ira uni-
 versam Batavorum gentem in arma rapit. Iunguntur Bructeri
 Tencterique et excita nuntiis Germania ad praedam famamque.

22. Adversus has concurrentis belli minas legati legionum,
 Munius Lupercus et Numisius Rufus, vallum murosque firma-
 bant. Subversa longae pacis opera, hand procul castris in
 modum municipii exstructa, ne hostibus usui forent. Sed parum
 5 provisum ut copiae in castra conveherentur: rapi permisere.
 Ita paucis diebus per licentiam absumpta sunt quae adversus
 necessitates in longum suffecissent. Civilis medium agmen
 cum robore Batavorum obtinens, utramque Rheni ripam, quo
 truculentior visu foret, Germanorum catervis complet, adsultante
 10 per campos equite. Simul naves in adversum amnem age-
 bantur. Hinc veteranarum cohortium signa, inde depromptae
 silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire praelium
 mos est, mixta belli civilis externique facie obstupescerant

arbitria belli pacisque agere." The meaning here, however, is not quite the same.

11. Bructeri Tencterique. The Bructeri inhabited the district through which the Lippia (Lippe) runs. It was, perhaps, by this stream that they were divided into *maiores* and *minores*, as Strabo states to have been the case. They occupied also the valley of the Ems, Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. p. 145. The Tencteri dwelt south-east of them, between them and the Chatti, and were famous for their skill in horsemanship. Tacitus states that it was reported (*narratur*) when he wrote the *Germany* that the Bructeri had been annihilated by an incursion of the Chamavi and Angivarii, who came down from the north-east, G. 32, 33.

22. 1. *concurrentis belli minas*. There is a doubt whether *concurrentis* agrees with *belli* or *minas*, more probably the former. It is a stronger term than *ingruentis*, the war being likened to some great thunderstorm, threats of which were gathering from all sides.

2. *Numisius Rufus*. He has not been mentioned before. He may have been legate of the 16th legion.

3. *longae pacis opera*—in modum municipii exstructa. Quarters for the officers and their families, houses and villas for the *negotiatores* and *lixae* grew up in times of peace in the neighbourhood

of all the Roman camps. See i. 67, "direptus longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus." These buildings were now pulled down, as they would have afforded shelter to the enemy.

5. *ut copiae—conveherentur: rapi permisere*. *Copiae* are supplies of all kinds; before *rapi* we must supply *eas*. *Rapi* is "to be taken by force," "by individuals;" as in iii. 50, "nec pecuniam aut frumentum providerant et festinatio atque aviditas praepediebant dum quae accipi poterant rapiuntur."

7. *in longum*. "For a long time;" not classical, cf. c. 79, "nec in longum quies militi data;" also Ann. i. 69.

8. *utramque Rheni ripam*. It has been proposed, without MSS. authority, to alter this into *sinistram*, but Tacitus has sufficiently explained in *quo truculentior visu foret* why he occupied both banks; the wild Germans never quite lost their terror for the Romans.

11. *depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines*. For this custom of carrying figures of wild beasts as battle emblems, see G. 7, "effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in praelium ferunt." The snake, wolf, bear, and goat were the animals whose emblems were most frequently used.

13. *mixta belli civilis externique facie*. The Batavian cohorts wore Roman dress, arms, and accoutrements, the Germans their own native badges, so

obsessos. Et spem obpugnantium augebat amplitudo valli, quod duabus legionibus situm vix quinque milia armatorum Romanorum tuebantur. Sed lixarum multitudo turbata pace illuc congregata et bello ministra aderat.

23. Pars castrorum in collem leniter exsurgens, pars aequo adibatur. Quippe illis hibernis obsideri premique Germanias Augustus crediderat, neque unquam id malorum ut obpugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent. Inde non loco neque munitis labor additus: vis et arma satis placebant. Batavi Transrhenanique, quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt, eminus lacescentes. Post ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinnisque moenium irrita haerebant et desuper saxis vulnerabantur, clamore atque impetu invasere vallum, adpositis plerique scalis, alii per testudinem suorum. Scandebantque iam quidam, cum gladiis et armorum incussu praecipitati sudibus et pilis obruuntur, praeferoce initio et

that the Romans would seem to be fighting at once against their own countrymen and a foreign enemy.

15. quod duabus legionibus situm —tuebantur. *Situm*, "designed for;" "built for," iii. 72. Two legions would comprise about 12,000 men, 5000 would be a small garrison for so large a camp. *armatorum Romanorum* is the reading of M. and both words seem to be required, though *Romanorum* is omitted by some MSS. *Armatorum* distinguishes the valuable defenders of the camp from the *lixae* and *negotiatores*; *Romanorum* from the allies and slaves, who were little to be depended on.

17. et bello ministra aderat. We should say in English, "who could be employed in war," making this idea subordinate to the other. Tacitus makes the two ideas co-ordinate instead.

23. 1. in collem —exsurgens. "Rose up a slope." *aequo*, literally "by the level;" we should say "on the level."

2. quippe—Augustus crediderat. When the camp at Vetera was constructed we do not know; it was certainly made before the defeat of Varus. The site was chosen for a double reason; on the one hand, it occupied the last high ground before the Rhine emerges into the lower plain; on the other, it gave the Romans the command of the valley of the Lippe which opens just opposite to it, up which they could penetrate far into central Germany, Mommsen, P. R.

i. p. 33. *obsideri*. "Held in check." Forcellini gives no other instance of this sense.

3. ut obpugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent. *Obpugnatum* is the active supine. Caesar, B.G. i. 44, has *ad se obpugnandum*. For *ultro*, see i. 7.

4. inde non—labor additus. The meaning is, that they did not strengthen the place artificially by cutting steep escarpments or raising the fortifications to any great height. The phrase *labor additus* is, perhaps, from Verg. Georg. i. 150, "mox et frumentis labor additus."

5. satis placebant. An odd phrase for *vim et arma satis esse placebat*. Cf. Liv. xxxiii. 31, "quum primum ei vires suae satis placuissent."

6. quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur. "In order that the valour of each in isolation might be more clearly manifested." Antonius had had recourse to a similar device; see iii. 37, "ut discretus labor fortes ignavosque distingueret." *sibi quaeque gens consistunt*. "Take up their position each tribe by itself." This use of *sibi* is curious, and has no distinct parallel elsewhere; but *sibi quisque tendentes* (i. 13) is somewhat similar.

12. praeferoce initio et rebus eorum nimis. "Over rash at first and over rash in success." Cf. Ann. iv. 60, "nimis et insidiis magis nimis, see i. 35, praeferoce."

rebus secundis nimii. Sed tum praedae cupidine adversa quoque tolerabant. Machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi. Nec
 15 ulla ipsis sollertia: perfugae captivique docebant struere materias in modum pontis, mox subiectis rotis propellere, ut alii superstantes tamquam ex aggere praeliarentur, pars intus occulti muros subruerent. Sed excussa/ballistis saxa stravere informe opus. Et crates vineasque parantibus adactae tor-
 20 mentis ardentes hastae, ultroque ipsi obpugnatores ignibus petebantur, donec desperata vi verterent consilium ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum inesse alimenta et multum inbellis turbae. Simul ex inopia proditio et fluxa servitiorum fides ac fortuita belli sperabantur.

24. Flaccus interim cognito castrorum obsidio, et missis per Gallias qui auxilia concirent, lectos e legionibus Dillio Voculae duoetvicensimae legionis legato tradit, ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse vectus navibus, invalidus corpore,
 5 invisus militibus. Neque enim ambigue fremebant "emissas a Mogontiaco Batavorum cohortes, dissimulatos Civilis conatus, adsciri in societatem Germanos. Non Primi Antonii neque Muciani ope Vespasianum magis adolevisse. Aperta odia armaque palam depelli: fraudem et dolum obscura eoque
 10 inevitabilia. Civilem stare contra, struere aciem: Hordeonium e cubiculo et lectulo iubere quidquid hosti conducatur. Tot armatas fortissimorum virorum manus unius senis valetudine

19. *adactae tormentis*. "Shot home from catapults." Caesar, B.C. iii. 51, "ut telum tormento missum adigi non posset." The long spears discharged from catapults were bound round with tow steeped in sulphur and oil, and then set on fire. Tacitus throughout intends to contrast the skill of his own countrymen in siege operations with the awkward efforts of the barbarians. This is specially seen in such phrases as *informe opus*, *in modum pontis*, etc.

23. *fluxa servitiorum fides*. "A wavering in the loyalty of the slaves." See ii. 75, "fluxam per discordias militum fidem et periculum ex singulis;" iii. 48, "fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide."

24. 2. *lectos e legionibus*—duoetvicensimae legionis legato tradit. *Lecti e legionibus* are generally called *vexillarii*. They were taken from the 4th and 22d, both of which had their headquarters at Mogontiacum. Of the

22d, a detachment was stationed in Egypt, v. 1.

4. *vectus navibus*. This is Halm's correction of M. which has simply *navibus*. Pichena suggested *pavidus*. He went by ship partly to avoid the fatigues of the march, partly, as Tacitus explains, through distrust of his own soldiers. *Invalidus corpore*. He suffered from gout, i. 9.

5. *neque enim ambigue fremebant*. The negative goes with the adverb. For the charges made against him, see c. 19. *adsciri in societatem Germanos*. "That the Germans are being invited to join the league." The soldiers thought that the outbreak was got up between Civilis and Hordeonius Flaccus in the interests of Vespasian. Tacitus uses *adsciri* instead of *adscisci*.

9. *armaque palam depelli*. There is some temptation to take *palam* with *arma* rather than with *depelli*, understanding it *arma quae palam sunt*, like *loca circum*, etc.

regi. Quin potius interfecto traditore fortunam virtutemque suam malo omine exsolverent." His inter se vocibus instinctos flammavere insuper adlatae a Vespasiano litterae, quas Flaccus, 15 quia occultari nequibant, pro contione recitavit, vinctosque qui attulerant ad Vitellium misit.

25. Sic mitigatis animis Bonnam, hiberna primae legionis, ventum. Infensior illic miles culpam cladis in Hordeonium vertebat: "eius iussu directam adversus Batavos aciem, tamquam a Mogontiaci legiones sequerentur; eiusdem proditione caesos, nullis supervenientibus auxiliis. Ignota haec ceteris 5 exercitibus, neque imperatori suo nuntiari, cum adcurso tot provinciarum exstingui repens perfidia potuerit." Hordeonius exemplares omnium litterarum, quibus per Gallias Britanniamque et Hispanias auxilia orabat, exercitui recitavit, instituitque pessimum facinus, ut epistulae aquiliferis legionum traderentur; 10 a quis ante militi quam ducibus legebantur. Tum e seditiosis unum vinciri iubet, magis usurpandi iuris quam quia unius culpa foret. Motusque Bonna exercitus in coloniam Agrippinensem, adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum, qui primo rem Romanam

13. *quin potius interfecto traditore* — *malo omine exsolverent*. "Why should they not rather." For *quin potius* used in exhortations, see Madvig, § 351, *obs.* 3. The imperfect subjunctive is used to express advice or command of a course which ought to be adopted, in opposition to that which is actually being done. Many editors read *proditore* for *traditore* of M., a word which is only found elsewhere in very late Latin. Orelli, however, defends *traditore* on the ground that he had not betrayed the Batavian cohorts so much as handed them over to Civilis. *Malo omine*: he had begun the war so badly that it was likely it would go on ill. Ritter once somewhat fantastically saw in these words a reference to the name of Flaccus, which suggested the ideas *flaccere*, *flaccescere*.

14. *his inter se vocibus*. Some word like *iactis* has to be supplied. In Ann. ii. 46, we have "his vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant."

16. *pro contione recitavit*. "Read out in a public meeting of the soldiers." So iii. 9, "recitatae pro contione epistulae;" and below, iv. 32, "lectae pro contione victoribus;" see also Ann. ii. 81.

25. 2. *illo* is short for "who were stationed there;" cf. ii. 16, "Liburnicarum ibi navium."

3. *tamquam*. "On the understanding that."

5. *supervenientibus*. "Coming up later to their assistance." Imperatori suo. Vitellius is meant by this description.

8. *exemplares*. "Copies," an adjective used for a substantive, agreeing with *libros* understood. Tacitus affects this use of unfamiliar forms; Orelli quotes Front. Ep. ii. 5, "exemplares eorum excerptorum nullos feci." Ritter would read *exempla*, which is the word used by Sallust, Cat. 34 and 44.

10. *aquiliferis*. These were the leading centurions; it appears from a notice in Spartianus that at a later date it became customary to read out despatches at headquarters, "itaque mihi litteras recitandas ad signa" is the quotation, said of Marcus Antoninus.

12. *magis usurpandi iuris*. This genitive — an imitation of the Greek infinitive with *ρο* — occurs rarely (here, and c. 42) in the *Historiae*, but several times in the *Annals*, ii. 59; iii. 9; iii. 41; xiii. 11. Orelli quotes Sall. Jug. 88, "quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit;" but the construction is here

- 15 enixe iuvabant: mox valescentibus Germanis pleraeque civitates adversum nos armatae spe libertatis et, si exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi. Gliscebant iracundia legionum, nec terrorem unius militis vincula indiderant. Quin idem ille arguebat ultro conscientiam ducis, tamquam nuntius inter
20 Civilem Flaccumque falso crimine testis veri opprimeretur. Conscendit tribunal Vocula mira constantia, prensuque militem ac vociferantem duci ad supplicium iussit. Et dum mali pavent, optimus quisque iussis parere. Exin consensu ducem Voculam poscentibus, Flaccus summam rerum ei permisit.

26. Sed discordes animos multa efferabant, inopia stipendii frumentique et simul delectum tributaque Galliae aspernantes, Rhenus incognita illi caelo siccitate vix navium patiens, arti commeatus, dispositae per omnem ripam stationes, quae Ger-
5 manos vado arcerent, eademque de causa minus frugum et plures qui consumerent. Apud imperitos prodigii loco accipiebatur ipsa aquarum penuria, tamquam nos amnes quoque et

not quite the same. Furn. Int. v. § 37 d.

16. adversum nos armatae. M. reads *armā*, Orelli suggests *armatae*, Ruperti *armari*, Heraeus *arma sumpserē*.

16. et, si exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi. The pluperfect is used because the possibility of empire would only emerge when they had first stripped off slavery. It was the desire of the different Gallic states to establish their own supremacy which helped not a little to the breakdown of the revolt, see c. 69.

17. legionum. These were the 1st and detachments of the 4th and 22d, which had been moved up from Bonn to Cologne. There were no legions stationed at Cologne at this time.

19. tamquam—testis veri opprimeretur. "For they held that this man, being the messenger between Civilis and Flaccus, was being made away with on a false charge, because he could let out the truth."

24. summam rerum. "The general direction of affairs, the supreme command," so iii. 70, and Ann. ii. 45.

26. i. discordes animos. "Their disaffected tempers." *Discors* and *discordia* are used of soldiers not disagreeing among themselves, but disagreeing with their officers, mutinous, disaffected; so ii. 76, "discordia corruptae;" i. 53, "non deerant in exercitū semina discordiae."

2. Galliae aspernantes—Rhenus—vix navium patiens. For this use of the participle, to denote a cause which in English we express by a substantive, see above, c. 19, note on line 12.

3. illi caelo. Tacitus considers the climate of Germany, particularly on its western side, as very wet compared with that of Italy. So G. 5, he says, "terra . . . umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit." In Ann. i. 56, we have a season of special drought contrasted with the general moisture of the climate, "nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et modicis amnibus inoffensum iter properaverat."

3. arti commeatus. "The running short of provisions," as in iii. 13, "in arto commeatum."

4. stationes quae Germanos vado arcerent. Pickets intended to prevent the Germans from wading the stream. The dryness of the weather at once made the crops less abundant and necessitated the employment of extra troops to prevent the Germans from crossing the stream.

7. amnes quoque et vetera imperii munimenta desererent. The *et*, like the Greek *kai*, is epexegetical. The Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates had been accounted since Augustus's time the boundaries and bulwarks of the empire; see Ann. i. 9, "mari Oceano aut

vetera imperii munimenta desererent. Quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira dei vocabatur.

Ingressis Novesium sexta decuma legio coniungitur. 10
Additus Voculae in partem curarum Herennius Gallus legatus ;
nec ausi ad hostem pergere, loco *cui* Gelduba nomen est castra
fecere. Ibi struenda acie, muniendo vallandoque et ceteris
belli meditamentis militem firmabant. Utque praeda ad
virtutem accenderetur, in proximos Gugernorum pagos, qui 15
societatem Civilis acceperant, ductus a Vocula exercitus. Pars
cum Herennio Gallo permansit.

27. Forte navem haud procul castris, frumento gravem,
cum per vada haesisset, Germani in suam ripam trahebant.
Non tulit Gallus misitque subsidio cohortem. Auctus et
Germanorum numerus, paulatimque adgregantibus se auxiliis
acie certatum. Germani multa cum strage nostrorum navem 5
abripiunt. Victi, quod tum in morem verterat, non suam
ignaviam sed perfidiam legati culpabant. Protractum e ten-
torio, scissa veste, verberato corpore, quo pretio, quibus consciis
prodidisset exercitum, dicere iubent. Redit in Hordeonium
invidia. Illum auctorem sceleris, hunc ministrum vocant, donec 10

amnis longinquis saeptum imperium ;”
G. 29, “protulit enim magnitudo Populi
Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres
terminos imperii reverentiam.”

9. *dei* is the Rhine itself regarded as
a god ; in v. 17 we have “Rhenum et
Germaniae deos in aspectu.” Because
Tacitus elsewhere speaks of *deum* rather
than *dei*, Nipperdey and Halm would so
read here. The passage is noteworthy
as throwing light on Tacitus’s religious
views. Cf. also Cic. de Div. ii. 27,
§ 58.

10. *ingressis Novesium sexta decuma legio coniungitur.* Novesium
is now Neuss, in the neighbourhood
of Düsseldorf, about a third of the way
from Cologne to Vetera. Here was
stationed the depot of the 16th legion,
the main part of which was away in Italy
and had taken part in the second battle
of Bedriacum, see iii. 22.

11. *in partem curarum.* “To share
the anxieties of command.” Vocula was
legate of the 22d, Herennius Gallus of
the 1st legion.

12. *loco*—Gelduba nomen est.
Heraeus thinks that some words like *ad*
tertium decumum, or *tertium decumum*
lapidem a Novesio (this being the dis-

tance of Gelduba from Novesium) have
dropped out. Orelli simply inserts *cui*
after *loco*. Gelduba (now Gelb) is between
Novesium and Vetera. It is described
by Pliny, N. H. xix. 5, 90, as “castellum
Rheno impositum.”

13. *ceteris belli meditamentis.*
“Other preparations for war.” The word
occurs again, Ann. xv. 35, “nomina
summae curae et meditamenta.” It is
not used by any writer before Tacitus.

15. *Gugernorum pagos.* The
Guberni or Cuberni are mentioned by
Pliny, N. H. iv. 31 ; Caesar, B. G. iv. 4,
between the Ubii round Colonia Agrippi-
nensis and the Batavi. They had been
transferred by Tiberius in his early cam-
paigns from the right to the left bank of
the Rhine, Suet. Aug. 21, Tib. 9. In
their original homes they seem to have
had the name of Sugambri, Mommsen,
P. R. E. vol. i. p. 33. As to their join-
ing Civilis, see the disputed reading,
c. 15.

27. 6. *quod tum in morem verterat.*
“Which had then become a regular
habit.” *legati.* Herennius Gallus.

10. *illum auctorem sceleris, hunc ministrum.* *Illum* applies to Hordeonius, *hunc* to Gallus.

exitium minitantibus exterritus prodicionem et ipse Hordeonio obiecit; vinctusque adventu demum Voculae exsolvitur. Is postera die auctores seditionis morte adfecit. Tanta illi exercitui diversitas inerat licentiae patientiaeque. Haud dubie
 15 gregarius miles Vitellio fidus, splendidissimus quisque in Vespasianum proni. Inde scelerum ac suppliciorum vices et mixtus obsequio furor, ut contineri non possent qui puniri poterant.

28. At Civilem inmensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat, societate nobilissimis obsidum firmata. Ille, ut cuique proximum, vastari Ubios Treverosque, et alia manu Mosam amnem transiri iubet, ut Menapios et Morinos et extrema
 5 Galliarum quateret. Actae utrobique praedae, infestius in Ubiis, quod gens Germanicae originis eiurata patria Romanorum nomen, Agrippinenses, vocarentur. Caesae cohortes eorum in vico Marcoduro incuriosius agentes, quia procul ripa aberant. Nec quievare Ubii quo minus praedas e Germania peterent,

12. adventu demum Voculae. He had returned from ravaging the villages of the Guberni.

13. tanta illi exercitui diversitas inerat. "Such a mixture of contradictory qualities did that army display." So he says, speaking of the Germans, G. 15, "mira diversitate naturae cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem."

28. 1. inmensis auctibus. Aci-dalius quotes Velleius, ii. 40, "huius viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit." The meaning here is: "the whole of Germany was adding to the greatness of Civilis by huge accessions of strength." The metaphor is from swollen streams which pour into and fill a river.

2. nobilissimis obsidum. Varied for the sake of euphony from *nobilissimis obsidibus*.

2. ut cuique proximum. We should have expected *proximos*, but as in each case a separate people is described, we have the singular instead.

3. Ubios, Treverosque, Menapios et Morinos. The Ubii occupied the district near Cologne, the Treveri that higher up the Moselle round Trèves. The Menapii, a Belgic tribe, lived between the Maas and Scheldt, while the Morini dwelt on the shores of the English Channel in the Pas de Calais. Vergil, Aen. viii. 727, talks of the last as "extremique hominum Morini." So Plin. N. H. xix. 2, "ultimi hominum existimati Morini;" also iv. 31.

5. infestius in Ubiis. "With greater violence in the case of the Ubii (than of the rest)." This is the force of the comparative.

6. gens — eiurata patria Romanorum nomen Agrippinenses vocarentur. *Romanorum nomen* is by Ritter, and by many of the editors, enclosed in brackets, partly because it would not be necessary to tell Roman readers that *Agrippinenses* was a Roman name, partly because the words as they stand are hardly grammatical, partly because it is just the sort of note that a copyist might have made on the margin. In G. 28, Tacitus says, "ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur." In Caesar's time they still occupied the right bank of the Rhine opposite the Treveri, B.G. iv. 8-11, etc. They were transferred by M. Agrippa in 39 B.C. They perhaps, took their name of *Agrippinenses* from Agrippa, but Tacitus, Ann. xii. 27, directly states that the colony itself was named after Agrippina, not after Agrippa.

8. Marcoduro. Düren, in the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle.

9. nec quievare Ubii quo minus peterent. Tacitus elsewhere uses *quo minus* after *quiesco*, e.g. Ag. 20, "nihil apud hostes quietum pati quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur;" and H. iii.

primo inpune, dein circumventi sunt, per omne id bellum 10
 meliore usi fide quam fortuna. Contusis Ubiis gravius et
 successu rerum ferocior Civilis obsidium legionum urgebat,
 intentis custodiis, ne quis occultus nuntius venientis auxilii
 penetraret. Machinas molemque operum Batavis delegat:
 Transrhenanos praelium poscentis ad scindendum vallum ire, 15
 detrusosque redintegrare certamen iubet, superante multitudine
 et facili damno. Nec finem labori nox attulit.

29. Congestis circum lignis accensisque, simul epulantes,
 ut quisque vino incaluerat, ad pugnam temeritate inani fere-
 bantur. Quippe ipsorum tela per tenebras vana: Romani
 conspicuam barbarorum aciem, et si quis audacia aut insignibus
 effulgens, ad ictum destinabant. Intellectum id Civili, et 5
 restincto igne misceri cuncta tenebris et armis iubet. Tum vero
 strepitus dissoni, casus incerti, neque ferendi neque declinandi
 providentia. Unde clamor acciderat, circumagere corpora,
 tendere artus. Nihil prodesse virtus, fors cuncta turbare, et
 ignavorum saepe telis fortissimi cadere. Apud Germanos in- 10
 consulta ira: Romanus miles periculorum gnarus ferratas sudes,

41. "Valens ne in tanto quidem dis-
 crimine infamia caruit quo minus . . .
 crederetur."

11. *contusis Ubiis*. This is a poetical
 word used by Ennius, Ann. 387, "me
 ferocem contudit;" and by Vergil, Aen.
 i. 263, "bellum ingens geret Italia
 populosque feroces contundet."

13. *intentis custodiis*. "His
 pickets being on the alert, keeping their
 eyes open."

14. *molemque operum*. *Molem
 operum* some take to mean the construc-
 tion of the work, comparing Ann. i. 75,
 "mole publicae viae;" others more prob-
 ably "the more difficult works," which it
 could more certainly mean. *Batavis
 delegat*. "He delegates these works to
 the Batavi:" because, on account of their
 training under the Romans, they would
 be more skilled in work of this kind than
 the undisciplined Germans. For *delegat*,
 see G. 15, "delegata domus et penatium
 et agrorum cura feminis senibusque."

16. *superante multitudine et facili
 damno*. "As they had numbers in abun-
 dance, and their loss was trivial," "of
 little moment;" so Ann. ii. 85, "et si ob
 gravitatem caeli interiissent, vile dam-
 num." Civilis, more a Gaul than a Ger-
 man, did not care how many of the latter
 were sacrificed.

29. 1. *simul epulantes*, like *ἀνα
 δεσποδόντες*, "in the midst of their feast-
 ing." Inani. "Unmeaning."

4. *conspicuam*. "Lighted up by
 the fire." et si quis—*effulgens*. We
 must supply *erat*. This sentence is co-
 ordinated with *conspicuam barbarorum
 aciem*. *Insignibus*. "Orders" or decor-
 ations worn on the breast.

5. *ad ictum destinabant*. "Took
 as a mark for their blows."

6. *misceri cuncta tenebris et armis
 iubet*. An obscure, and somewhat con-
 fused, expression. We may perhaps
 translate, "orders the whole scene to be
 plunged into darkness and the confused
 din of arms." Cf. Liv. i. 29, "omnia
 flamma ferroque miscet;" and for *miscere*,
 Verg. Aen. ii. 487.

7. *casus incerti*. M. is here illegible;
 on the margin is written *corsus incepti*:
 Ritter and Orelli, *casus incerti*; Heraeus,
concursum incerti.

8. *unde clamor acciderat—tendere
 artus*. For the use of *accido* as applied
 to sound, see Liv. xxvii. 15, "unde
 maxime terribilis accidebat sonus." *Arcus*
 is the reading of M., but as bows were
 but little used by the Germans, and would
 have been useless here, *artus* has been
 adopted by Ritter and Heraeus. Orelli
 suggests *acrius*, Lipsius *armis*.

gravia saxa non forte iaciebat. Ubi sonus molientium aut adpositae scalae hostem in manus dederant, propellere umbone, pilo sequi; multos in moenia egressos pugionibus fodere. Sic
 15 exhausta nocte novam aciem dies aperuit.

30. Eduxerant Batavi turrim duplici tabulato, quam praetoriae portae (is aequissimus locus) propinquantem promoti contra validi asseres et incussae trabes perfringere, multa superstantium pernicie. Pugnatumque in percussis subita et prospera
 5 eruptione. Simul a legionariis peritia et arte praestantibus plura struebantur. Praecipuum pavorem intulit suspensum et nutans machinamentum, quo repente demisso praeter suorum ora singuli pluresve hostium sublime rapti verso pondere intra castra effundebantur. Civilis omissa obpugnandi spe rursus per
 10 otium adsidebat, nuntiis et promissis fidem legionum convellens.

31. Haec in Germania ante Cremonense praelium gesta, cuius eventum litterae Primi Antonii docuere, addito Caecinae edicto. Et praefectus cohortis e victis, Alpinus Montanus, fortunam partium praesens fatebatur. Diversi hinc motus

12. molientium. The working parties engaged in pulling down the *vallum*. On this use of participles for substantives, see Furn. Int. v. § 54.

13. propellere umbone, pilo sequi. They thrust them down with the boss of their shields and then threw their heavy *pila* after them, so as to pin them as they fell. For this use of *sequi*, see Verg. Aen. xi. 674, "sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta."

30. 1. eduxerant Batavi turrim duplici tabulato. "Had raised to a great height a tower with two stories." From the top they would attack the defenders, from the lower story they would batter the wall. For *eduxerant*, see Verg. Aen. ii. 460, "turrim . . : sub astra eductam."

1. praetoriae portae. This was always close to the headquarters, opposite the *decumana porta*. It faced the enemy, or was placed on the most exposed side. Heraeus thinks that in the camp at Vetera it was the western gate, the level plateau lying on that side; but this is doubtful.

2. promoti contra validi asseres et incussae trabes. "Strong poles being thrust out against it, or beams being launched at it."

6. plura struebantur. "Several other plans were devised."

6. suspensum et nutans machina-

mentum. The machine was of the kind known to the Romans as a *tolleno*. On an upright beam there was a cross-piece fixed, having a longer and a shorter arm; the longer arm was raised or let down by moving a weight attached to the shorter arm, and as the arms turned on a swivel, anything attached to the longer arm could be deposited where those who managed the machine wished. The long arm was let down till the hook at the end of it caught one or more of the enemy, when it was suddenly hoisted and the wretched victim thrown within the fortifications. We may translate *suspensum et nutans*, "poised and moving up and down."

9. obpugnandi, the reading of M., is corrected by Ruperti into *expugnandi*. convellens. "Shaking to its foundations." We say "undermining;" it is used in this figurative sense by Cicero frequently, e.g. Rab. i. 3, "est boni consulis quum cuncta auxilia reipublicae labefactari convellique videat." The present participle is used to express an attempt.

31. 1. ante Cremonense praelium. Fought at the end of October 69 A.D., iii. 30-34.

2. Caecinae edicto. He seems to have issued this proclamation in favour of Vespasian, after his own desertion of Vitellius, in his capacity of consul, iii. 31.

3. Alpinus Montanus was a Trever

animorum. Auxilia e Gallia, quis nec amor neque odium in partes, militia sine affectu, hortantibus praefectis statim a Vitellio desciscunt: vetus miles cunctabatur. Sed adigente Hordeonio Flacco, instantibus tribunis, dixit sacramentum, non vultu neque animo satis adfirmans; et cum cetera iuris iurandi verba conciperent, Vespasianum nomen haesitantes aut levi murmure et plerumque silentio transmittabant.

32. Lectae deinde pro contione epistolae Antonii ad Civilem suspiciones militum irritavere, tamquam ad socium partium scriptae, et de Germanico exercitu hostiliter. Mox adlatis Geldubam in castra nuntiis eadem dicta factaque, et missus cum mandatis Montanus ad Civilem, ut absisteret bello neve externa armis falsis velaret: si Vespasianum iuvare adgressus foret, satisfactum coeptis. Ad ea Civilis primo callide: post, ubi videt Montanum praeferoce ingenio paratumque in res novas, orsus a questu periculisque quae per quinque et viginti annos in castris Romanis exhausisset, "egregium" inquit "pretium laborum recepi, necem fratris et vincula mea et saevissimas huius exercitus voces, quibus ad supplicium petitus iure gentium poenas reposco. Vos autem Treveri ceteraeque servientium

by birth, and on that ground had been despatched by Antonius to carry the news of the battle to the German army, iii. 36. He subsequently joined Civilis.

6. *sine affectu*. "Without any strong feeling." Heraeus cites i. 15, "adsentatio erga quemcumque principem sine affectu peragitur."

7. *adigente Hordeonio Flacco*. *Adigere* is used of the commander who dictates to the others. Flaccus was still at Novesium and had not moved on to Gelduba.

10. *verba conciperent*. A technical term used of him who frames a solemn oath, or who repeats the formula of an oath (put into solemn words) administered to him, c. 41, "senatus incohantibus primoribus iusiurandum concepit;" Liv. i. 32, "haec . . . paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iurisiurandi mutatis peragit;" and iii. 5.

10. *Vespasianum nomen*—*transmittabant*. There is a kind of zeugma here, *transmittere* goes properly only with *silentio*, but inasmuch as, when they hesitated or murmured, they failed to pronounce the name, Tacitus says of these too, *haesitantes transmittabant*. For *transmittere* in the sense of *prædermittere*, see Ann. i. 13; xiii. 22, etc.

32. 1. *lectae deinde pro contione epistolae*. The letters were read before a gathering of the troops, first at Novesium and then at Gelduba. The purport of the letters has been given in c. 13; he was bidden to divert the Gallic auxiliaries whom Vitellius had sent for, and to retain the legions on the frontier under the pretext of a German outbreak.

2. *tamquam*. "On the ground that."

5. *neve externa armis falsis velaret*. "And should not cloak measures of hostility under a pretence of taking up arms (for Vespasian)." *Externa* gets the sense of hostile because all strangers were in early times regarded as enemies. The same change of meaning occurs in *hostis*; so iii. 5, "ne inter discordias externa molirentur."

10. *egregium, inquit, pretium laborum recepi*. *Egregium* is ironical. M. reads *recipi* altered into either *cepi* or *recepti*—copied, perhaps, from Verg. Aen. iv. 93, "egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis." *necem fratris et vincula mea*. Claudius Paulus, whose death is mentioned in c. 13, must have been his brother; for his own imprisonment, see i. 59 and c. 13.

13. *ceteraeque servientium animae*.

animae, quod praemium effusi totiens sanguinis exspectatis nisi
 15 ingratam militiam, immortalia tributa, virgas, secures et domino-
 rum ingenia? En ego praefectus unius cohortis et Cannine-
 fates Batavique, exigua Galliarum portio, vana illa castrorum
 spatia excidimus, vel septa ferro fameque premimus. Denique
 ausos aut libertas sequetur, aut victi iidem erimus." Sic
 20 accensum, sed molliora referre iussum dimittit. Ut ut inritus
 legationis redit, cetera dissimulans, quae mox erupere.

33. Civilis parte copiarum retenta veteranas cohortes, et
 quod e Germanis maxime promptum, adversus Voculam exer-
 citumque eius mittit, Iulio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis
 suae filio, ducibus. Rapiunt in transitu hiberna alae Asciburgii
 5 sita; adeoque improvisi castra involavere ut non adloqui, non
 pandere aciem Vocula potuerit. Id solum, ut in tumultu,
 monuit, subsignano milite media firmare. Auxilia passim cir-
 cumfusa sunt. Eques prorupit, exceptusque compositis hostium
 ordinibus terga in suos vertit. Caedes inde, non praelium. Et
 10 Nerviorum cohortes, metu seu perfidia, latera nostrorum nuda-
 vere. Sic ad legiones perventum; quae amissis signis intra

Heraeus and Ritter quote Verg. Aen. xi. 372, "nos animae viles inhumata infle-
 taque turba sternamur campis." The
 genitive is a kind of defining genitive.

15. *immortalia tributa*. "Tribute
 never relaxed," "which has no end," as
 distinct from mere temporary imposts.
dominorum ingenia. "The whims of
 your masters."

16. *praefectus unius cohortis*. See
 c. 16, "cum cohorte cui praerat;" he
 was at the head of an auxiliary cohort.

17. *exigua Galliarum portio*. "A
 small fraction of the Gauls." The Bata-
 vians really belonged more to the Germans
 than to the Gauls by descent, but they
 were Gaulish in feeling, and Civilis ad-
 dressing a Gaul, claims connexion with that
 people as a way of exciting their sympathy.

17. *vana illa castrorum spatia*. He
 is referring to the fact that the camps at
 this time were only half filled, e.g. the
 one at Vetera; see c. 22, and for *excidi-*
mus, c. 15.

20. *Inritus legationis—erupere*. *Le-*
gatio is used of the result of an embassy,
 Liv. xxiii. 6, "ita renuntiant legationem
 ut deletum omnibus videretur nomen
 Romanum." The genitive is a genitive
 of respect. *Erupere*. "Came to light,"
 as c. 16, "erumpentibus indicia."

33. 1. *parte copiarum retenta—*
mittit. He retained part of his forces to
 carry on the blockade of Vetera, the other
 part he despatched against Vocula, who
 now lay at Gelduba.

4. *rapiunt—hiberna—Asciburgii*
sita. For *rapiō* in the sense of "to take
 with a rush," see Liv. vi. 23, "castra
 urbesque primo impetu rapere solitus."
Asciburgium is on the left bank of the
 Rhine between Vetera and Gelduba, now
 Asberg.

6. *ut in tumultu, monuit sub-*
signano milite media firmare. "He
 could only give them this advice, in the
 confusion of the moment, to strengthen
 their centre with the regular troops." For
subsignanus miles used of legionary or
 regular troops, see i. 70, "Poenino
 itinere subsignanum militem et grave
 legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus
 traduxit." Some, however, understand
subsignani of the reserve troops, as if they
 were those who came behind the stand-
 ards, as the *antesignani* fought in front of
 them. Ammian. Marc. xxix. 5 seems
 clearly to identify the *subsignani* with
 the regular legionary troops.

7. *passim*. "In open order."

9. *terga in suos vertit* for *terga*
vertit et in suos se recepit.

vallum sternebantur, cum repente novo auxilio fortuna pugnae mutatur. Vasconum lectae a Galba cohortes ac tum accitae dum castris propinquant, audito praeliantium clamore intentos hostes a tergo invadunt, latioreque quam pro numero terrorem faciunt, aliis a Novesio aliis a Mogontiaco universas copias advenisse credentibus. Is error addit animos, et dum alienis viribus confidunt, suas recepere. Fortissimus quisque e Batavis, quantum peditum erat, funduntur; eques evasit cum signis captivisque, quos prima acie corripuerant. Caesarum eo die in partibus nostris maior numerus et inbellior; e Germanis ipsa robora.

34. Dux uterque pari culpa meritis adversa, prosperis defuere. Nam Civilis si maioribus copiis instruxisset aciem, circumiri a tam paucis cohortibus nequisset, castraque perrupta exscidisset. Vocula nec adventum hostium exploravit, eoque simul egressus victusque; dein victoriae parum confusus, tritis frustra diebus castra in hostem movit, quem si statim impellere cursumque rerum sequi maturasset, solvere obsidium legionum eodem impetu potuit. Tentaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos, tamquam perditae apud Romanos res et suis victoria provenisset. Circumferebantur signa vexillaque; ostentati etiam captivi. Ex quibus unus, egregium facinus ausus, clara voce gesta patefecit, confossus illico a Germanis; unde maior indici fides. Simul vastatione incendiisque flagrantium villarum

13. *Vasconum lectae a Galba cohortes.* The Vascones or Basques were from the N.-W. of Hispania Tarraconensis. They had been raised by Galba when commanding in Spain.

14. *intentos hostes.* "While fully occupied in front."

16. *aliis a Novesio aliis a Mogontiaco.* Hordeonius was at Novesium with some troops under him; depôts of the 4th and 22d legions were at Mogontiacum.

17. *error.* M. has *error* only; the Bodleian and other MSS. read *Romanis*, which certainly makes the sense clearer.

21. *maior numerus et inbellior.* We should say in English "the greater number but the less effective." Tacitus is, however, fond of co-ordinating two notions where we contrast them.

34. 1. *meritis adversa prosperis defuere.* "Having deserved defeat, failed to make the most of their success."

2. *nam Civilis.* Civilis, though not himself actually present at Gelduba, is

censured, because it was he who had planned the expedition.

3. *perrupta.* "Forced."

5. *simul egressus victusque.* "Was beaten the moment he advanced." Cf. Cic. Brut. 228, "Hortensii ingenium simul aspectum et probatum est."

6. *statim impellere*, literally, "to give a push to" some falling edifice so as to bring about its fall; here "to follow them up at once and give the finishing stroke to them," as they were already tottering. Cf. Ann. i. 63, "missae subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae."

8. *eodem impetu potuit.* "He might have raised the siege by one and the same movement." The indicative of such verbs as *oportet*, *possum*, *melius est*, is used regularly instead of the subjunctive in the apodosis of conditional sentences, Roby, § 1535.

13. *villarum.* *Villae* seems to be used of any homesteads in the country.

- venire victorem exercitum intellegebatur. In conspectu castro-
 15 rum constitui signa, fossamque et vallum circumdari Vocula
 iubet: depositis impedimentis sarcinisque expediti certarent.
 Hinc in ducem clamor pugnam poscentium; et minari adsue-
 verant. Ne tempore quidem ad ordinandam aciem capto, in-
 compositi fessique praelium sumpserunt. Nam Civilis aderat, non
 20 minus vitiis hostium quam virtute suorum fretus. Varia apud
 Romanos fortuna, et seditiosissimus quisque ignavus. Quidam
 recentis victoriae memores retinere locum, ferire hostem, seque
 et proximos hortari, et redintegrata acie manus ad obsessos
 tendere, ne tempori deessent. Illi cuncta e muris cernentes,
 25 omnibus portis prorumpunt. Ac forte Civilis lapsu equi pro-
 stratus, credita per utrumque exercitum fama volneratum aut
 interfectum, inmane quantum suis pavoris et hostibus alacritatis
 indidit. Sed Vocula omissis fugientium tergis vallum turre-
 que castrorum augebat, tamquam rursus obsidium immineret,
 30 corrupta totiens victoria non falso suspectus bellum malle.

35. Nihil aeque exercitus nostros quam egestas copiarum
 fatigabat. Impedimenta legionum cum inbelli turba Novesium
 missa, ut inde terrestri itinere frumentum adveherent: nam
 flumine hostes potiebantur. Primum agmen securum incessit,
 5 nondum satis firmo Civile. Qui ubi rursum missos Novesium

Below, v. 23, "agros villasque Civilis intactas nota arte ducum sinebat."

14. castrorum, *i.e.* at Vetera.

16. depositis impedimentis sarcinisque. The first are the heavy baggage, the second the kits of the men.

19. nam Civilis aderat. The *nam* explains why it was that the battle could begin at once. Civilis was on the field ready on his side to begin it. non minus vitia, etc.; so Ag. 32, "vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt."

22. For seque et proximos, see Ann. i. 34.

23. manus ad obsessos tendere, ne tempori deessent. It is the prayer implied in stretching out their hands, the substance of which is given in *ne*, etc.; "not to fail to rise to the occasion."

27. inmane quantum suis pavoris. Like the Greek *θαραστικὸν ὄσον*. The expression is here a neuter adjective. Elsewhere, as in Hor. Od. i. 27, 6, "immane quantum discrepat;" and Tac. H. iii. 62, "immane quantum animo," it is adverbial.

28. omissis fugientium tergis. A poetical and far-fetched phrase for "dis-

carding the pursuit of the fugitives;" in v. 18 he has "terga hostium promittens."

30. corrupta totiens victoria—bellum malle. *Corrupta* has the sense of "spoilt," as in Ann. ii. 23, "officia prudentium corrumpere;" xv. 71, "veniam vanitate exitus corruptit." *Bellum malle*, "prefers a state of war;" was in no hurry to bring it to an end.

35. 2. fatigabat. "Harassed;" so v. 3, "sed nihil aeque quam inopia aquae fatigabat;" Ann. iv. 49.

2. impedimenta legionum cum inbelli turba Novesium missa. Some of the editors have looked with suspicion on these words, on the ground that Vocula could never have been so rash as to send such a force through a district held by the enemy; but Vocula trusted to the recent victory before Vetera to clear the country. The baggage train was wanted to bring back provisions, and the *calones* and *lixae* were sent to help to gather them in. It appears from a few lines below that they had also an escort sent with them.

5. nondum satis firmo. Orelli and

frumentatores datasque in praesidium cohortes velut multa pace ingredi accepit, rarum apud signa militem, arma in vehiculis, cunctos licentia vagos, compositus invadit, praemissis qui pontes et viarum angusta insident. Pugnatum longo agmine et incerto Marte, donec praelium nox dirimeret. Cohortes Geldubam 10 perrexere, manentibus, ut fuerant, castris, quae relictorum illic militum praesidio tenebantur. Non erat dubium quantum in regressu discriminis adeundum foret frumentatoribus onustis percussisque. Addit exercitui suo Vocula mille delectos e quinta et quinta decima legionibus apud Vetera obsessis, 15 indomitum militem et ducibus infensum. Plures quam iussum erat profecti palam in agmine fremebant non se ultra famem, insidias legatorum toleraturos. At qui remanserant, desertos se abducta parte legionum querebantur. Duplex hinc seditio, aliis revocantibus Voculam, aliis redire in castra abnudentibus. 20

36. Interim Civilis Vetera circumsegit. Vocula Geldubam atque inde Novesium concessit. (Civilis capit Geldubam); mox haud procul Novesio equestri praelio prospere certavit. Sed miles secundis adversisque perinde in exitium ducum accendebatur. Et adventu quintanorum quintadecimanorumque auctae 5 legiones donativom exposcunt, conperto pecuniam a Vitellio

Heraeus understand this: "has not yet recovered from his fall;" Ritter and others, "having not yet recovered from his defeat."

6. *velut multa pace.* "As if in a period of profound peace;" see iii. 71.

8. *compositus invadit.* "Attacks them in regular formation;" *compositus* is for *compositis ordinibus*. So Liv. x. 34.

10. *cohortes Geldubam perrexere, manentibus, ut fuerant, castris.* *Perrexere*, "made their way through to." It is not quite clear where the camp referred to in the next words was. I think it was the camp at Gelduba, but Church and Brodribb seem to understand it of a camp made for the *frumentatores* on the road there.

15. *apud Vetera obsessis.* The 5th and 15th legions had formed the original garrison of Vetera.

16. *indomitum.* "Ungovernable;" so too in Cicero.

16. *plures quam iussum erat.* This impersonal form of expression is copied from Sall. Jug. 62, 7. Tacitus uses it, Ann. ii. 40, and elsewhere. In Cicero and Livy it would have been *quam qui iussi erant*.

18. *desertos se.* The reading of M. is *desertosque*, so Heraeus proposes *desertos se proditosque*.

19. *duplex hinc seditio.* Those in the camp at Vetera grumbled at Vocula's departure; those who had been ordered back refused to return, and insisted on accompanying him.

36. 1. *Interim.* While Vocula is on his march, and the mutiny is taking place.

2. *Civilis capit Geldubam.* These words are enclosed in brackets by Heraeus, who thinks that the subject to *certavit* is Vocula. *sed miles* strongly favours this view, as the words certainly apply to the Roman soldiery. Orelli and Ritter, who defend the reading of M., make *secundis* refer to Vocula's previous successes, mentioned in c. 34, and consider that Civilis won the skirmish now mentioned. But in this case *sed miles* comes in very awkwardly. On the whole, looking to the abruptness of the words *Civilis capit Geldubam*, to the fact that they might easily have been inserted as a note, and to the difficulty involved in *sed miles*, if the words stand, I incline to follow Heraeus's suggestion.

6. *conperto.* On this use of the

missam. Nec diu cunctatus Hordeonius nomine Vespasiani dedit. Idque praecipuum fuit seditionis alimentum. Effusi in luxum et epulas et nocturnos coetus veterem in Hordeonium
 10 iram renovant, nec ullo legatorum tribunorumve obsistere auso (quippe omnem pudorem nox ademerat) protractum e cubili interficiunt. Eadem in Voculam parabantur, nisi servili habitu per tenebras ignoratus evasisset. Ubi sedato impetu metus rediit, centuriones cum epistulis ad civitates Galliarum misere,
 15 auxilia ac stipendia oraturos.

37. Ipsi, ut est volgus sine rectore praiceps pavidum socors, adventante Civile, raptis temere armis ac statim omissis, in fugam vertuntur. Res adversae discordiam peperere, iis qui e superiore exercitu erant causam suam dissociantibus. Vitellii
 5 tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum iam Vitellius occidisset. Dein mutati in paenitentiam primani quartanique et duoetvicensimani Voculam sequuntur; apud quem resumpto Vespasiani sacramento ad liberandum Mogontiacy obsidium ducebantur. Discesserant
 10 obsessores, mixtus ex Chattis Usipiis Mattiacis exercitus, satietate praedae nec incruenti. In via dispersos et nescios miles noster invaserat. Quin et lorica vallumque per fines

abl. abs., see Furn. Int. v. § 31 a. Livy and Sallust also use it.

11. quippe—ademerat. These words explain probably what follows, not what had gone before, though others take them as giving the reason why the officers failed to come to the rescue of Hordeonius.

12. parabantur nisl. There is a suppression of the proper apodosis, "and would have executed their design, unless." So iii. 46, "iamque castra legionum excindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset." Furn. Int. v. § 50; Madvig, § 348 b.

15. stipendia is the pay for the legions of the Rhine which was levied in Gaul, see c. 74, "nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt."

37. 1. ut est volgus sine rectore praiceps pavidum socors. *Sine rectore* goes with *volgus*, "as a leaderless mob is sure to be headstrong, panic-stricken, slothful." For the phrase, *ut est volgus*, see i. 61, "ut est volgus mutabile subitus."

3. his qui e superiore exercitu

erant, i.e. the soldiers of the 4th and 22d; of the latter legion Vocula was himself the legate.

6. cum iam Vitellius occidisset. We have now reached the close of the year, as the death of Vitellius took place on Dec. 20th. The images were replaced in the *principia* of the different camps.

8. ad liberandum Mogontiacy obsidium. Copied from Liv. xxvi. 8, "ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem." The more usual and proper phrase is *obsidionem solvere*.

10. ex Chattis Usipiis Mattiacis exercitus. The Chatti were the most powerful and civilised tribe of Central Germany. They occupied the country north of the Taunus range in the Hercynius Saltus in Hesse and Nassau, G. 30-31. The Usipii or Usipetes are associated with the Tenceteri, and dwelt west of the Chatti. The Mattiaci are situated south of the Taunus range, between that and the Main, in the district round Wiesbaden, *Aquas Mattiacae*, Plin. N.H. xxxi. 17.

12. lorica is a breastwork, an additional defence to the *vallum*. Sometimes, as in Ann. iv. 49, a lighter work taking the

suos Treveri struxere, magnisque in vicem cladibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga populum Romanum merita mox rebelles foedarent.

38. Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum ab-sentes inierunt, maesta et multiplici metu suspensa civitate, quae super instantia mala falsos pavores induerat, descivisse Africam res novas moliente L. Pisone. Is *praecerat* provinciae, nequam turbidus ingenio : sed quia naves saevitia hiemis prohibebantur, volgus alimenta in dies mercari solitum, cui una ex re publica annonae cura, clausum litus, retineri commeatus, dum timet, credebat, augentibus famam Vitellianis, qui studium partium nondum posuerant, ne victoribus quidem ingrato rumore, quorum cupiditates externis quoque bellis inexplebiles 10 nulla unquam civilis victoria satiavit.

39. Kalendis Ianuariis in senatu, quem Iulius Frontinus praetor urbanus vocaverat, legatis exercitibusque ac regibus

place of the *vallum*. Traces of the works constructed by the Treveri are still to be found in the district of the Eifel.

38. 1. *Vespasianus iterum*. Vespasian had been *consul suffectus* under Claudius for the last two months of 51 A.D. At this point the history enters on the events of the year 70 A.D.

4. *L. Pisone*. He was the son of another L. Calpurnius Piso, who had been consul in 57 A.D., Ann. xiii. 28-31, xv. 18, and grandson of a third, consul in 27 A.D., Ann. iv. 62.

4. *is praecerat provinciae*. M. has only *provinciae*; *proconsul* is Ritter's reading. Heraeus suggests *proconsule*, contending that this is the form which Tacitus uniformly adopts to denote the governor of a senatorial province.

5. *saevitia hiemis*. "By stress of weather;" so i. 79, of cold and wet. Cf. Plin. N. H. xix. 8, 166. Tiberius, Ann. iii. 54, iv. 6, notices how the continuity of the corn-supply, apt thus to be interrupted by stress of weather and other causes, was one of the most anxious cares of the *princeps*. It was of course the poorer population who thus lived from hand to mouth.

6. *cui una ex re publica annonae cura*. Cf. Juv. Sat. x. 80, and Mayor's note, "duas tantum res anxius optat, Panem et Circenses." In i. 89 Tacitus had said, "sed volgus et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expertus populus sentire paulatim belli mala."

39. 1. *Iulius Frontinus praetor urbanus*. Tacitus says of him, Ag. 17, "vir magnus, quantum licebat." His praenomen was Sextius. He was the author of a work on the aqueducts of the city of Rome, and of four books of *Strategemata*. He succeeded Cerialis in Britain, probably at the beginning of 74 A.D., but must have been consul previously, as Britain was only assigned to governors of consular rank. While governor of Britain he subdued the Silures. In 78 A.D. he was succeeded in Britain by Agricola. He became proconsul of Asia in 83 A.D., and was made *curator aquarum* under Nerva, 97 A.D. In that year too he was made *consul suffectus* for the second time, and in 100 A.D. had a third consulship. He died in 102-103 A.D. Pliny, Epp. ix. 19, 6, tells us that he forbade a monument to be erected to him, saying that "the expense of a monument is unnecessary; our memory will endure, if we have deserved it by our life." It devolved on the *praetor urbanus* to summon the senate in the absence of the two consuls.

2. *ac regibus*. "The kings" were the rulers of the subject-states on the eastern frontier of the empire who had assisted with money or men, viz. Sohemus, the king of Sophene and prince of Edessa, Antiochus, king of Commagene, and Herod Agrippa, king of Chalcis and Trachonitis, in north-east Palestine. See above, ii. 81.

laudes gratesque decretae; et Tettio Iuliano praetura, tamquam transgredientem in partes. Vespasiani legionem deseruisset, ablata, ut in Plotium Griphum transferretur. Hormo dignitas equestris data. Et mox eiurante Frontino Caesar Domitianus praeturam cepit. Eius nomen epistulis edictisque praeponebatur, vis penes Mucianum erat, nisi quod pleraque Domitianus, instigantibus amicis aut propria libidine, audebat. Sed praecipuus Muciano metus e Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio, quos recentes clarosque rerum fama ac militum studii etiam populus fovebat, quia in neminem ultra aciem saevierant. Et ferebatur Antonius Scribonianum Crassum, egregiis maioribusque et fraterna imagine fulgentem ad capessendam rem publicam hortatus, haud defutura conscriptorum manu, ni Scribonianus abnuisset, ne paratis quidem corrumpi facilis, adeo metuens incerta. Igitur Mucianus, quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in

3. Tettio Iuliano. He was legate of the 7th legion (Claudia or Claudiana) stationed in Moesia. His life was threatened by Aponius Saturninus, governor of the province, so he fled, but loitered long on the way before joining Vespasian, ii. 85. This furnished the ground of the charge that he had deserted his legion. His rank was afterwards restored to him; see below, c. 40.

5. Plotium Griphum. He seems to have been made legate of the 7th legion in Julianus's stead, iii. 52, "Plotium Griphum nuper a Vespasiano in senatorium ordinem adscitum ac legioni praepositum."

5. Hormo dignitas equestris data. He was a freedman of Vespasian, iii. 12; by some regarded as responsible for the destruction of Cremona, iii. 28. It seems to have been not unusual to confer the *dignitas equestris* on freedmen of the emperor; see i. 13, the case of Icelus.

6. eiurante Frontino. "Resigning it." The word is used because the outgoing magistrate swore that in his tenure of office he had done nothing contrary to the laws. Domitian's acceptance of the praetorship has been already mentioned, c. 3.

7. praeponebatur, the classical word is *praescribebatur*.

8. vis penes Mucianum erat. *Vis* "the real power," as in ii. 39, "profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum." *nisi* quod makes a limitation to the previous statement; so Ag. 6, "vixerunt mira concordia per

mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteposendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus quanto in mala plus culpae est."

9. aut propria libidine. See Ag. 7, "initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante."

10. quos recentes clarosque rerum fama ac militum studii. *Recentes clarosque* are most likely a hendiadys. In iii. 77 we have "*recens victoria miles*," which seems very parallel to *recentes fama* here. Orelli, however, understands *recentes* of newly risen—almost equivalent to *novos homines*.

12. For fovebat, "supported," see iii. 83; Ann. ii. 71.

13. Scribonianum Crassum. He was the elder brother of Piso, Galba's adopted son, i. 15 and 47.

15. haud defutura—manu. This use of the ablative absolute with the future participle, to express a result sure or likely to happen on a certain contingency, is peculiar to Tacitus.

15. ne paratis quidem—adeo. "Not easy to be drawn in were all arranged, much more dreading to embark on a doubtful risk." *Adeo* always expresses a climax; after a negative generally *adeo non*, "much less," but here, as in i. 9, *adeo* alone, "much more." *corrumpi facilis* is poetical, Furn. Int. iv. 47; Wickham's Horace, Appendix II. There are there collected the chief uses in Horace of this so-called complementary infinitive with adjectives.

senatu laudibus cumulatam secretis promissis onerat, citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuum; simul amicis eius tribunatus praefecturasque largitur. Dein postquam inanem 20 animum spe et cupidine inpleverat, vires abolet dimissa in hiberna legione septima, cuius flagrantissimus in Antonium amor. Et tertia legio, familiaris Arrio Varo miles, in Suriam remissa. Pars exercitus in Germanias ducebatur. Sic egesto quidquid turbidum, redit urbi sua forma legesque et munia 25 magistratuum.

40. Quo die senatum ingressus est Domitianus, de absentia patris fratrisque ac iuventa sua pauca et modica disseruit, decorus habitu; et ignotis adhuc moribus crebra oris confusio pro modestia accipiebatur. Referente Caesare de restituendis Galbae honoribus, censuit Curtius Montanus ut Pisonis quoque 5 memoria celebraretur. Patres utrumque iussere: de Pisone irritum fuit. Tum sorte ducti per quos redderentur bello rapta, quique aera legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque, et fastos adulatione temporum foedatos exonerarent, modumque

19. discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuum. It does not seem that Cluvius Rufus had resigned yet, but Mucianus holds out that he was likely to do so. For his history, see ii. 65.

20. tribunatus praefecturasque. Positions as *tribuni militum* and *praefecti alarum et cohortium*.

21. in hiberna legione septima. The quarters of the 7th legion, Galbiana, were in Pannonia. Antonius had been originally in command of this legion.

23. tertia legio—in Suriam remissa. The 3d legion, called Gallica, had before the war been stationed in Moesia, but had only recently arrived from Syria, i. 79, ii. 74, iii. 24. It had served in the campaigns of Corbulo, and Arrius Varus had probably there first been connected with it, Ann. xiii. 9.

24. in Germanias. To serve there against Civilis. sic egesto quidquid turbidum. "All the elements of disturbance being thus removed."

40. 3. decorus habitu—crebra oris confusio. "Graceful in mien." It appears from Suet. Dom. 18, "vultu modesto ruborisque pleno;" and from Ag. 45, "saevus ille vultus et rubor quo se contra pudorem muniebat," that Domitian had a habit of frequently blushing. Pliny also, Paneg. 48, says "ad hoc ipse occursum quoque visuque terribilis; superbia in

fronte, ira in oculis, femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa."

5. Curtius Montanus. Mentioned Ann. xvi. 28, 29, 33. He is there described by Marcellus Epius as "detestanda carmina factitantem." Nero spared his life for his father's sake, but forbade him to take any part in public affairs. If the Montanus mentioned in Juv. Sat. iv. 107 be the same, he would seem to have been a glutton. Domitian brought forward the original motion, because it devolved on the *praetor urbanus* to do so in the absence of the two consuls.

8. quique aera legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque. Brazen tablets containing the laws were fixed to the walls of temples and other public buildings; they were apt to be corroded and to drop off by time. To ascertain their contents would often be a work of difficulty, hence *noscerent*. Suetonius, Vesp. 8, says that Vespasian restored 3000 brazen tablets which had been burnt along with the Capitol, hunting out copies of them from every quarter. It is possible that Vespasian on his arrival in the city supplemented the labours of the commission now appointed by the senate.

9. fastos—foedatos exonerarent. The purging of the *fasti* here referred to consisted in expunging from them votes

- 10 publicis impensis facerent. Redditur Tettio Iuliano praetura, postquam cognitus est ad Vespasianum confugisse: Gripho honor mansit. Repeti inde cognitionem inter Musonium Rufum et Publium Celerem placuit, damnatusque Publius et Sorani manibus satisfactum. Insignis publica severitate dies ne
15 privatim quidem laude caruit. Iustum indicium explesse Musonius videbatur: diversa fama Demetrio Cynicam sectam professo, quod manifestum reum ambiciosius quam honestius defendisset. Ipsi Publio neque animus in periculis neque oratio subpeditavit. Signo ultionis in accusatores dato, petit a Caesare
20 Iunius Mauricus, ut commentariorum principalium potestatem senatui faceret, per quos nosceret quem quisque accusandum poposcisset. Consulendum tali super re principem respondit.

41. Senatus incohantibus primoribus ius iurandum concepit, quo certatim omnes magistratus, ceteri ut sententiam rogabantur,

of *ludi*, or *sacra*, made often to the most worthless members of the imperial family, and also alteration of the names of particular months, intended to do honour to the reigning emperor; all such votes were entered on the *fasti*. For instances of these votes, see Ann. xv. 74, xvi. 12.

9. *modumque—facerent*. The *praetores aeararii* had already proposed that this should be done, c. 9, but the motion had been deferred at the suggestion of Valerius Asiaticus till Vespasian's arrival on the scene.

12. *repeti inde cognitionem*. The enquiry had been deferred at the last meeting of the senate. It was now proposed that it should be resumed, see c. 10. For the use of *repetere*, see c. 44, "omissam actionem repeterent."

14. *ne privatim quidem laude caruit*, i.e. in the case of Musonius, who, a philosopher himself, was thought to have acted worthily in bringing Celer to justice.

16. *Demetrio Cynicam sectam professo*. He had been the companion of Thrasea's last hours, and they were believed to be discussing together the nature of the soul when the fatal message arrived, Ann. xvi. 34. That he should come forward now to defend Celer was regarded as unfitting conduct in him. It is not quite certain whether *fama* is a nominative with the verb understood or an ablative absolute. Later on Demetrius and the other philosophers were at Mucianus's request banished by Vespasian, Dio, lxvi. 13. *ambiciosius quam ho-*

nestius. "Rather by an appeal to corrupt motives than by fair argument."

20. *Iunius Mauricus* was a friend of Pliny, who speaks of him in Epp. iv. 22, 3, "quo viro nihil firmitus nihil verius," and Epp. i. 5. He was the brother of Arulenus Rusticus, banished by Domitian, restored again by Nerva, Tac. Ag. 45; H. iii. 80.

20. *commentariorum principellum*. The emperor's notebooks and diaries. In these were written down the state secrets reserved for the emperor's own use. They are referred to again, Ann. xiii. 43, when Nero cites the *commentarii* of Claudius in answer to a statement of Suillius that he had undertaken all his acts as an informer at the request of the late emperor. Nero, on the strength of his examination of the *commentarii*, denies that Claudius had ordered any *delationes*.

22. *tali super re*. For the use of *super* for *de*, see ii. 8, iv. 82; Ann. vi. 49, xi. 23.

41. 1. *senatus incohantibus primoribus ius iurandum concepit*. *Ius iurandum concipere* is generally explained as to put a form of oath into words, but here, as in c. 31, it clearly means more than this, viz. to take the oath in due or solemn form which has been so framed. This is the explanation given of the phrase by Servius on Verg. Aen. xii. 13, "concipe foedus." *Primoribus* are the chief men of the senate and the leading magistrates.

2. *certatim*. This word perhaps implies that the magistrates took it all at

deos testes advocabant nihil ope sua factum quo cuiusquam salus laederetur, neque se praemium aut honorem ex calamitate civium cepisse, trepidis et verba iuris iurandi per varias artes mutantibus, quis flagitii conscientia inerat. Probabant religionem patres, periurium arguebant. Eaque velut censura in Sariole-
num Voculam et Nonium Attianum et Cestium Severum acerrime incubuit, crebris apud Neronem delationibus famosos. Sariole-
num et recens crimen urgebat, quod apud Vitellium molitus eadem foret. Nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae, donec curia excederet. Ad Paccium Africanum transgressi eum quoque proturbant, tamquam Neroni Scribonios fratres concordia opibusque insignes ad exitium monstravisset. Africanus neque fateri audebat neque abnuere poterat; in
Vibium Crispum, cuius interrogationibus fatigabatur, ultro conversus, miscendo quae defendere nequibat, societate culpae invidiam declinavit.

42. Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vip-

once, while the others had the oath tendered to them one by one. It more certainly implies that none of the magistrates felt themselves implicated in the horrors of Nero's reign.

5. *trepidis et mutantibus*. This co-ordination of an adjective and participle would scarcely be found in Cicero. In Tacitus it is frequent when the two ideas are closely combined.

6. *probabant religionem—periurium arguebant*. There is no doubt that in this sentence Tacitus's love of brevity has led him into obscurity. One class of interpreters make both clauses refer to the same set of persons, viz. those who made a change in the words as they took the oath. They explain it: "the senators approved of the scruple implied (in making the change in the words), yet convicted them of perjury in that they ventured to take any oath on the subject at all." This is the view of Ritter and Orelli. Heracus and others take the two clauses as having reference to two different sets of people. The senators expressed their approbation of respect for the oath (i.e. in those cases where it was truly taken), convicted the perjury in those cases where it was falsely taken, by hissing or pointing the finger of scorn at the criminal. I rather incline to the latter interpretation, as the next sentence seems to favour it.

7. *Sariole-num Voculam*. He and

the two other informers are not elsewhere mentioned.

13. *Scribonios fratres*. Their praenomina were Rufus and Proculus. They are mentioned in Ann. xiii. 48 as despatched by Nero to put down an émeute at Puteoli. After this they were appointed legates of Upper and Lower Germany. Nero, apparently after Africanus had brought his charges against them, summoned them to appear before him while on his tour in Greece, and ordered them to commit suicide by opening their veins, Dio, lxxiii. 17.

15. *in Vibium Crispum*. Tacitus has already described him as "pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos," ii. 10. He seems to have sought security for himself by taking the lead in attacking Africanus and the rest.

17. *miscendo quae defendere nequibat, societate culpae invidiam declinavit*. He accused Vibius of having borne his part in the proceedings now impeached, or at any rate in others very similar to them. By thus implicating Vibius he managed to transfer much of the odium from his own shoulders to those of Vibius. For the use of *societas*, see Dial. 5, "non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi."

42. 1. *magnam—pietatis eloquentiaeque famam* Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est. Vipstanus Messalla was tribune of the 7th Claudian legion when

stanus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat. Sponte [ex SC.]
 5 accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur. Et Sulpicia Praetextata Crassi uxor quattuorque liberi, si cognosceret senatus, ultores aderant. Igitur Messalla non causam neque reum tueri, sed periculis fratris semet opponens flexerat quosdam. Occurrit
 10 truci oratione Curtius Montanus, eo usque progressus ut post

it joined Antonius Primus at Verona. He is then described (iii. 9) as "claris maioribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum bonas artes attulisset." He is one of the speakers in Tacitus's dialogue *de Oratoribus*, and appears there as a zealous defender of the ancients. The dialogue is supposed to have taken place in 75 A.D., so he must have lived as long as that, but as he is not mentioned in Pliny's *Letters* it has been inferred that he died young. Tacitus several times praises him in his *Dialogue* for his eloquence, most notably c. 15, "Tum Aper. Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari nostrorum autem temporum studia irridere atque contemnere? Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes; atque id eo, credo, audacius quod malignitatis opinionem non verbaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares." nondum senatoria aetate, i.e. the age of 25, at which it was fixed by Augustus.

2. pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Aquilius Regulus (the brother probably of Messalla, on the mother's side) had already made himself infamous as an informer under Nero (see next note). Tacitus in the passage quoted above praises his eloquence; Pliny (who takes altogether a very low view of his character, saying of him, "sub quo [sc. Domitiano] non minora flagitia commiserat quam sub Nerone sed tectiora") will not allow him this, but only a gift of impudence which takes its place. He accuses him of legacy-hunting as well as informing, and ends by speaking of him as "omnium bipedum nequissimus," Epp. i. 5; ii. 20; iv. 2, 7; vi. 2. Martial, on the other hand, praises his virtues, i. 13, 83, 112, "cum tibi sit sophiae par fama, et cura decorum, ingenio pietas nec minor ipsa tuo."

3. Crassorum et Orfiti domus.

Regulus had towards the end of Nero's reign caused the death of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul in 64 A.D., Ann. xv. 33, the elder brother of Galba's adopted son, and of the Scribonianus Crassus mentioned above, c. 39. He was also held partly responsible for the death of Piso himself; see below. Orfitus, whose full name is Servius Cornelius Orfitus, was consul with Claudius in 51 A.D., Ann. xii. 41. He is mentioned again in Ann. xvi. 12. He was accused by Regulus, but we know no details as the account was included in that part of the *Annals* which is now lost.

4. sponte ex SC. This is the reading of M. Heraeus, following Müller, suggests *sponte Caesaris*; Orelli and Ritter enclose the words in brackets, thinking that a scribe has inserted them from something Tacitus says in the lost books of the *Annals*. Some of the editors defend them, holding that accusations were sometimes ordered by the senate, but this is not proved; and if he had undertaken the accusation *ex SC.* it would hardly have been *sponte*; for Tacitus could scarcely have used this phrase, as Brotier suggests, to show how eagerly Regulus took up the accusation assigned to him by the senate. Heraeus's reading is favoured by the words below, *hoc certe Nero non coëgit*.

5. nec depellendi periculi. The genitive corresponding to the Greek *τοῦ* with infinitive. See above, c. 25, note on line 12.

7. si cognosceret senatus. "If the senate should hold an enquiry." This absolute use of *cognosco* is rare, but occurs in Dial. 41, "cum clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus eat."

9. semet opponens. Pleading the grief and the injury which his brother's condemnation would be to him. *flexerat*. This tense is used because he had already done so when Montanus began to speak.

caedem Galbae datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Regulo adpetitumque morsu Pisonis caput obiectaret. "Hoc certe," inquit, "Nero non coëgit, nec dignitatem aut salutem illa saevitia redemisti. Sane toleremus istorum defensionibus, qui perdere alios quam periclitari ipsi maluerunt. Te securum 15 reliquerat exsul pater et divisa inter creditores bona, nondum honorum capax aetas, nihil quod ex te concupisceret Nero, nihil quod timeret. Libidine sanguinis et hiatu praemiorum ignotum adhuc ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum caede nobili inuisti, cum ex funere rei publicae raptis consularibus 20 spoliis, septuagiens sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens, innoxios pueros, inlustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneret; cum segnitiam Neronis incusares, quod per singulas domos seque et delatores fatigaret: posse universum senatum una voce subverti. Retinete, patres conscripti, et 25 reservate hominem tam expediti consilii, ut omnis aetas instructa sit, et quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, iuvenes Regulum imitentur. Invenit etiam aemulos infelix nequitia: quid si floreat vigeatque? Et quem adhuc quaestorium offendere non audemus, praetorium et consularem visuri sumus? An Nero- 30 nem extremum dominorum putatis? Idem crediderant qui

11. *interfectori Pisonis.* Regulus would naturally be afraid of Piso as likely to be the avenger of his brother's death. Pliny says, Epp. ii. 20, that he had also shown himself a bitter enemy to Piso's widow, Verania. For Piso's death, see Tac. H. i. 43.

13. *hoc non coëgit.* *Cogo* is one of the verbs that take a double accusative of person and thing, Verg. Aen. iii. 56, "quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames;" Madvig, § 228 c.

14. *istorum defensionibus.* He is alluding here to the defence of Marcellus Eprius; see above, c. 8.

18. *hiatu praemiorum.* "The thirsting after rewards." Cf. i. 12, "hiantes in magna fortuna." Pliny tells us a good deal of the greediness of Regulus in Domitian's time, Epp. ii. 20.

19. *caede nobili.* "The slaughter of the nobles," like *insignes amicitias*, "the friendships of the great," i. 10.

20. *ex funere rei publicae raptis consularibus spoliis.* The republic is regarded as a dead body from which the spoils were taken. It was done to death by the tyranny of Nero. Cicero

speaks of Gabinius and Piso as "duo rei publicae portenta ac paene funera," de Prov. Cons. i. 2. Crassus and Orfitus had both been consuls, so that spoils taken from them would be *spolia consularia*.

21. *septuagiens sestertio saginatus.* *Signatus* is the reading of M., from which, however, no very satisfactory sense can be extracted, though some would explain it, "branded by;" others, "made illustrious by." 7,000,000 sesterces = about £70,000.

25. *retinete.* Orelli quotes Cic. in 2 Verr. ii. c. 31, "retinete, retinete hominem in civitate, iudices; parcite et conservate ut sit qui vobiscum res iudicet, qui in senatu sine ulla cupiditate de bello et pace sententiam ferat." *expediti consilii.* "So ready resource."

27. *Marcellum, Crispum.* See ii. 53; iv. 6; Ann. vi. 28.

29. *adhuc quaestorium.* He was still a young man, and had only lately been quaestor.

30. *visuri sumus.* This is altered by some into *ausuri sumus*, but *visuri sumus* might very well mean, "shall we endure the sight of?"

Tiberio, qui Gaio superstites fuerunt, cum interim intestabilior et saevior exortus est. Non timemus Vespasianum : ea principis aetas, ea moderatio. Sed diutius durant exempla quam
 35 mores. Elanguimus, patres conscripti, nec iam ille senatus sumus qui occiso Nerone delatores et ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est post malum principem dies primus."

43. Tanto cum adsensu senatus auditus est Montanus, ut spem caperet Helvidius posse etiam Marcellum prosterni. Igitur a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui perinde dives et eloquentia clarus nulli unquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset, crimine
 5 simul exemploque Eprium urgebat, ardentibus patrum animis. Quod ubi sensit Marcellus, velut excedens curia, "imus," inquit, "Prisce, et relinquimus tibi senatum tuum : regna praesente Caesare." Sequebatur Vibius Crispus, ambo infensi voltu diverso, Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus renidens, donec
 10 adcurso amicorum retraherentur. Cum glisceret certamen, hinc

32. *cum interim intestabilior—exortus est.* *Cum* is used with the indicative when the two clauses are inverted, so that the logical temporal clause becomes the main clause and the main clause the temporal, Madvig, § 358, 1. The meaning here is "There arose a worse tyrant while men believed that this could not be." *Intestabilior*, "more detestable."

34. *diutius durant exempla quam mores.* Precedents of punishment set by the senate, which is immortal, last longer than the character of a good emperor, who will soon die. Others understand it as a general sentiment, "precedents last longer than character, for character dies with the man, precedents live on." Ritter would read *auctores*, explaining it "the precedents of evil deeds rewarded or punished, as the case may be, last longer than the authors of them." The change, however, is needless and not to be approved of.

36. *more maiorum.* Under whom informers were put into the pillory and beaten to death.

37. *dies primus.* Then freedom most asserts itself, and adequate vengeance is most likely to be taken. Under a new emperor habits of servility fast arise, and the sense of wrong is soon blunted.

43. 3. *a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus.* Cluvius Rufus had accompanied Nero on his journey into Greece, but had not

taken advantage of his opportunities to ruin any one by bringing accusations against them. For his subsequent history, see i. 8 and 76 ; ii. 58, etc.

3. *perinde dives et eloquentia clarus, i.e.* as Marcellus himself. Tacitus in i. 8 calls Cluvius "vir facundus." In Dial. 8 he speaks in high terms of praise of the eloquence both of Marcellus and Crispus, "ausim contendere Marcellum Eprium et Crispum Vibium notos non minus esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis ubi nati dicuntur."

9. *Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus renidens.* The contrast between the two is borne out by other evidence. In Ann. xvi. 22 Tacitus speaks of "Marcelli acris eloquentia;" and 29, "cum Marcellus, ut erat, torvus ac minax voce, voltu oculis ardesceret." Of Vibius Crispus, on the other hand, Juv. Sat. iv. 81-93 says, "venit et Crispi iucunda senectus, cuius erant mores qualis facundia mite ingenium . . . sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula." Quinc. v. 13, 48 calls him "vir ingenii iucundi et elegantis;" and again, "compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus . . . privatis tamen causis quam publicis melior." *tenderent* for *contenderent, certarent*, as in Ann. iii. 10, "contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germanicum comitati tendebant."

multi bonique, inde pauci et validi pertinacibus odiis tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies.

44. Proximo senatu, incohante Caesare de abolendo dolore iraque et priorum temporum necessitatibus, censuit Mucianus prolixè pro accusatoribus: simul eos qui coeptam, deinde omissam actionem repeterent, monuit sermone molli et tamquam rogaret. Patres coeptatam libertatem, postquam obviam itum, 5 omisere. Mucianus, ne sperni senatus iudicium et cunctis sub Nerone admissis data impunitas videretur, Octavium Sagittam et Antistium Sosianum senatorii ordinis egressos exsilium in easdem insulas redegit. Octavius Pontiam Postumiam, stupro cognitam et nuptias suas abnuentem, inpotens amoris inter- 10 fecerat; Sosianus pravitate morum multis exitiosus. Ambo gravi senatus consulto damnati pulsique, quamvis concessio aliis reditu, in eadem poena retenti sunt. Nec ideo lenita erga Mucianum invidia. Quippe Sosianus ac Sagitta viles, etiam si reverterentur: accusatorum ingenia et opes et exercita malis 15 artibus potentia timebantur.

45. Reconciliavit paulisper studia patrum habita in senatu cognitio secundum veterem morem. Manlius Patruitus senator pulsatum se in colonia Seniensi coetu multitudinis et iussu

44. 1. *incohante Caesare*, i.e. Domitian; he introduced the question as *praetor urbanus*.

2. *et priorum temporum necessitatibus*. "The distresses," "the enforced actions." In ii. 4 we have "ad tolerandas necessitates;" i.e. things done and suffered under Nero's tyranny.

3. *prolixè* seems to have the double sense of "at length" and "effusively."

7. *Octavium Sagittam et Antistium Sosianum egressos exsilium*. The first of these was tribune in 58 A.D.; while tribune he fell desperately in love with a married woman, Pontia, and when after her separation from her husband she threatened to play him false, murdered her. For this he was condemned under the *lex Cornelia de Siciariis et Veneficiis* to *deportatio* to an island and the confiscation of his property, Ann. xiii. 44. L. Antistius was tribune of the *plebs*, 56 A.D. In that capacity he released certain unruly characters, who had been imprisoned by the praetor Vibullius, Ann. xiii. 28. While praetor in 62 A.D. he composed and recited certain libellous verses against Nero.

For this he was impeached by Cossutianus Capito and condemned by the Senate to be beaten to death with rods. Thrasea persuaded them to commute the sentence into *deportatio*, Ann. xiv. 48, 49. While in exile he was instrumental in causing the death of Anteius and Ostorius Scapula, Ann. xvi. 14. *Egressos exsilium*, "who had returned from exile." *Egredior* is used by Livy with an accusative of place. Tacitus here somewhat extends the use.

12. *quamvis concessio aliis reditu*. This use of the ablative absolute with *quamvis* is not classical; but it is found in Livy with *velut*, i. 31; Madvig, § 428, obs. 2.

45. 1. *reconciliavit*, i.e. *cum Muciano*.

2. *senator*. He had been admitted to the senate but had not yet held office.

3. *pulsatum se*. To revile, still more to beat a senator, was regarded as a serious offence, Arnobius, iv. p. 150 *ad fin.*; Salvianus, i. 6.

3. *in colonia Seniensi*. Probably Sena Iulia, now Sienna in Etruria. It was founded by Augustus. Pliny, N. H.

magistratum querebatur; nec finem iniuriae hic stetisse :
 5 planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi
 circumdata cum contumeliis ac probris quae in senatum uni-
 versum iacerentur. Vocati qui arguebantur, et cognita causa
 in convictos vindicatum. Additumque senatus consultum quo
 Seniensium plebes modestiae admoneretur. Isdem diebus
 10 Antonius Flamma Cyrenensibus damnatur lege repetundarum,
 et exsilio ob saevitiam.

46. Inter quae militaris seditio prope exarsit. Praetori-
 anam militiam repetebant a Vitellio dimissi, pro Vespasiano
 congregati; et lectus in eandem spem e legionibus miles pro-
 missa stipendia flagitabat: ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa
 5 caede pelli poterant. Sed immensa pecunia fer . . . , qua tanta
 vis hominum retinenda erat. Ingressus castra Mucianus, quo
 rectius stipendia singulorum spectaret, suis cum insignibus
 armisque victores constituit, modicis inter se spatiis discretos.

iii. 8, numbers it among the colonies of Etruria. Others have identified it with Sena Gallica in Umbria or Senia in Dalmatia. The adjective *Seniensis* formed from *Sena* is unusual, but it is found in the best MSS. of Pliny also, N. H. iii. 5, 8. *coetu multitudinis*. "A tumultuous gathering of the populace."

5. *supremorum imaginem*. When he had taken to his bed in consequence of his injuries, they held a mock funeral to insult him. This gives one a good notion of the somewhat coarse fun of the *municipales* of Italy at this time. The outrage thus inflicted on a senator was a very gross one.

10. *Cyrenensibus damnatur lege repetundarum, et exsilio*. *Cyrenensibus*, Orelli understands this as a *dativus commodi*, "in the interest of the Cyreneans;" Heraeus inserts *accusantibus*. *Exsilio* is an ablative of the nature of the punishment, like *capite damnari*. So Liv. x. 1 has "*Frusinates tertia parte agri damnati*" = mulctati.

46. 1. *praetorianam militiam repetebant*. The original praetorians, who had proclaimed Otho, and whose dismissal by Vitellius is described in ii. 67, their taking service again under Vespasian in ii. 82, now demanded to be restored to their original position and pay.

3. *lectus in eandem spem—promissa stipendia flagitabat*. The hope they had was that of being made praetorians. On what occasion this hope had

been held out to them we do not know. The pay of the praetorians was more than double that of the ordinary soldier, two denarii a day—i.e. nearly 1s. 6d.

4. *ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa caede pelli poterant*. By the *Vitelliani* are probably to be understood those Vitellians who, not belonging to the praetorians, had surrendered at Narnia and at Bovillae, iii. 63; iv. 2. For *sine multa caede pelli poterant* Ritter would read *sine ulla mercede pelli poterant*, on the ground that being unarmed they could easily have been repulsed without much slaughter, but it would have been rash to send them away without pay. Such conjectural emendations, however, are very rash, and the text yields a fair sense. Refusal of pay would have driven them to desperation, which would have ended in bloodshed.

5. *sed immensa pecunia fer . . .* There is a gap here in M., and the disarrangement of a page. It goes on with the words *ne criminantium*, c. 52. Ritter, following the hint suggested by *fer . . .* of M., proposed originally *ferebatur qua*. He thinks that a line has dropped out before *sed immensa*, etc., to this effect—*militare aerarium exhaustum erat*. Heraeus would read *terrebat*. This gives a good sense, and will do if we remember that we do not in any case know the reading of the original.

7. *spectaret*. "Might look into," for the more usual *nosceret*.

Tum Vitelliani, quos apud Bovillas in deditionem acceptos memoravimus, ceterique per urbem et urbi vicina conquisiti 10
 producuntur prope intecto corpore. Eos Mucianus diduci, et Germanicum Britannicumque militem, ac si qui aliorum exercituum, separatim adsistere iubet. Illos primus statim aspectus obstupefecerat, cum ex diverso velut aciem telis et armis truem, semet clausos nudosque et inlucie deformes aspicerent. Ut 15
 vero huc illuc distrahi coepere, metus per omnes et praecipua Germanici militis formido, tamquam ea separatione ad caedem destinarentur. Prensare commanipularium pectora, cervicibus innecti, suprema oscula petere, ne desererentur soli, neu pari causa disparem fortunam paterentur; modo Mucianum, modo 20
 absentem principem, postremum caelum ac deos obtestari, donec Mucianus cunctos eiusdem sacramenti, eiusdem imperatoris milites appellans, falso timori obviam iret. Namque et victor exercitus clamore lacrimas eorum iuvabat. Isque finis illa die. Paucis post diebus adloquentem Domitianum firmati iam 25
 excepere. Spernunt oblatos agros, militiam et stipendia orant. Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset. Igitur in praetorium accepti. Dein quibus aetas et iusta stipendia, dimissi cum honore, alii ob culpam, sed carptim ac singuli; quo tutissimo remedio consensus multitudinis extenuatur. 30

47. Ceterum verane pauperie an uti videretur, actum in

11. *prope intecto corpore*, without any weapons or military cloak. *diduci*. "To be drawn up separately." The different corps were to be drawn up separately, according to the different armies to which they had belonged. The effect of this was that the unarmed Vitellians in their scattered corps found themselves confronted by a compact body of fully armed Flavians. Hence their alarm.

16. *metus per omnes et praecipua Germanici militis formido, tamquam*. The omission of the verb is frequent enough in Tacitus. Madvig, § 479 *d*, says that it may be omitted wherever the construction makes it quite clear what the verb would be. *Germanici militis* is a subjective genitive; it is they who felt the fear. *Tamquam*, "in expectation that."

19. *suprema oscula petere, ne—pari causa paterentur*. The *ne* depends not so much on *petere*, which governs *suprema oscula*, as on the general force of the sentence, which all implies entreaty. *Pari causa*, "when their case is the same."

23. *namque et victor exercitus clamore — iuvabat*. "The Flavians supported by their cheers the claims of the vanquished."

25. *firmati — stipendia orant*. *Firmati*, "emboldened." They demand not to be discharged, but to be enrolled in the praetorians and to receive their pay.

28. *quibus aetas et iusta stipendia*. The age was 50. The praetorians were entitled to discharge after sixteen, the legionaries after twenty years' service, Ann. i. 78.

29. *carptim*. "At various times, so that one was picked here, another there." The effect was that the total number of praetorian cohorts was reduced by Vespasian from sixteen to nine.

47. 1. *ceterum verane pauperie an*. Tacitus makes use of this form of expression when he wishes to leave it doubtful to which side his own opinion inclines, Madvig, § 453, 1. The object of the pretended poverty, if pretended it was, was to choke off the demands which under

senatu ut sexcenties sestertium a privatis mutuum acciperetur ; praepositusque ei curae Pompeius Silvanus. Nec multo post necessitas abiit, sive ommissa simulatio. Abrogati inde, legem
5 ferente Domitiano, consulatus quos Vitellius dederat, funusque censorium Flavio Sabino ductum, magna documenta instabilis fortunae summaeque et ima miscentis.

48. Sub idem tempus L. Piso pro consule interficitur. Ea de caede quam verissime expediam, si pauca supra repetiero, ab initio causisque talium facinorum non absurda. Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus sub divo Augusto Tiberioque
5 principibus proconsuli parebant. Mox G. Caesar turbidus animi, ac Marcum Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit.

a new emperor were sure to be made on the public purse. *actum in senatu*. "The question was raised in the senate." The same phrase is found, Ann. i. 79.

2. *mutuum acciperetur*. "Should be raised on loan."

3. *Pompeius Silvanus*. He had been already mentioned, ii. 86, as legate of Dalmatia. He had previously been proconsul of Africa, and was in 58 A.D. accused by the Africans of extortion. He was acquitted, however, and lived, says Tacitus, long enough to survive those who had helped to acquit him, Ann. xiii. 52. He must have been by this time an old man, but was consul again after 74 A.D.

4. *abrogati inde consulatus quos Vitellius dederat*. The giving of these consulships had been mentioned, iii. 55 ("consules in multis annos destinabat"). The elections which an emperor had made could only be abrogated by a law passed in due form.

5. *funus censorium*. A question is raised whether this phrase means properly a funeral at the public expense, all public contracts being in Republican times taken out in the name of the censors, or a funeral such as befitted a censor, the highest in rank of all the magistracies at Rome. In Ann. iii. 5, we seem to have an enumeration of the rites practised at such a funeral: "circumfusae . . . imagines, defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus reperta aut quae posterius invenerint cumulata." The actual expression is used again, Ann. iv. 15; vi. 27; xiii. 2.

6. *magna documenta*. The use of the plural intimates that both the de-

position of the candidates and the exaltation of Sabinus after his sad end, when his body was cast out, like that of a criminal, on the *Gemoniae scalae*, are referred to. *summaeque et ima miscentis* seems to be copied from Hor. Od. i. 34, 12, "valet ima summis mutare . . . deus."

48. 1. *L. Piso pro consule*. For an account of him, see above, c. 38.

2. *quam verissime expediam*. Some editors have objected to this phrase on the ground that the historical introduction does not add to the truth, but to the fulness of the account; but Tacitus's meaning seems to be that his exposition will be such that by it the truth may be best apprehended. *Expediam* is one of those poetical and Vergilian words of which Tacitus was so fond. Pliny, Epp. iii. 7, stigmatises this murder of Lucius Piso as a hideous crime; "qui a Valerio Festo per summum facinus occisus est." *pauca supra repetiero* is a phrase borrowed by Tacitus from Sall. Jug. v. 3. *Supra = ex iis quae supra sunt*. M. reads *petiero*, and this is defended by some editors; others think that the *re* has disappeared on account of the *ra* in *supra*. *non absurda*. "Not unconnected with," as Terence, Adelph. v. 8, 21, "absurdum atque alienum a vita mea videtur."

6. *Marcum Silanum*. The Marcus Junius Silanus here mentioned was father-in-law of the emperor Caius, Caius having married his daughter Claudia; Ann. vi. 20. He was subsequently put to death by Caius, Suet. Cal. 23, "Caius Caesar Silanum socerum ad necem secandasque novacula fauces compulit." This prob-

Aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, et mixtis utriusque mandatis discordia quaesita auctaque pravo certamine. Legatorum vis adolevit diuturnitate officii, vel quia minoribus maior 10 aemulandi cura; proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati magis quam potentiae consulebant.

49. Sed tum legionem in Africa regebat Valerius Festus, sumptuosae adolescentiae neque modica cupiens, et adfinitate Vitellii anxius. Is crebris sermonibus tentaveritne Pisonem ad res novas a tentanti restiterit, incertum, quoniam secreto eorum nemo adfuit, et occiso Pisone plerique ad gratiam inter- 5 fectoris inclinavere. Nec ambigitur provinciam et militem alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse; et quidam e Vitellianis urbe profugi ostentabant Pisoni nutantes Gallias, paratam Germaniam, pericula ipsius et in pace suspecto tutius bellum. Inter quae Claudius Sagitta, praefectus alae Petrianae, prospera navi- 10 gatione praevenit Papirium centurionem a Muciano missum, adseveravitque mandata interficiendi Pisonis centurioni data;

ably took place in 38 A.D., as appears from an inscription of the Arval Brothers. He had been *consul suffectus* in 15 A.D. Furneaux is probably right in maintaining that he is not identical with the M. Silanus mentioned in Ann. ii. 59, as consul, 19 A.D.; but he further holds that it was this latter, and not Caius's father-in-law, who was proconsul of Africa from 32 to 37 A.D. This seems unlikely.

7. *legato tradidit*. This appearance of a *legatus Caesaris* in a senatorial province is altogether exceptional, and only to be accounted for by the importance of Africa as one of the main sources of the corn-supply of Rome.

8. *beneficiorum numerus*. "The number of appointments." This sense of the word had its rise in camp usage, when minor appointments were spoken of as *beneficia centurionum*. It is so used in Caesar, Livy, and Valerius, as well as by Tacitus; e.g. Liv. ix. 30 has "et duo imperia eo anno dari coepta per populum utraque pertinentia ad rem militarem; unum ut tribuni militum seni deni in quattuor legiones a populo crearentur; quae antea . . . dictatorum et consulum ferme fuerant *beneficia*." *mixtis utriusque mandatis*. "No clear line being drawn between the functions of each."

10. *diuturnitate officii*. It rested with the emperor to extend the term of office to any period he pleased, whereas

the proconsulship was generally held only for a year. *minoribus*. "The inferiors in position or rank," i.e. the legates, who were in official position far inferior to the senatorial proconsuls, being ordinarily mere knights.

11. *securitati*. "Freedom from worry," "case."

49. 1. *sed tum*. *Sed* is resumptive after the digression about the division of functions between the *legatus* and proconsul; the main narrative is taken up again.

2. *adfinitate Vitellii*. The exact relationship is not known; it may have been through his cousin and son-in-law, Piso Galerianus. In ii. 98 he had been already mentioned as wavering between Vitellius and Vespasian.

6. *nec ambigitur—fuisse*. This use of the accusative with the infinitive after *nec ambigitur* is not classical; it occurs again in Ann. vi. 28; xi. 4.

7. *alienato erga*. Cicero would have used the ablative or the ablative with *a*.

9. *et in pace suspecto*. Some editors against M. read *suspecta*. The change is unnecessary and undesirable. *Et in pace* means "while in a condition of peace," before he gave any signs of wishing to revolt.

10. *alae Petrianae*. This was an *ala* of the *equites illustres* named after its founder Petra; it has been already mentioned, i. 70. See note on line 15 there.

cecidisse Galerianum consobrinum eius generumque. Unam
 in audacia spem salutis, sed duo itinera audendi, seu mallet
 15 statim arma, seu petita navibus Gallia ducem se Vitellianis
 exercitibus ostenderet. Nihil ad ea moto Pisone, centurio a
 Muciano missus ut portum Karthaginis attigit, magna voce
 laeta Pisoni omnia tamquam principi continuare, obvios et
 subitae rei miraculo attonitos, ut eadem adstreperent, hortari.
 20 Volgus credulum ruere in forum, praesentiam Pisonis exposcere.
 Gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscebant, indiligentia veri et
 adulandi libidine. Piso, indicio Sagittae vel insita modestia,
 non in publicum egressus est neque se studiis volgi permisit.
 Centurionemque percunctatus, postquam quaesitum sibi crimen
 25 caedemque comperit, animadverti in eum iussit, haud perinde
 spe vitae quam ira in percussorem, quod idem ex interfectoribus
 Clodii Macri cruentas legati sanguine manus ad caedem pro-
 consulis rettulisset. Anxio deinde edicto Karthaginiensibus
 increpitis, ne solita quidem munia usurpabat, clausus intra
 30 domum, ne qua motus novi causa vel forte oreretur.

50. Sed ubi Festo consternatio volgi, centurionis supplicium,
 veraque et falsa more famae in maius innotuere, equites in necem
 Pisonis mittit. Illi raptim vecti, obscuro adhuc coeptae lucis
 domum proconsulis inrumpunt dstrictis gladiis, et magna pars
 5 Pisonis ignari, quod Poenos auxiliares Maurosque in eam
 caedem delegerat. Haud procul cubiculo obvium forte servum,
 quisnam et ubi esset Piso, interrogavere. Servus egregio
 mendacio se Pisonem esse respondit; ac statim obtruncatur.
 Nec multo post Piso interficitur: namque aderat qui nosceret,

13. *Galerianum*. For his death and the impression it produced, see above, c. 11.

18. *laeta Pisoni omnia tamquam principi continuare*. "Continuously proclaims all good wishes to Piso." For the phrase *laeta omnia*, see ii. 74, note on line 3.

19. *miraculo*. "From wonder at." So Liv. i. 59, "conscientique miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines."

24. *quaesitum sibi crimen caedemque*. *Crimen*, a ground of accusation, which might justify his murder, supposing he had accepted the proffered position which Mucianus's envoy offered him.

27. *Clodii Macri*. On his death, see i. 7.

29. *usurpabat*. "He discharged."

50. 2. *in maius*. "In an exaggerated form," "as greater than they really were." The phrase is a favourite one with Tacitus; see i. 18 and 52; iii. 7.

3. *obscurum adhuc coeptae lucis*. "In the dimness of the morning twilight." *Coeptae* as an adjective is peculiar to Tacitus; cf. Ann. i. 65, "coepta luce."

7. *quisnam et ubi esset*. They did not know Piso, so they ask what sort of a man he is and where he is to be found. Others understand *servus*, "who he (the slave) is, and where Piso is to be found."

9. *qui nosceret, Baebius Massa e procuratoribus Africae*. *Qui nosceret*, the subjunctive, expresses the purpose "to recognise him." Baebius Massa is

Baebius Massa e procuratoribus Africae, iam tunc optimo cui-
 que exitiosus, et in causas malorum quae mox tulimus saepius
 rediturus. Festus Adrumeto, ubi speculabundus substiterat, ad
 legionem contendit, praefectumque castrorum Cetronium Pisa-
 num vinciri iussit, proprias ob simultates : sed Pisonis satellitem
 vocabat, militesque et centuriones quosdam puniit, alios praemiis
 adfecit, neutrum ex merito, sed ut obpressisse bellum crederetur.
 Mox Oeensium Leptitanorumque discordias componit, quae raptu
 frugum et pecorum inter agrestes, modicis principiis, iam per
 arma atque acies exercebantur. Nam populus Oeensis multitu-
 dine inferior Garamantas exciverat, gentem indomitam et inter
 accolae latrocinii fecundam. Unde artae Leptitanis res, lateque
 vastatis agris intra moenia trepidabant, donec interventu cohori-
 tium alarumque fusi Garamantes et recepta omnis praeda, nisi
 quam vagi per inaccessa mapalium ulterioribus vendiderant.

mentioned several times in Pliny's *Letters*, Plin. Epp. iii. 4; vi. 29; vii. 33. He became a celebrated informer and consul under Domitian (Juv. i. 35 refers at this time to his formidable character, "quem Massa timet"); but was in the year 93 A.D., the year of Agricola's death (see Ag. 45), accused by the people of the province of Baetica of extortion. The Senate appointed Herennius Senecio, and Pliny to plead the cause of the provincials, and they did it with such good effect that Baebius was condemned. It has been inferred from Tacitus's language in the *Agricola* that Baebius soon recovered from the effects of his condemnation, but such a view hardly seems to square with the account which Pliny gives of his own subsequent conduct with reference to the impounding of Massa's property in his letter to Tacitus, vii. 33; a letter in which, premising the immortality of the *Histories*, he requests Tacitus to insert some record of the incident. Heraeus understands *e procuratoribus Africae* simply "a procurator of Africa," but it seems more probable that Africa, on account of its importance as one of Rome's granaries, had more procurators than one, though it must be confessed there is no direct evidence for the fact. The following words refer to Baebius's subsequent career as an informer.

12. *Adrumeto*. This place, now Hamamet, is situated on the coast due south of Carthage, and between it and the Syrtis minor.

12. *ad legionem contendit*. This was quartered at Theveste, on the frontier of the province. *praefectumque castrorum*. For the duties and position of this office, see ii. 29.

17. *Oeensium Leptitanorumque discordias*. Oea or Civitas Oeensis, now Tripoli, is on the coast east of the Syrtis minor, and between that and Leptis major, now Lebda. It is this latter place which is here referred to, and not Leptis minor between Adrumetum and Thapsus, north of the Syrtis, now Lemta. The Garamantes are described as neighbours of the Leptitani in Ann. iii. 74, and by Pliny, who refers to this war in N. H. v. 5, 38, "*ad Garamantas iter inexplicabile adhuc fuit. Proximo bello quod cum Oeensibus Romani gessere auspiciis Vespasiani imperatoris compendium viae quadridui deprehensum est;*" see also Sil. iii. 256, 257, "*Sabratha tum Tyrium volgus Sarranaque Leptis Oeaeque Trinacrios Afris permixta colonos.*" For a fuller description of the Garamantes, see Herod. iv. 183.

21. *et inter accolae latrocinii fecundam*. "Ever ready for, fruitful in (not enriched by) raids among their neighbours." For this sense of *fecundus*, see i. 51, "*fecunda rumoribus.*" For the reputation of the Garamantes, see the passage above referred to in Pliny.

24. *per inaccessa mapalium*. "As they wandered through inaccessible villages." *Mapalia* were collections of

51. At Vespasiano post Cremonensem pugnam et prosperos undique nuntios, cecidisse Vitellium multi cuiusque ordinis, pari audacia fortunaque hibernum mare adgressi, nuntiavere. Aderant legati regis Vologesi quadraginta Parthorum equitum milia offerentes. Magnificum laetumque tantis sociorum auxiliis ambiri, neque indigere. Gratiae Vologeso actae, mandatumque ut legatos ad senatum mitteret et pacem esse sciret. Vespasianus in Italiam resque urbis intentus, adversam de Domitiano famam accipit, tamquam terminos aetatis et concessa filio egrederetur. Igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda.

52. Titum, antequam digrederetur, multo apud patrem sermone orasse dicebatur ne criminantium nuntiis temere accenderetur, integrumque se ac placabilem filio praestaret. Non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperii munimenta quam numerum liberorum. Nam amicos tempore, fortuna, cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus imminui, transferri, desinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maxime principibus, quorum

tents or huts shaped like boats inverted, described in Sall. Jug. 18, 8. The word *mapalia* is used as here for a collection of tents or huts, Verg. Georg. iii. 339, 340, "quid tibi pastores Libyae, quid pascua versu prosequare, et raris habitata mapalia tectis?" The *magalia* of Aen. i. 421 are sometimes distinguished as collections of huts, *mapalia* of tents; see Furneaux on Ann. iii. 74, 5. By *ulterioribus* are meant the tribes who live still farther inland.

51. 2. *multi cuiusque ordinis—adgressi nuntiavere*. Vespasian was still at Alexandria. To venture to sea in winter was regarded by the Romans as a great act of heroism, hence the strong word *adgressi*. *Cuiusque ordinis*, both senators and knights.

4. *regis Vologesi*. Tacitus seems to use both the forms of *Vologesis* and of *Vologesus*. Here he clearly chooses the latter for the sake of euphony, see i. 40.

4. *quadraginta—milia*. M. has omitted the *milia*. The number seems very large, but is confirmed by Suetonius, Vesp. c. 6, only he says they were bowmen. The Parthian soldiers were cavalry and bowmen in one.

6. *ambiri*. Lit. "to be courted by" = "to have proffered to one." Godley quotes Verg. Aen. vii. 333, "neu co-

nubiis ambire Latinum Aeneadae possint."

8. *adversam—famam—tamquam—egrederetur*. The *tamquam* explains the substance of the unfavourable rumours. Tacitus is fond of using *egredi* with the accusative in somewhat unusual senses. Domitian's excesses have been already noticed, chaps. 2 and 39.

11. *ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda*. The Jews had revolted in the reign of Nero, and Vespasian had been already engaged in subduing them. *Perpetranda* is a post-classical phrase for *perficienda*.

52. 1. *Titum—dicebatur*. This impersonal construction occurs in Liv. i. 5, 2, and is not infrequent in Tacitus, H. i. 50 and 90; iii. 79; Ann. ii. 69, etc. Rothe has tried to show that the impersonal construction is used when the event is certain or notorious, the personal when it is more doubtful (Orelli). Halm reads *ferat*, thinking that *fer* in c. 46 points to this. Here the displaced page ends.

3. *integrum*. Unbiased, unprejudiced, prepared to listen impartially to his defence.

6. *suum cuique sanguinem indissolubile*. "For each man the ties of blood are indissoluble." In Ann. vi. 10, Tacitus uses *individui* almost in the same sense, "apud Capreas individui."

prosperis et alii fruuntur, adversa ad iunctissimos pertineant. Ne fratribus quidem mansuram concordiam, ni parens exemplum praeberet. Vespasianus haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus 10 quam Titi pietate gaudens, bono esse animo iubet, belloque et armis rem publicam attollere: sibi pacem domumque curae fore. Tum celerrimas navium frumento onustas saevo adhuc mari committit. Quippe tanto discrimine urbs nutabat ut decem haud amplius dierum frumentum in horreis fuerit, cum a 15 Vespasiano commeatus subvenere.

53. Curam restituendi Capitolii in Lucium Vestinum confert, equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaue inter proceres. Ab eo contracti haruspices monuere ut reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur, templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur: nolle deos mutari veterem formam. Undecimo 5 Kalendas Iulias serena luce spatium omne, quod templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis coronisque. Ingressi milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis. Dein virgines Vestales, cum pueris puellisque patrimis matrimisque, aqua [trimis] e fontibus

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12. *domumque*, i. e. "the due control of Domitian."

13. *saevo adhuc mari*. Copied from Sall. Jug. 17, 5.

14. *tanto discrimine urbs nutabat*. One of Tacitus's poetical expressions. The metaphor is that Rome was tottering to its fall for want of corn. *haud amplius* is parenthetical in this use.

53. 1. *curam*—in Lucium Vestinum confert. We should certainly gather from these words that Vespasian was not himself present on this occasion, though both Suetonius (Vesp. 8) and Dio (lxvi. 10) assert that he was; the latter tells us that he carted away with his own hands the first earth and exhorted the leading men to follow his example. This is a point, however, on which Tacitus, present most likely in person, could not have been mistaken. L. Vestinus is generally identified with the L. Vestinus mentioned in Claudius's speech on conferring citizenship on the Gauls, where he describes him as an ornament of the equestrian order, an intimate and dear friend of his own, employed by him on important business. The L. Vestinus referred to in Martial's epigram (iv. 73) was probably not this man himself, but his son. The position which he enjoyed was somewhat akin to that of Maecenas or Sallustius Crispus. The latter Tacitus describes,

2 E

Ann. iii. 30, as "Maecenatem aemulatus sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalia consulariumque potentia anteit."

3. *contracti*. Apparently from Etruria, the original home of the art. There would be of course haruspices in Rome, but it would be desirable on so solemn an occasion to strengthen them.

4. *in paludes aveherentur*—*sisteretur*. The marshes referred to are those round Ostia. *Sisto* is used of the erection of a temple in Ann. iv. 37.

6. *serena luce*. *Serena luce* is a variation on the more usual expression, *sereno caelo*.

7. *Ingressi milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis*. The Romans attached great weight to those who inaugurated any ceremony having propitious names, such as Salvius, Satorius, Longinus. Cicero tells us in de Div. i. § 102 that when a commander purified his army, or a censor the people, they selected to bring up the victims men with auspicious names, and that in raising the levy the consuls always summoned first those who bore auspicious names. Plin. N. H. xxviii. 2, 5, "publicis lustris etiam nomina victimas ducentium prospera eligimus." The trees which were supposed to bring good luck were the laurel, the myrtle, the olive, and the oak.

9. *patrimis matrimisque*—*per-*

- 10 amnibusque hausta perluere. Tum Helvidius Priscus praetor, praeunte Plautio Aeliano pontifice, lustrata suovetaurilibus area et super cespitem redditis extis, Iovem Iunonem Minervam praesidesque imperii deos precatus uti coepta prosperarent sedesque suas pietate hominum incohatas divina ope attollerent,
- 15 vittas quis ligatus lapis innexique funes erant contigit. Simul ceteri magistratus et sacerdotes et senatus et eques et magna pars populi, studio laetitiae connixi, saxum ingens traxere. Passimque iniectae fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum primitiae, nullis fornacibus victae, sed ut gignuntur.
- 20 Praedixere haruspices, ne temeraretur opus saxo aurove in aliud destinato. Altitudo aedibus adiecta. Id solum religio adnuere et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse creditum.

luere. By *patrimi* and *matrimi* is meant that both parents are alive and both *ingenui*, the Greek ἀμφιθαλεις. In earlier days it was also necessary that the parents should have been married by *confarreatio*. They were probably also the children of senators, since the *patrimi* and *matrimi* are so described in an inscription. *Perluere* means to cleanse by sprinkling every part of it with the sacred water. Tertullian (de Bapt. v.) says, "ceterum villas domos templa totasque urbes aspergine circumlatae aquae expiant passim." *Trimis*, which M. inserts before *fontibus*, seems to have slipped in by a scribe's error from the termination of the preceding words.

10. *Helvidius Priscus praetor*. The two consuls, Vespasian and Titus, were still away from Rome, so the duty devolved on the praetor. It has been suggested that Domitian, who was *praetor urbanus*, did not take part in the ceremony because he had already started for Germany. For Helvidius Priscus, see above, c. 5.

11. *praeunte Plautio Aeliano pontifice*. *Praeunte*, "Reciting the words before him," a technical phrase used of one who repeats a formula for another to say it after him. Plautius Aelianus's full name, as appears from an inscription, was Ti. Plautius M. F., A. N., Silvanus Aelianus. From the same inscription it appears that, besides being *pontifex*, he was a *sodalis Augustalis*, one of the commissioners of the mint, legate of the 5th Legion in Germany, *praetor urbanus*, legate and companion of Claudius Caesar in Britain, consul, proconsul of Asia, propraetor of Moesia. He seems to have

been a younger brother of the Silvanus who was praetor in 24 A.D., mentioned in Ann. iv. 22. His father, Marcus, was consul in 2 B.C., and subsequently *triumphalis*.

11. *suovetaurilibus*. This was an offering of atonement and cleansing, consisting of a boar, a ram, and a bull. The victims adorned with *vittae* for the sacrifice are represented on the well-known slab in the Forum at Rome.

12. *super cespitem redditis extis*. *Reddere* was a technical sacrificial phrase which occurs in Verg. Georg. ii. 194, "fumantia reddimus exta." It is there explained by Servius as equivalent to exposing the *exta* on the altar; the word was chosen because the offerings were regarded as a debt due to the gods.

12. *Iovem Iunonem Minervam*. These three were chosen because they were the three deities whose shrines stood side by side in the earlier temple, Liv. iii. 17, 6.

19. *nullis fornacibus victae*. This is a poetical phrase for virgin, unsmelted metals. The Romans put virgin metals under the foundations of buildings, while we put coins. *ne temeraretur*. For this use of *temerare* in the sense of "defile" for a substance wrongly used in the service of God, cf. Juv. Sat. xi. 116, "fictilis et nullo violatus Iupiter auro." In early days it was considered profanation to gold the statues of the gods.

21. *Id solum*. These words are the object after *adnuere*, the subject to *defuisse creditum* or *credebatur*, which latter is read by many of the editors. In some MSS. the words *quo tanta vis hominum retinenda erat* have crept in here apparently from their place in c. 46.

54. Audita interim per Gallias Germaniasque mors Vitellii duplicaverat bellum. Nam Civilis omissa dissimulatione in populum Romanum ruere, Vitellianae legiones vel externum servitium quam imperatorem Vespasianum malle. Galli sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercituum nostrorum fortunam rati, volgato rumore a Sarmatis Dacisque Moesica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsideri. Paria de Britannia fingeantur. Sed nihil aequae quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, inpulerat. Captam olim a Gallis urbem; sed integra Iovis sede mansisse imperium. Fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi, superstitione vana Druidae canebant. Incesseratque fama primores Galliarum ab Othone adversus Vitellium missos, antequam digrederentur, pepigisse ne deessent libertati, si populum Romanum continua civilium bellorum series et interna mala fregissent.

55. Ante Flacci Hordeonii caedem nihil prorupit quo con-

54. 1. *audita interim*. Tacitus here returns to the narrative of the revolt of Civilis at the point where it had been broken off just after the death of Hordeonius Flaccus, c. 37. The phrase *duplicaverat bellum* is copied from Sall. Hist. Fr. i. 26; Livy uses *multiplicaverat*.

2. *omissa dissimulatione*. He had hitherto covered his real purpose under the pretext that he was fighting for Vespasian, chaps. 14 and 24.

3. *Vitellianae legiones*. The struggle of 69 A.D. had been largely a struggle between different armies supporting rival claimants to the throne. The Vitellians now prefer submission to the Gallic Empire to submission to Vespasian.

6. *volgato rumore*. The rumour had, no doubt, been set on foot by the events narrated in iii. 46. The Dacians lived immediately north of the Danube, the Sarmatae farther to the north-east in the steppes of Southern Russia.

7. *sed nihil aequae quam*. The popular belief in the connexion between the stability of the temple of Capitoline Jove and the fortunes of the Roman Empire had been alluded to above, iii. 72; it is referred to also by Horace, Od. iii. 5, 12, "incolumi Iove et urbe Roma."

12. *Druidae canebant*. The Druids had been suppressed and driven into concealment or exile by Claudius, Suet. Claud. 25. Now, in the temporary

collapse of Roman power, they reappeared, and did much to set alight the flame of sedition by their predictions that the empire of the world was about to be transferred from Roman to Gallic hands. *Canebant* is used because their predictions were given in verse. *superstitione vana*, perhaps taken from Verg. Aen. viii. 187.

12. *incesseratque fama*. "The rumour had got abroad." Where the chiefs mentioned took their oath is uncertain; many editors understand that they were Gallic chieftains resident in Rome, and take *ante digrederentur* "before they quitted the city." Others explain that they were chieftains summoned to Rome from Gaul, and explain *ante digrederentur*, "before they left their homes in Gaul;" while Orelli suggests that the messengers despatched by Otho to the German armies may be meant (i. 74), and that many of them, being Gallic chiefs, took the oath on their way through Gaul, and before leaving it for Germany. This explanation seems, however, somewhat far-fetched and problematical, and one of the two others is to be preferred. Opposition in Gaul would be all the more easily aroused because the suppression of the revolt of Vindex by the German armies was still fresh in their minds.

55. 1. *ante Flacci Hordeonii caedem*. For the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, see above, c. 36.

iuratio intellexeretur. Interfecto Hordeonio commeavere nuntii inter Civilem Classicumque praefectum alae Treverorum. Classicus nobilitate opibusque ante alios. Regium illi genus et
 5 pace belloque clara origo. Ipse e maioribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socius iactabat. Miscuere sese Iulius Tutor et Iulius Sabinus, hic Trever, hic Lingonus, Tutor ripae Rheni a Vitellio praefectus; Sabinus, super insitam vanitatem, falsae stirpis gloria incendebatur: proaviam suam divo Iulio per
 10 Gallias bellanti corpore atque adulterio placuisse. Hi secretis sermonibus animos ceterorum scrutari. Ubi quos idoneos rebantur conscientia obstrinxere, in colonia Agrippinensi in domum privatam conveniunt. Nam publice civitas talibus inceptis abhorrebat. Attamen interfuere quidam Ubiorum Tun-
 15 grorumque. Sed plurima vis penes Treveros ac Lingonas.

3. *Classicumque*. He had been already mentioned as commanding a troop of Treveran horse (in Liguria under Valens) against the Othonians, ii. 14.

4. *ante alios*. Cf. Ann. i. 27, "is ante alios aetate et gloria belli." We have of course here to supply, as so often in Tacitus, *erat*.

5. *clara origo*. The abstract for the concrete—"founders of his race distinguished in peace and war." So G. 2, "Tuistonem, et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque;" Verg. Aen. xii. 166, "hinc pater Aeneas Romanae stirpis origo." He came, perhaps, of the stock of Induciomarus who fought so strenuously against Caesar, B. G. v. chaps. 4, 26, 57.

5. *hostis populi Romani quam socius*. This is the reading of M., and probably to be retained. The construction, though harsh, is not more harsh than Tacitus might have allowed himself to use. It is justified by the Greek phrase which Tacitus probably had in his mind, Hom. Il. ιγ 54, "Ἐκρυπτο δὲ Διὸς ἐδῆκεν ἑπαθρότος ᾧδ' εἶπαι;" and by such phrases as in Cic. pro Leg. Ag. ii. 21, "qui publicus esse fateatur;" and Hor. Od. iii. 27, 73, "uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis." Heraeus takes *hostis* as accusative plural, altering *socius* into *socios*. Ritter would either insert *esse* or would omit *iactabat*. *e maioribus suis* probably means "from the time of;" others explain it "on account of, following the example of."

6. *miscuere sese*. "Mixed them-

selves up in it." So c. 62, "altera se legio miscuerat."

7. *hic—hic*, for *hic . . . ille*, often in Vergil, as Ecl. iv. 56; Aen. vii. 473, 506, etc.

7. *Lingonus*. This, the reading of M., is altered by Ritter and others into *Lingon*, on the ground that Tacitus uniformly uses the plural *Lingones*. Yet the singular from *Lingonus* is found in Martial, viii. 75, 2, "Lingonus a Tecta Flaminiaque recens Gallus;" and in a Gallic inscription, "Deo Apollini Borvoni et Damoenae C. Daminius Ferox Lingonus ex voto."

7. *ripae Rheni—praefectus*. His business was, with the help of the fleet, to guard the lower Rhine against the incursions of the Germans.

10. *corpore atque adulterio placuisse* is a kind of zeugma.

12. *conscientia obstrinxere*. "Had bound them to them by making them privy to their plans." In Ann. xv. 51 Tacitus has "conscientia illigare."

13. *nam publice civitas abhorrebat*. It is noticeable how little enthusiasm the Gauls generally exhibit for revolt from Rome. The movement was not a national movement; see Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. c. iv. p. 137. They knew that emancipation from Rome meant subjection to Germany, and they preferred Rome to Germany.

13. *talibus inceptis abhorrebat*. There is always a doubt whether the case here, as in Ann. i. 54, is an ablative or dative: more probably the former.

Nec tulere moras consultandi. Certatim proclamant furere discordiis populum Romanum, caesas legiones, vastatam Italiam, capi cum maxime urbem, omnis exercitus suis quemque bellis distineri: si Alpes praesidiis firmentur, coalita libertate disceptaturas Gallias quem virum suarum terminum velint.

56. Haec dicta pariter probataque. De reliquiis Vitelliani exercitus dubitare. Plerique interficiendos censebant, turbidos, infidos, sanguine ducum pollutos. Vicit ratio parcendi, ne sublata spe veniae pertinaciam accenderent. Adliciendos potius in societatem. Legatis tantum legionum interfectis, ceterum volgus conscientia scelerum et spe impunitatis facile accessurum. Ea primi consilii forma. Missique per Gallias concitores belli. Simulatum ipsis obsequium, quo incautiorem Vocolam opprimerent. Nec defuere qui Vocolae nuntiarent. Sed vires ad coercendum deerant, infrequentibus infidisque legionibus. Inter ambiguos milites et occultos hostes, optimum e praesentibus ratus mutua dissimulatione et isdem quibus petebatur grassari, in coloniam Agrippinensem descendit. Illuc Claudius Labeo, quem captum et extra commeatum amandatum in Frisios dixi-

16. *moras consultandi*. The genitive is an explicative or causal genitive.

18. *capi cum maxime urbem*. "Is at this moment being captured;" see i. 29, note on line 14.

19. *distineri*. This, the reading of M., is preferable to *detineri*, "have their attention distracted each to his own war;" so Ann. xi. 12; xiv. 25, "Parthi Hyrcano bello distinebantur."

19. *disceptaturas*. M. reads *discep-ras*. Orelli, following the correction of a later hand, and Rhenanus read *dispecturas*. This is a rare word, used sometimes for *diudicaturas*, Ann. xiii. 27, "dispiceret quisque merita;" *disceptaturas* gives, however, a sufficiently good sense, and is nearer to the MSS.

56. 1. *dicta pariter probataque*. "Were approved as soon as spoken." *Pariter* seems here, by a post-classical usage, put for *simul*. Caesar often notices the suddenness with which the Gauls formed resolves or entered on a course of action.

4. *pertinaciam accenderent*. There is no proper nominative to this verb; one has to be supplied from the context. It refers to the Gauls generally.

5. *ceterum volgus*. "The mass of the common soldiers." *Ceterum* here, like

alius elsewhere, seems only to contrast the common soldiers with the officers, not one part of the common soldiers with another.

7. *ea primi consilii forma*. *Consilii*, found in the majority of the MSS., has been altered by most editors into *consilii*. Heraeus, however, would retain it, understanding it; "This was the character of their first gathering." *Consilii* certainly seems, however, to give a better sense.

12. *isdem quibus petebatur grassari*. "To attack the enemy by the same devices as they were using against him;" i.e., by pretending ignorance and sending Labeo to stir up sedition in the enemy's country. *Isdem* is neuter plural, as in ii. 20, "*isdem* petitus." Some MSS. insert *artibus*, which Livy would almost certainly have used.

13. *descendit*, from Mogontiacum, where he had been before.

14. *extra commeatum amandatum*. *Extra commentum amandatum* is the reading of M. This has been variously emended. Ritter would omit *commentum*, leaving *extra* to stand absolutely. Orelli proposes *conventum*, understanding it, "of the gathering of the Batavians against Rome." Others understand it of the circuit of the province, *conventus*

- 15 mus, corruptis custodibus perfugit; pollicitusque, si praesidium daretur, iturum in Batavos et potio-rem civitatis partem ad societatem Romanam retracturum, accepta peditum equitumque modica manu, nihil apud Batavos ausus quosdam Nerviorum Betasiorumque in arma traxit, et furtim magis quam bello
20 Canninefates Marsacosque incursabat.

57. Vocula Gallorum fraude inlectus ad hostem contendit. Nec procul Veteribus aberat, cum Classicus ac Tutor per speciem explorandi praegressi cum ducibus Germanorum pacta firmare. Tumque primum discreti a legionibus proprio vallo
5 castra sua circumdant, obtestante Vocula "non adeo turbatam civilibus armis rem Romanam ut Treveris etiam Lingonibusque despectui sit. Superesse fidas provincias, victores exercitus, fortunam imperii et ultores deos. Sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque singulis praeliis concidis-
10 Eadem rursus numina, eadem fata ruptores foederum exspectarent. Melius divo Iulio divoque Augusto notos eorum animos: Galbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse. Nunc hostes, quia molle servitium; cum spoliati exutique fuerint, amicos fore." Haec ferociter locutus, postquam perstare

being the regular name for the towns on the praetor's circuit. Ruperti suggests *communis*. Some editors follow a correction of the Bodleian MSS., and read *extra continentem*. Heraeus proposes *commeatum*, explaining this, "beyond intercourse with his countrymen." None of these suggestions is quite satisfactory. *diximus*, c. 18.

18. Nerviorum Betasiorumque. The Nervii are described by Caesar as the bravest of the Belgians. They occupied the country round Cambrai. The Betasii (or Betasi, as Pliny calls them) occupied the district between the Nervii and Tungri, the neighbourhood of Beetz, in Brabant. The Marsaci, also mentioned by Pliny, N. H. iv. 17, 31, lived near the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine, and in the islands of that district. Their name is said to mean, "the men of the marshes."

57. 1. *ad hostem*, i.e. against Civilis and his forces, who were again besieging Vetera, c. 36.

3. *cum ducibus Germanorum*, i.e. those who were engaged in the siege of Vetera.

8. *sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque*. For the

first of these outbreaks, which took place in the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 21, see Ann. iii. 40, 46; for the latter, see note 12 on H. chap. 6, bk. i., and i. 51, also Int. iv. § 3.

12. *Galbam et infracta tributa—induisse*. If this, the reading of M. be retained, *induisse* must be used actively, but such a use is not found elsewhere. Heraeus, therefore, inserts *post* before *Galbam*; Ritter alters *induisse* into *indidisse*. The remission of tribute by Galba referred to is that mentioned in i. 8 and 51. This had not extended to the Treveri and Lingones, who had been shorn indeed of part of their territory, but Vocula cites it as part of a policy applied to the whole of Gaul. The Gauls, his contention is, are a people requiring to be ruled with a strong hand.

13. *nunc hostes, quia molle servitium*. With *hostes* we must supply either *esse* or *veras* from *fore*, and with *servitium*, *sit*.

14. *ferociter*. "With spirit," the ordinary sense of *ferox* and *ferociter*.

14. *postquam—videt—Novesium concedit*. The present is used here after *postquam*, as in Ann. i. 48, "*postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio*

in perfidia Classicum Tutoremque videt, verso itinere Novesium 15
concedit. Galli duum milium spatio distantibus campis conse-
dere. Illuc commeantium centurionum militumque emebantur
animi, ut (flagitium incognitum) Romanus exercitus in externa
verba iurarent, pignusque tanti sceleris nece aut vinculis lega-
torum daretur. Vocula, quamquam plerique fugam suadebant, 20
audendum ratus, vocata contione in hunc modum disseruit :

58. "Nunquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis sollicitior
aut pro me securior. Nam mihi exitium parari libens audio,
mortemque in tot malis [hostium] ut finem miseriarum exspecto.
Vestri me pudet miseretque, adversus quos non praelium et
acies parantur ; id enim fas armorum et ius hostium est : 5
bellum cum populo Romano vestris se manibus gesturum
Classicus sperat, imperiumque et sacramentum Galliarum os-
tentat. Adeo nos, si fortuna in praesens virtusque deseruit,
etiam vetera exempla deficiunt, quotiens Romanae legiones
perire praeoptaverint, ne loco pellerentur ? Socii saepe nostri 10
exscindi urbes suas seque cum coniugibus ac liberis cremari
pertulerunt ; neque aliud pretium exitus quam fides famaue.

vident . . . statuunt tempus." The present seems to be used to express the contemporaneousness of the two actions, as we might say "on seeing." This differs a little from Madvig's explanation, § 338, obs. 4. For the position of Novesium, the headquarters of the 16th legion, see c. 26, note on line 8.

17. *emebantur animi*, i.e. by promises and professions, not directly by money.

18. *ut (flagitium incognitum)—iurarent*. For the parenthesis preceding the explanation, see Ann. i. 39, i. 56. The plural verb with the singular noun of multitude has been an offence to some editors, who have altered *Romanus exercitus* into *Romano exercitui*, including it in the bracket after *flagitium*. The ill effects of recruiting the armies exclusively in the provinces, and making them directly dependent on the emperor whom they often themselves created, were beginning now to show themselves.

21. *in hunc modum*. Tacitus implies that he had received no exact report of the speech.

58. 2. *aut pro me securior*. *Pro* is here, as in some other cases, substituted for *de*, to bring out the contrast between *pro vobis sollicitior* and *pro me securior*.

3. *in tot malis hostium* is the reading of M. Orelli includes *hostium* in

brackets, holding that it has crept in here from three lines lower down. This seems the simplest correction. Heraeus suggests *solacium* ; Lipsius, *malis honestam*. Walther proposes *haustam*, agreeing with *mortem*.

5. *fas armorum et ius hostium*. Both these phrases seem to be newly coined by Tacitus. There is a very similar passage, Ann. i. 42, "hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupit," where *fas gentium* takes the place of *fas armorum*. The expression *fas armorum* is not classical ; but we have in Tacitus also "fas disciplinae," Ann. i. 19 ; "fas patriae," Ann. ii. 10. *Ius hostium* is constructed on the analogy of *ius gentium* ; "the laws of war."

7. *Imperiumque et sacramentum Galliarum*. It was a Gallic empire that Classicus aspired to substitute for the Roman ; it was to this that they were invited to swear fealty.

8. *in praesens*. "At the moment." Often in Tacitus : above, c. 17 ; Ann. i. 4, iii. 28, etc.

10. *socii saepe nostri—cremari pertulerunt*. As the people of Saguntum Casilinum, etc. The use of *pertulerunt* with the infinitive for *passi sunt* is post-classical. *fides famaue*. "A reputation for loyalty."



Tolerant cum maxime inopiam obsidiumque apud Vetera legiones, nec terrore aut promissis demoveantur. Nobis, super
 15 arma et viros et egregia castrorum munimenta, frumentum et
 commeatus quamvis longo bello pares. Pecunia nuper etiam
 donativo sufficit; quod sive a Vespasiano sive a Vitellio datum
 interpretari mavoltis, ab imperatore certe Romano accepistis.
 Tot bellorum victores, apud Geldubam, apud Vetera, fuso
 20 totiens hoste, si pavetis aciem, indignum id quidem: sed est
 vallum murique et trahendi artes, donec e proximis provinciis
 auxilia exercitusque concurrant. Sane ego displiceam. Sunt
 alii legati, tribuni, centurio denique aut miles. Ne hoc prodigium
 toto terrarum orbe volgetur, vobis satellitibus Civilem et
 25 Classicum Italiam invasuros. An, si ad moenia urbis Germani
 Gallique duxerint, arma patriae inferetis? Horret animus
 tanti flagitii imagine. Tutorin Trevero agentur excubiae?
 Signum belli Batavus dabit? Et Germanorum catervas supplebitis?
 Quis deinde sceleris exitus, cum Romanae legiones
 30 contra direxerint? Transfugae e transfugis et proditores e
 proditoribus, inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi deis
 errabit? Te, Iuppiter optime maxime, quem per octingentos
 viginti annos tot triumphis coluimus, te, Quirine Romanae
 parens urbis, precor venerorque ut, si vobis non fuit cordi me

13. cum maxime. "At this very moment." See above, c. 55.

14. legiones are the 5th and 15th.

15. frumentum et commeatus—pares. The masculine, not neuter, because the noun immediately preceding is masculine. For *pares*, in the sense of "sufficient for," see i. 18, though there the meaning is a little different.

16. pecunia nuper etiam donativo sufficit. The money for this had been received from Vitellius, but given by Hordeonius in Vespasian's name. See above, c. 36.

19. apud Geldubam, apud Vetera. For these victories, see chaps. 33 and 34.

20. si pavetis. For *paveo* used transitively with an accusative, see iii. 56, note on line 10.

21. trahendi artes. "Devices for gaining time." For the absolute use of *trahere*, cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 315, "at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus;" and above, iii. 56.

22. sane ego displiceam. The concessive use of *sane* with the subjunctive, as in Cic. Tusc. ii. § 14, "ne sit sane

summum malum dolor; malum certe est."

23. miles — ne hoc prodigium. The language is intentionally abrupt: "choose whom you will, as general, only let not this unnatural sight be witnessed that, etc." For *satellitibus*, see Liv. xxiii. 12, "Hannibalis satellitibus."

27. Tutorin Trevero. The reading of M. has been altered by some editors into *Tutorine*.

28. et Germanorum. Heraeus suggests *Gallorum et Germanorum*; most of the other editors after Pichena omit the *et*. Heraeus contends that *Gallorum* is wanted because it supplies the proper climax, Tutor being a Gaul, Civilis a German.

30. contra direxerint. With the verb we may supply either *se* or *aciem*; the latter is to be preferred. Cf. Ann. vi. 34, "directa utrimque acie."

32. per octingentos viginti annos. The round number is here given, as in i. 1.

34. precor venerorque. This is copied from the speech of Postumius in Liv. ix. 8, "vos, dii immortales, precor

duce haec castra incorrupta et intemerata servari, at certe pollui 35
foedarique a Tutore et Classico ne sinatis. Militibus Romanis
aut innocentiam detis, aut maturam et sine noxa paenitentiam."

59. Varie excepta oratio inter spem metumque ac pudorem. Digressum Voculam, et de supremis agitantem, liberti servique prohibuere foedissimam mortem sponte praevenire. Et Classicus misso Aemilio Longino, desertore primae legionis, caedem eius maturavit. Herennium et Numisium legatos 5
vinciri satis visum. Dein sumptis Romani imperii insignibus in castra venit. Nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra suppeditavere quam ut sacramentum recitaret. Iuravere qui aderant pro imperio Galliarum. Interfectorem Voculae altis ordinibus, ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat, 10
praemiis attollit.

Divisae inde inter Tutorem et Classicum curae. Tutor valida manu circumdatos Agrippinenses, quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam, in eadem verba adigit, occisis

quaesoque si vobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumum Ti. Veturium consules cum Samnitibus prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum missos."

37. *maturam et sine noxa paenitentiam*. This adjectival use of a noun with a preposition is very rare in Cicero, but not infrequent in Tacitus; *e.g.* iii. 8, "sine luctu victoriam;" and iv. 8.

59. 1. *inter spem metumque ac pudorem*. "With mingled feelings of hope, fear, and shame." So nearly H. ii. 2, 1, "his et talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes vicit."

2. *digressum*, *i.e.* from Novesium.

3. *foedissimam mortem*. "A most dreadful death" at the hands of one of his own soldiers, turned traitor.

4. *et Classicus*. *Et* "moreover;" it adds another reason why Vocula was not able to anticipate by suicide death at the hands of his own soldiers.

5. *Herennium et Numisium legatos*. Herennius Gallus was legate of the 1st, Numisius Rufus probably of the 16th, legion.

6. *sumptis Romani imperii insignibus*. The lictors and fasces, and the purple military cloak.

7. *durato*, for *obdurato*, as in Ann. iii. 15, "durat mentem." The word has in Tacitus sometimes an active, sometimes a neuter sense. Classicus was so overwhelmed by his own audacity, such was the awe which the majesty of the Roman

Empire inspired, that he could find no words in which to address the soldiers, but had to content himself with reciting the formula of the oath with which they swore allegiance to the Empire of the Gauls. He did not proclaim himself emperor, but claimed the empire for the people of the Gauls in place of the Roman people.

10. *altis ordinibus*. The case is probably the dative, not the ablative, as in Ann. i. 2, "cum opibus et honoribus extollerentur." The plural is variously explained, either that he promoted Longinus by several steps, making him at once *primipilus* from a common soldier, or because he is going to speak not of Longinus alone, but of others besides. The phrase *flagitium navaverat*, "had shown himself active in crime," is based on the analogy of *operam*, *studium navare*.

12. *curae*. "The commands."

13. *quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam*. *Erat* has of course to be supplied. The soldiers chiefly referred to are those of the 4th and 22nd legions, stationed at Mogontiacum. There were probably detachments also on the left bank. The 21st, whose headquarters were at Vindonissa, in Switzerland, was probably not to be affected. In *eodem* *loco*, *i.e.* "he makes swear fealty to the Gauls." With *eodem* *loco* *supple*

- 15 Mogontiaci tribunis, pulso castrorum praefecto, qui detrectaverant. Classicus corruptissimum quemque e deditis pergere ad obsessos iubet, veniam ostentantes, si praesentia sequerentur: aliter nihil spei, famem ferrumque et extrema passuros. Adiecere qui missi erant exemplum suum.

60. Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas inter decus ac flagitium distrahebant. Cunctantibus solita insolitaque alimenta deerant, absumptis iumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus, quae profana foedaque in usum necessitas vertit. Virgulta
5 postremo et stirpes et internatas saxis herbas vellentes miseriarum patientiaeque documentum fuere, donec egregiam laudem fine turpi macularent, missis ad Civilem legatis vitam orantes. Neque ante preces admissae quam in verba Galliarum iurarent. Tum pactus praedam castrorum dat custodes, qui pecuniam
10 calones sarcinas retentarent, ac qui ipsos leves abeuntes prosequerentur. Ad quintum fere lapidem coorti Germani incautum agmen adgrediuntur. Pugnacissimus quisque in vestigio, multi palantes occubuere: ceteri retro in castra perfugiunt, querente sane Civile et increpante Germanos tamquam fidem per scelus
15 abrumperent. Simulata ea fuerint, an retinere saevientes nequiverit, parum adfirmatur. Direptis castris faces iniciunt: cunctosque qui praelio superfuerant, incendium hausit.

61. Civilis barbaro voto, post coepta adversus Romanos

17. *ad obsessos*, i.e. the 5th and 15th legions who were being besieged in Vetera.

17. *si praesentia sequerentur*. "If they would fall in with the existing state of affairs, and throw in their lot with the Empire of the Gauls."

60. 4. *quae profana foedaque*. *Profana* is an unusual word in this connexion; it means that which is regarded as wrong to eat, very like the use of *κάρβω* in the N.T. We may, perhaps, translate "unclean and disgusting."

5. *vellentes miseriarum patientiaeque documentum fuere*. "By plucking up they gave proof of the miseries they endured, and of their patient endurance of them." It is not correct to regard the two last words as a mere hendiadys.

8. *in verba Galliarum*. Civilis, no less than Classicus, proposes to found an empire of the Gauls.

10. *calones—ipsos leves*. The *calones*, being slaves, are included in the booty.

Leves means "without kit or baggage," for they seem to have retained their arms.

11. *coorti Germani*. These were not their guards, but a party of the Germans from across the Rhine.

13. *perfugiunt* has the sense of "make good their flight." As the more usual meaning is "to desert," some of the editors have altered it into *profugiant*, but needlessly, as the above meaning is well attested by parallel passages, e.g. Cic. c. Verr. v. 48, "hic locus est igitur unus quo perfugiant;" and Liv. i. 8, "eo turba . . . perfugit."

16. *parum adfirmatur*. "Cannot be asserted with confidence;" the opposite of *pro certo adfirmatur*.

17. *incendium hausit*. "The conflagration consumed." Cf. Ann. iii. 72.

61. 1. *Civilis barbaro voto—propexum rutilatamque crinem—deposuit*. The vow was to let his hair grow long till the enemy was conquered. Tacitus, G. 31, says that the custom was of frequent occurrence among the

arma, propexum rutilatumque crinem patrata demum caede legionum deposuit. Et ferebatur parvulo filio quosdam captivorum sagittis iaculisque puerilibus figendos obtulisse. (Ceterum neque se neque quemquam Batavum in verba Galliarum adegit, 5
fisis Germanorum opibus et, si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret, inclitus fama et potior. Munius Lupercus legatus legionis inter dona missus Veledae. Ea virgo nationis Bructerae late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente 10
superstitione arbitrantur deas. Tuncque Veledae auctoritas adolevit: nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum praedixerat. Sed Lupercus in itinere interfectus. Pauci centurionum tribunorumque in Gallia geniti reservantur pignus societati. Cohortium alarum legionum hiberna subversa cremataque, 15
iis tantum relictis quae Mogontiacy ac Vindonissae sita sunt.

Germans, and among the Chatti had become even a national usage. Paulus Diaconus (*Gesta Langob.* iii. 7) and Gregor. Tur. (v. 15) mention a similar custom as still prevailing among the Saxons. For *propexum* in the sense of *promissum*, see Sil. Punic. xiii. 310, "nunc propexis in pectora barbis verrere humum." Tacitus seems to have regarded the reddening of the hair as part of the vow. But the Gauls often reddened their hair by a mixture of ashes and lard, perhaps to make themselves resemble the Germans; and this may have been the object of Civilis on the present occasion. Pliny. N. H. xxviii. (12) 51; Tac. G. 4.

4. *ceterum neque se*. Civilis probably saw the weakness of the Empire of the Gauls, and how, if once the fear of Rome was removed, the old rivalry between Germans and Gauls would be sure to revive; and in such a rivalry the issue was not doubtful.

7. *inclitus fama et potior*. *Fama* probably goes with both words, "he had a great and predominant renown to back him;" and this would be endangered had he sworn fealty to the Empire of the Gauls. He preferred to keep himself unfettered.

8. *legatus legionis*. Most likely of the 16th.

8. *Veledae*. Statius speaks of *captivae proceres Veledae*, which gives the prosody of the word, Stat. Sylv. i. 4, 90; but Dio calls her Βελήδα, lxxvii. 5. Tacitus says (G. 4) "vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco

habitam;" this some commentators take to mean that he had actually seen her when brought captive to Rome; but the words do not necessarily bear this construction.

9. *nationis Bructerae*. This tribe dwelt round the modern Münster, between the upper waters of the Lippe and the Ems. They are described by Tacitus, G. 33, as living next the Tencteri. He states that at some date posterior to this they were utterly destroyed by their neighbours the Chamavi and Angivarii.

9. *vetere apud Germanos more quo—deas*. Cf. G. 8, "inesse quinetiam (sc. feminis) sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilium earum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt." He says, moreover, in apparent contradiction with what he states here, "sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione neque tanquam facerent deas." The *Germany*, however, was obviously written in part with the object of satirising his countrymen.

12. *excidium legionum*. *Excidium* is properly used of the destruction of towns, fortifications, etc., but Tacitus, following Vergil, applies it to the destruction of the legions: Aen. i. 22, "excidio Libyae;" viii. 386, "excidiumque meorum."

14. *pignus societati*. Tacitus is fond of substituting dative for genitive in this connexion. We have elsewhere *iniitium bello, causam seditioni*.

15. *Mogontiacy ac Vindonissae*. These were two chief headquarters of



62. Legio sexta decima cum auxiliis simul deditis a Novesio in coloniam Treverorum transgredi iubetur, praefinita die intra quam castris excederet. Medium omne tempus per varias curas egere, ignavissimus quisque caesorum apud Vetera
 5 exemplo paventes, melior pars rubore et infamia. "Quale illud iter? Qui dux viae? Et omnia in arbitrio eorum quos vitae necisque dominos fecissent." Alii, nulla dedecoris cura, pecuniam aut carissima sibimet ipsi circumdare. Quidam expedire arma, telisque tamquam in aciem accingi. Haec meditantibus
 10 advenit proficiscendi hora, exspectatione tristior. Quippe intra vallum deformitas haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies. Revolsae imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa, fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis; silens agmen, et velut longae exsequiae; dux Claudius Sanctus effosso oculo,
 15 dirus ore, ingenio debilior. Duplicatur flagitium, postquam desertis Bonnensibus castris altera se legio miscuerat. Et volgata captarum legionum fama cuncti, qui paulo ante Romanorum nomen horrebant, procurentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. Non
 20 tulit ala Picentina gaudium insultantis volgi, spretisque Sancti

the upper army. Mainz commanded the valley of the Main, Windisch the lowlands of Switzerland.

62. 2. *Novesium* was the headquarters of the 16th legion. in *coloniam Treverorum*. Called also *Augusta Treverorum*, is now Trèves. It was founded at the end of Claudius's, or in the first year of Nero's reign. Later on it was made the capital of Gallia Belgica, and became ultimately one of the chief towns of the Roman Empire.

4. *ignavissimus quisque*—*paventes*—*rubore et infamia*. Tacitus uniformly joins a plural with the superlative and *quisque*; the two last words are a hendiadys: "shame at their disgrace."

8. *carissima*—*circumdare*. The verb is chosen because they hid them away in their belts. *Carissima*, "valuable." So used also, Ann. xiv. 23; Caes. B. G. v. 33.

9. *arma, telisque*. The first are defensive armour, the second weapons of offence.

9. *haec meditantibus*. This is taken almost verbatim from Livy's account of what occurred after the surrender at the Caudine Pass; Liv. ix. 5, "haec fre-

mentibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura."

11. *haud perinde notabilis*. Tacitus, in this and other passages, e.g. ii. 84, Ann. ii. 88, G. 5, leaves his readers to supply for themselves the other term of the comparison.

12. *revolsae imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa*—*vexillis*. The busts of the deified emperors were carried as the household gods of the army; these had been now removed. On the standards the effigy of the reigning emperor had been defaced, and they were surrounded by the colours of the auxiliaries in place of the eagles of the legions.

15. *dirus ore, ingenio debilior*. The loss of his eye marred his face, but his character was even worse than his look. Tacitus had already spoken of the loss of an eye as *oris dehonestamentum*.

18. *procurentes ex agris tectisque*. Heraeus quotes Verg. Aen. vii. 812, "illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iventus . . . miratur."

20. *ala Picentina*. This is not mentioned elsewhere in Tacitus or in any other classical author, but occurs on an inscription found near Mainz, which runs thus: SILIVS.ATTONIS.F.EQ.ALAE

promissis aut minis Mogontiacum abeunt; ac forte obvio interfectore Voculae Longino, coniectis in eum telis initium exsolvendae in posterum culpa fecere. Legiones nihil mutato itinere ante moenia Treverorum considunt.

63. Civilis et Classicus, rebus secundis sublatis, an coloniam Agrippinensem diripiendam exercitibus suis permitterent dubitare. Saevitia ingenii et cupidine praedae ad excidium civitatis trahebantur. Obstabat ratio belli, et novum imperium incohantibus utilis clementiae fama. Civilem etiam beneficii 5 memoria flexit, quod filium eius primo rerum motu in colonia Agrippinensi deprehensum honorate custodierant. Sed Transrhenanis gentibus invisa civitas opulentia auctoque; neque alium finem belli rebantur quam si promisca ea sedes omnibus Germanis foret, aut disiecta Ubios quoque dispersisset. 10

64. Igitur Tencteri, Rheno discreta gens, missis legatis mandata apud concilium Agrippinensium edi iubent; quae ferocissimus e legatis in hunc modum protulit: "redisse vos in corpus nomenque Germaniae, communibus deis et praecipuo 5 deorum Marti grates agimus; vobisque gratulamur quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis. Nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras

PICENT. AN. XLV. STIP. XXIV. H. F. C. (haeres faciendum curavit). The name also occurs on an inscription in Britain, C. I. L. vol. iii. 30, Priv. Vet.

63. 1. an — permitterent dubitare. There is only one alternative stated, as often in Tacitus. So Ann. xiii. 50, "dubitavit Nero an cuncta vectigalia omitti iuberet."

4. ratio belli. "General military considerations." The destruction of the town would create new enemies, who might join the discontented soldiery and head a revolt.

7. honorate custodierant. M. reads *honorata custodias erant*. This has been corrected by Orelli and most of the editors as above. Heraeus suggests *honorata custodia habuerant*. The sense in either case is the same. In the *honorata custodia*, the prisoner was lodged at the house of one of the magistrates, who was made responsible for his safe keeping. Called also *libera custodia*.

9. promisca ea sedes omnibus Germanis foret. Any German was to be allowed to settle there at will, without waiting for any special vote of the people.

10. disiecta. This dispersion of cities was quite in accordance with the notions

of the primitive Germans, to whom the life of cities was abhorrent. The Ubii were regarded by the other Germans as renegades for settling under Roman protection. See G. 16, "nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est; ne pati quidem iunctas sedes."

64. 1. Tencteri. For them and their position, see above, c. 21, note on line 11. Mommsen places them a little higher up than Cologne, between the Sieg and the Lahn.

2. apud concilium Agrippinensium, i.e. the general assembly of the Ubii gathered in Cologne. Like other Germans, they transacted business in a general assembly.

3. in hunc modum. Tacitus does not profess to give the speech exactly. He no doubt chiefly invented it.

4. in corpus nomenque Germaniae. *Corpus* means "the body politic;" *nomen*, "they called themselves Ubii, no longer Agrippinenses." The accusative and infinitive after *grates agimus* is not classical.

4. praecipuo deorum Marti. The god called by this name is Tiu or Zio, whose name is still preserved in our Tuesday.

et caelum quodammodo ipsum clauserant Romani, ut conloquia congressusque nostros arcerent, vel, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes ac prope nudi sub custode et pretio
 10 coiremus. Sed ut amicitia societasque nostra in aeternum rata sit, postulamus a vobis, muros coloniae, munimenta servitii, detrahatis: etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obli-
 viscuntur; Romanos omnes in finibus vestris trucidetis: haud facile libertas et domini miscentur. Bona interfectorum in
 15 medium cedant, ne quis occulere quicquam aut segregare causam suam possit. Liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut olim maioribus nostris. Quomodo lucem diemque omnibus hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. In-
 stituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus
 20 Romani plus adversus subiectos quam armis valent. Sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus aut ex aequo agetis aut aliis imperitabitis."

65. Agrippinenses sumpto consultandi spatio, quando neque

7. *caelum*. "The free breath of heaven." Perhaps they had shut it out by the high walls they had built.

9. *inermes—coiremus*. The Germans attended all meetings, public or private, armed; G. 13, "nihil neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt." It was thus an indignity to enter Cologne unarmed. It was a further indignity that they should be put under surveillance when they were within the walls and have to pay a poll-tax or octroi. The Agrippinenses promise to grant free and unrestricted right of entrance for the future, c. 65.

12. *detrahatis*. "To level." So Ann. xv. 17, "detraheret castella trans Euphratem." Cf. also Liv. xxxvii. 45, "regum maiestatem ab summo fastigio detrahi."

12. *virtutis*. For *virtus* applied to the spirit of wild beasts, see Hor. Od. iv. 4, 30, "est in iuvenis est in equis patrum virtus."

13. *in finibus vestris*. The territory of the Ubii extended to Andernach on the south and to Neuss on the north. Their southern neighbours were the Treveri, their northern the Cugerni.

13. *haud facile*. For the sentiment, cf. Ag. 3, "quamquam Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem."

14. *in medium cedant*. *Cedere* in is used of the destination to which a thing goes. Liv. i. 52, "res omnis Albana ab

Tullo in Romanum cesserit imperium;" Tac. H. iii. 83, "spolia in vulgus cedebant;" Ag. 5, "gloria in ducem cessit." For *in medium*, "to the common stock," cf. Liv. vi. 6, "laudem conferre potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahere."

16. *ut olim maioribus nostris*. It must not be forgotten that the Ubii were originally Germans.

19. *abruptis voluptatibus*. As if they were chains; cf. ii. 53, "abruptis vitae blandimentis." For the use the Romans made of the pleasures of civilisation in reducing their ruder subjects, see Ag. 21, "ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent . . . hortari privatim, adiuvere publice ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent . . . paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum porticus et balinea, et convivorum elegantiam . . . idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur cum pars servitutis esset."

20. *sincerus et integer*. "Sound at the core and uncorrupted." *Sincerus* corresponds to the exhortation *institutus*, *cultumque patrium resumite*, *integer* to *abruptis voluptatibus*.

21. *ex aequo agetis*. "You will live on a footing of free equality." ἔξ ἰσού, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσού. Liv. vii. 30, "ex aequo venisse in amicitiam;" Ag. 20, "civitates quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant."

65. 1. Agrippinenses. They were

subire condiciones metus futuri neque palam aspernari condicio praesens sinebat, in hunc modum respondent: "quae prima libertatis facultas data est, avidius quam cautius sumpsimus, ut vobis ceterisque Germanis, consanguineis nostris, iungeremur. 5 Muros civitatis, congregantibus se cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis quam diruere tutius est. Si qui ex Italia aut provinciis alienigenae in finibus nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit, vel in suas quisque sedes refugerunt. Deductis olim et nobiscum per connubium sociatis, quique mox 10 provenerunt, haec patria est; nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus ut interfici a nobis parentes fratres liberos nostros velitis. Vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus. Sint transitus incustoditis, sed diurni et inermes, donec nova et recentia iura in vetustatem consuetudine vertantur. Arbitrum habebimus 15 Civilem et Veledam, apud quos pacta sancientur." Sic lenitis Tencteris, legati ad Civilem et Veledam missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetrare. Sed coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum. Arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre: delectus e propin- 20 quis consulta responsaque, ut internuntius, numinis, portabat.

66. Civilis societate Agrippinensium auctus proximas civitates adfectare aut adversantibus bellum inferre statuit. Occupatisque Sunucis, et iuventute eorum per cohortes composita, quo minus ultra pergeret, Claudius Labeo Betasiorum Tungro-

at heart loyal to Rome, though forced to yield to present stress.

6. *congregantibus secum maxime.* "Are at this very moment gathering." See c. 55, note on line 14.

8. *eos bellum absumpsit, vel refugerunt.* Tacitus is rather fond of making in this way the same noun stand as object of one verb, subject of another, Ann. ii. 83.

10. *deductis olim.* It was only twenty years since the colony had been founded, A.D. 50. Ann. xii. 27, "Agrippina in oppidum Ubiorum in quo genita erat, veteranos coloniamque deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum a vocabulo ipsius."

10. *quique mox provenerunt.* "And those who were afterwards sprung of them." The verb is not used in this sense by the earlier classical writers.

13. *vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus.* This is in answer to the demand that intercourse between the

Germans and the city should be free and untaxed.

14. *nova et recentia iura.* So Cic. pro Flacc. § 13, "lege hac recenti et nova." *Ius novum* is one which had not existed before; *ius recens* is a law lately passed.

15. *in vetustatem.* "By lapse of time."

16. *pacta sancientur.* *Pactum sancire* is formed on the analogy of *foedus sancire*. Cicero has *pactum firmare*.

20. *ipsa edita in turre.* This tower was situated on the Lippe at the point where the river became navigable for ships of considerable burden. See v. 22.

21. *consulta* are the questions put to the oracle.

66. 2. *adfectare.* "To win over;" so used by Sallust, Jug. 66, "civitates adfectare;" and Velleius, ii. 39, "Gallias saepe et adfectavimus et omisimus."

3. *Sunucis.* They are mentioned by Pliny in this neighbourhood, N. H. iv. (17) 31. They were the western neigh-

5 rumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit, fretus loco, quia pontem Mosae fluminis anteceperat. Pugnabaturque in angustiis ambigue, donec Germani tranatantes terga Labeonis invasere. Simul Civilis, ausus an ex composito, intulit se agmini Tungrorum, et clara voce "non ideo," inquit, "bellum
10 sumpsimus, ut Batavi et Treveri gentibus imperent. Procul haec a nobis adrogantia. Accipite societatem. Transgredior ad vos, seu me ducem seu militem mavoltis." Movebatur volgus condebantque gladios, cum Campanus ac Iuvenalis, e primoribus Tungrorum, universam ei gentem dedidere. Labeo
15 antequam circumveniretur, profugit. Civilis Betasios quoque ac Nervios in fidem acceptos copiis suis adiunxit, ingens rerum, percussis civitatum animis vel sponte inclinantibus.

67. Interea Iulius Sabinus proiectis foederis Romani monumentis Caesarem se salutari iubet, magnamque et inconditam popularium turbam in Sequanos rapit, conterminam civitatem et nobis fidam. Nec Sequani detractavere certamen. Fortuna
5 melioribus adfuit: fusi Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere praelium pari formidine deseruit. Utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam in quam perfugerat cremavit, illic voluntaria

bours of the Ubii in the direction of the Maas. Claudius Labeo. For him and the Betasii, Tungri, and Nervii, see c. 56; Plin. N. H. iv. 31.

6. pontem Mosae is supposed to be at Maestricht.

8. ausus an ex composito. This way of stating two alternative hypotheses is very frequent in the *Annals*.

12. seu me — mavoltis. Copied from Sall. Cat. 20, "vel imperatore vel milite me utimini."

15. profugit. He made good his escape into the wild and swampy districts of Belgium and Holland, see c. 70.

16. ingens rerum. It is doubtful whether this, the reading of M., can be maintained. If maintained, it must mean "great in power, in resources;" but there is no distinct parallel for this absolute use of *rerum*. The use, Ann. i. 69, "ingens animi," is different. The nearest parallel is H. ii. 4, "Titus . . . suspensis provinciarum et exercituum animis ingens rerum fiducia accessit." But the introduction of *fiducia* makes all the difference, and Heraeus proposes here to insert *columen* or *fiducia*.

67. 1. Iulius Sabinus. He claimed

to be a descendant of Julius Caesar, and was a Lingonus, c. 55. Hence, perhaps, his demand to be saluted as Caesar. This was a step in advance of any which had yet been taken.

1. monumentis. Treaties contracted between Rome and subject states, such as the Lingones, were set up on pillars or *cippi* in some public situation.

3. in Sequanos rapit. The Sequani were south-east of the Lingones, separated from them by the river Dubis. For *rapit*, see iii. 6; Verg. Aen. x. 308, "rapit acer totam aciem in Tuscos."

5. fusi Lingones. Frontinus (Strat. iv. 3, 14) makes mention of this war—"auspicii imperatoris Caesaris Domitiani Augusti Germanico bello quod Iulius Civilis in Gallia moverat, Lingonum opulentissima civitas, quae ad Civilem desciverat, cum adveniente exercitu Caesaris, populationem timeret, quod praeter spem inviolata nihil ex rebus suis amiserat, ad obsequium redacta septuaginta milia armatorum ei tradidit."

6. pari formidine deseruit. "Abandoned it with fear as great as his previous rashness." For *deserere pugnam*, see Ann. i. 68, "pugnam deseruere."

morte interisse creditus. Sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem mox annos traduxerit, simul amicorum eius constantiam et insigne Epponinae uxoris exemplum, suo loco reddemus. Sequanorum prospera acie belli impetus stetit. Resipiscere paulatim civitates, fasque et foedera respicere, principibus Remis, qui per Gallias edixere ut missis legatis in commune consultarent, libertas an pax placeret.

68. At Romae cuncta in deterius audita Mucianum angebant, ne quamquam egregii duces (iam enim Gallum Annium et Petilium Cerialem delegerat) summam belli parum tolerarent. Nec relinquenda urbs sine rectore. Et Domitiani indomitae libidines timebantur, suspectis, uti diximus, Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus praetorianis praepositus vim atque arma retinebat. Eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solatio ageret, annonae praefecit. Utque Domitiani animum Varo haud alienum deleniret, Arretinum Clementem, domui Vespasiani per

8. *interisse creditus*. This personal use of *credo* does not occur in classical writers, but is often used by Tacitus, e.g. Ann. vi. 50; and see Furn. Int. v. § 45.

9. *per novem — annos*, i.e. till 79 A.D., in which year he was captured and brought by Vespasian's orders to Rome, Dio, lxvi. 3 and 16. The part of the *Histories* in which Tacitus told the story has been lost, but Plutarch gives the history, Amat. 25. Plutarch's account, which is given on the authority of one of Sabinus's sons, states that during the course of the nine years' concealment she actually brought her husband in disguise to Rome, but when she found there was no hope of pardon took him back again to his original place of concealment and there bore him two sons.

10. *Epponinae uxoris*. Plutarch calls her *Ευρονή*, Dion *Περρονία*. It was the love of his wife which kept Sabinus from making good his escape. When at last they were discovered, Vespasian put her as well as her husband to death.

11. *stetit*. "Came to a standstill;" Ann. xii. 22, "via Agrippinae citra ultima stetit;" Ag. 16.

12. *resipiscere*. "To come to their senses;" repeated in v. 25.

13. *principibus Remis*. They dwelt between the Marne and the Aisne, round Durocortorum (Reims). in commune consultarent. There was a regular diet of the Gauls held yearly at Lyons; this the Remi proposed should be now sum-

moned that it might decide the question of peace or war.

68. 1. in *deterius audita*. "Exaggerated for the worst;" so iii. 13, "omnia de Vitellio in deterius." The *in* expresses the effect or result, Furn. Int. v. § 60, 6; Ann. ii. 82; iii. 56, 6.

2. *Gallum Annium*. For previous notices of him, see i. 87, ii. 11, ii. 23, ii. 33, 44. He had been one of Otho's principal generals in the wars against Vitellius; he is now given the command in Upper Germany, v. 19.

3. *Petillum Cerialem*. For him, see iii. 59, note on line 10. He was subsequently consul in 74 A.D. Both Josephus and Dion (lxvi. 3) assert that he had not been regularly chosen for this war, but was on his way into Britain when called on to take the command in Lower Germany.

3. *summam belli parum tolerarent*. "Should prove unequal to the supreme direction of the war." For *parum tolerarent*, see ii. 23, "ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent."

5. *uti diximus*, c. 39.

7. *retinebat*. "Had in his hands."

8. *annonae praefecit*, i.e. made him *praefectus annonae*. This was one of the most important offices in Rome, since the whole management of the provisioning of the capital rested with him. The populace could only be kept quiet if the corn-supply was regular and plentiful.

9. *Arretinum Clementem*. Given

- 10 adfinitatem innexum et gratissimum Domitiano, praetorianis
 praeposuit, patrem eius sub G. Caesare egregie functum ea cura
 dictitans; laetum militibus idem nomen, atque ipsum, quam-
 quam senatorii ordinis, ad utraque munia sufficere. Adsumuntur
 e civitate clarissimus quisque, et alii per ambitionem. Simul
 15 Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur, dispari animo, ille spe
 ac iuventa properus, hic moras nectens quis flagrantem retineret,
 ne ferocia aetatis et pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset,
 paci belloque male consuleret. Legiones victrices undecima et
 octava, Vitellianarum unaetvicesima, e recens conscriptis secunda,
 20 Poeninis Cottianisque Alpibus, pars monte Graio traducuntur;
 quarta decima legio e Britannia, sexta ac decima ex Hispania
 accitae.

Igitur venientis exercitus fama et suoapte ingenio ad mitiora
 inclinantes Galliarum civitates in Remos convenere. Trevero-

in an inscription (if it be the same name, but this is doubtful) as *Arricinum Clementem*. He was brother of Titus's first wife Arretina Tertulia, and was consul in 79 A.D. He is described by Suetonius, Dom. 11, as "unus e familiaribus et emissariis Domitiani."

12. *quamquam senatorii ordinis*. Ever since Augustus's time (Dio, lii. 124) it had been usual for the *praefectus praetorio* to be chosen from the *equites*, though Sejanus had been made a senator. Suetonius (Tit. 6) says that Titus was the first senator to hold the office, but he seems to have forgotten this case. The custom of appointing a knight is said to have prevailed down to the time of Alexander Severus, who altered it, Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 21. *utraque munia* are the duties both of senator and *praefectus*.

13. *adsumuntur*. "There are taken on as retinue." *e civitate clarissimus quisque*, et alii per *ambitionem*. *E civitate*, "from the civil population." *Ethas* almost an adversative force; *per ambitionem*, "from interest." The first-mentioned were chosen for their noble birth.

18. *legiones victrices undecima et octava*. Heraeus follows some of the MSS. in substituting the 11th for the 6th, as there is no reason to think the latter had left Moesia. Orelli in his index takes the same view, and I have embodied it in the text. The 11th was stationed in Dalmatia and had joined in the advance on Rome, iii. 50. The 8th had been one of the legions of Moesia which had marched into Italy to join Antonius. It had been

present at the battle of Bedriacum and sack of Cremona, iii. 27.

19. *Vitellianarum unaetvicesima*. It had its headquarters at Vindonissa, in Switzerland. It had fought in both battles at Bedriacum, ii. 43, iii. 22.

19. *e recens conscriptis secunda*. The second, called *Adiutrix*, had been levied from the sailors of Vitellius's fleet at Ravenna.

20. *Poeninis Cottianisque Alpibus, pars monte Graio traducuntur, i.e.* by the way of the Great St. Bernard, Mont Genève, and the Little St. Bernard. The road over the Cottian Alps had been made by Pompey; those over the Pennine Alps and the Mons Graius by Augustus. See Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. i. pp. 19-20. For the use of the ablative to express the route by which, see i. 61; i. 70, etc.

21. *quarta decima legio e Britannia*. This legion had been sent back to Britain after the first battle at Bedriacum, ii. 66. It was the most distinguished legion in the service.

21. *sexta ac decima ex Hispania accitae*. The first of these was called *Victrix*, the second *Gemina*. Both had declared for Vespasian in Spain, iii. 44.

23. *igitur—fama—inclinantes*. The ablative and the participle are co-ordinated. "Therefore on the news of the advancing army, and inclining of their own accord to milder counsels, the states of the Gauls assembled." Heraeus, apparently by a slip, reads *ingenia*.

rum legatio illic opperiebatur, acerrimo instinctore belli Tullio 25
Valentino. Is meditata oratione cuncta magnis imperiis obieci-
tari solita contumeliasque et invidiam in populum Romanum
effudit, turbidus miscendis seditionibus et plerisque gratus
vecordi facundia.

69. At Iulius Auspex e primoribus Remorum, vim Romanam
pacificaeque bona dissertans, et "summi bellum etiam ab ignavis,
strenuissimi cuiusque periculo geri, iamque super caput legiones,"
sapientissimum quemque reverentia fideque, iuniores periculo ac
metu continuit. Et Valentini animum laudabant, consilium 5
Auspiciis sequebantur. Constat obstitisse Treveris Lingonibus-
que apud Gallias, quod Vindicis motu cum Verginio steterant.
Deterruit plerosque provinciarum aemulatio: "quod bello
caput? Unde ius auspiciumque peteretur? Quam, si cuncta
provenissent, sedem imperio legerent?" Nondum victoria, iam 10
discordia erat, aliis foedera, quibusdam opes viresque aut
vetustatem originis per iurgia iactantibus. Taedio futurorum
praesentia placuere. Scribuntur ad Treveros epistulae nomine
Galliarum, ut abstinerent armis, impetrabili venia et paratis de-
precatoribus, si paeniteret. Restitit idem Valentinus, obstruxit- 15
que civitatis suae aures, haud perinde instruendo bello intentus
quam frequens contionibus.

70. Igitur non Treveri neque Lingones ceteraevae rebellium
civitates pro magnitudine suscepti discriminis agere. Ne duces
quidem in unum consulere, sed Civilis avia Belgarum circumibat,

25. Tullio Valentino. The reading of M. is *Tulio*, variously corrected into *Iulio* and *Tullio*.

69. 3. iamque super caput legiones. "Are all but on them." The expression *super caput* occurs in both Livy and Cicero to express an immediately impending danger; Liv. iii. 17, "quum hostes supra caput sint discedi ab armis legesque ferri placet?"

7. Vindicis motu. An ablative of time, "in the rising of Vindex." For the history of this rising and the part played in it by Lingones and Treveri, see l. 6, note on line 13.

9. unde ius auspiciumque peteretur. "From whom could commands and the auspices be sought?" *i.e.*, who would be their recognised chief, clothed with the needful authority? For the conjunction of *ius* and *auspicium*, see Liv. xxii. 1, "quod enim illi iustum im-

perium, quod auspicium esse?" In oratio recta the verb would be in the present subjunctive.

13. epistulae. "A letter." The plural by analogy of *litterae*, as in l. 70; Ann. i. 30.

16. haud perinde—quam. *Quam* for *ac*; frequent in Tacitus, rare in earlier writers.

70. 1. non—neque. This is an unusual combination, adopted for the sake of variety. *suscepti discriminis*. "Their dangerous undertaking."

3. in unum consulere. "Adopt a combined plan of operations," as in l. 68, "non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere."

3. avia Belgarum. Cf. Ann. i. 63, "cedentem in avia Arminium." The pathless regions referred to are probably the marshes south of the Scheldt. For *Claudius Labeo*, see above, c. 66.

- dum Claudium Labeonem capere aut exturbare nititur ; Classi-
 5 cus segne plerumque otium trahens velut parto imperio frue-
 batur. Ne Tutor quidem maturavit superiorem Germaniae
 ripam et ardua Alpium praesidiis claudere. Atque interim
 unaetvicesima legio Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix cum auxiliariis
 cohortibus per Raetiam inrupere. Accessit ala singularium,
 10 excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa.
 Praeerat Iulius Briganticus sorore Civilis genitus, ut ferme
 acerrima proximorum odia sunt, invisus avunculo infensusque.
 Tutor Treverorum copias, recenti Vangionum Caeracatium
 Tribocorum delectu auctas, veterano pedite atque equite firmavit,
 15 corruptis spe aut metu subactis legionariis ; qui primo cohortem
 praemissam a Sextilio Felice interficiunt, mox ubi duces exer-
 citusque Romanus propinquabant, honesto transfugio rediere,
 secutis Tribocis Vangionibusque et Caeracatibus. Tutor Tre-
 veris comitantibus, vitato Mogontiaci, Bingham concessit, fidens
 20 loco, quia pontem Navae fluminis abruperat. Sed incursu
 cohortium quas Sextilius ducebat, et reperto vado proditus
 fususque. Ea clade perculsi Treveri, et plebes omissis armis

5. *velut parto imperio fruebatur.* Heraeus takes *fruebatur* absolutely. "enjoyed himself," and *velut parto imperio* as an ablative absolute. This is quite unnecessary.

6. *superiorem Germaniae ripam,* i.e. the banks of the Rhine between Basel and Cologne.

7. *ardua Alpium* are the Alpine passes. Tacitus is very fond of this substantial use of the neuter plural adjective. *Furn. Int. v. § 32 b.*

8. *unaetvicesima legio Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix—inrupere.* Windisch was the headquarters of the 21st legion. Sextilius Felix had already played a considerable part in the war between Vitellius and Vespasian, in which he had been employed by the Flavians to keep Portius Septiminus and Raetia in check, iii. 5. He now made his way from the Grisons through Switzerland, to the Upper Rhine.

9. *ala singularium.* The *singulares* were the élite of the cavalry of the allies, recruited individually, hence their name. Such corps of *singulares*, raised for some special service, seem to have been attached to almost all the armies from time to time. Hence there occur frequent notices of them in the inscriptions. See, for instance, C. I. L. vol. iii. tit. 93 (where

they serve with a corps of *dromedarii* in Arabia), 731, 1160, 1195, etc.

11. *Iulius Briganticus.* Described in ii. 22 as "praefectus alae in Batavis genitus." He had surrendered to Caecina in Northern Italy before the battle of Bedriacum. He fell in battle against his uncle, v. 21.

13. *Vangionum Caeracatium Tribocorum.* The first of these are situated in the neighbourhood of Worms, but on both sides of the Rhine ; the Caeracates near Mainz, but they are of less importance ; the Triboci, further south, between the Vosges and the Rhine, in Alsace.

15. *legionariis* are those in the garrison of Mainz.

19. *Bingham concessit.* "Retired on Bingen." This is situated nearly due west of Mainz, where the Nahe falls into the Rhine from the south-west. For *concessit*, in the sense of "retired to," see c. 21, "in Vetera castra concessit." The description would lead us to suppose that the Nahe was then a more considerable stream than it is at present. It would appear that Bingen was then on the left (it is now on the right) bank of the Nahe.

22. *ea clade.* Ausonius (Mosella) absurdly enough describes this as a kind of Gallic Cannae : 1-4, "transieram celerem

per agros palatur : quidam principum, ut primi posuisse bellum viderentur, in civitates quae societatem Romanam non exuerant perfugere. Legiones a Novesio Bonnaque in Treveros, ut supra 25 memoravimus, traductae se ipsae in verba Vespasiani adigunt. Haec Valentino absente gesta ; qui ubi adventabat furens cunctaque rursus in turbas et exitium conversurus, legiones in Mediomatricos, sociam civitatem, abscessere. Valentinus ac Tutor in arma Treveros retrahunt, occisis Herennio ac Numisio 30 legatis, quo minore spe veniae cresceret vinculum sceleris.

71. Hic belli status erat, cum Petilius Cerialis Mogontiacum venit. Eius adventu erectae spes, ipse pugnae avidus et contemnendis quam cavendis hostibus melior, ferocia verborum militem incendebat, ubi primum congregi licuisset, nullam praelio moram facturum. Delectus per Galliam habitos in civitates remittit, ac nuntiare iubet sufficere imperio legiones : socii 5 ad munia pacis redirent, securi velut confecto bello, quod Romanae manus exceperant. Auxit ea res Gallorum obsequium : nam recepta iuventute facilius tributa tolerare, prouiores ad officia, quod spernebantur. At Civilis et Classicus 10 ubi pulsum Tutorem, caesos Treveros, cuncta hostibus prospera accipere, trepidi ac properantes, dum dispersas suorum copias conducunt, crebris interim nuntiis Valentinum monuere ne summae rei periculum faceret. Eo rapidius Cerialis, missis in Mediomatricos qui breviori itinere legiones in hostem verterent, 15 contracto quod erat militum Mogontiaci quantumque secum

nebuloso flumine Navam, addita miratus veteri nova moenia Vinco (or vico, *i.e.* Bingen), aequavit Latias ubi quondam Gallia Cannas, infletaeque iacent inopes super arva catervae."

25. legiones a Novesio Bonnaque. The 16th and 1st. They had originally sworn allegiance to Vitellius, then to Vespasian, then to Vitellius again when now dead, after that to the Empire of the Gauls, and now finally to Vespasian for a second time. See above, c. 62.

28. in Mediomatricos. They occupied the district south of the Treveri. Their capital, Divodurum, later Mettis, is now Metz.

30. Herennio ac Numisio, see c. 59.

71. 3. contemnendis quam cavendis hostibus melior. Vergil thus uses *melior* with an abl. (or possibly dat.) of the object in respect of which superiority

is shown, Aen. v. 68, "iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis."

5. delectus. Used here of the men called out on levy. For the levy, see above, c. 24.

6. imperio. Orelli thinks that this cannot mean "for the empire," and would explain it, "for the purposes of his command," but the former seems simpler.

9. facilius tributa tolerare. As they were not called upon to undergo a conscription, they made the less difficulty about providing the necessary funds.

13. ne summae rei periculum faceret. "Not to encounter the danger of a decisive engagement." Nearly the same phrase is repeated in v. 18, "ad maturandum summae rei discrimen."

16. quod erat militum Mogontiaci quantumque — transvexerat, *i.e.* the remains of the 4th and 22d legions ; the 11th and 8th he had brought with him.

transvexerat, tertiis castris Rigodulum venit; quem locum magna Treverorum manu Valentinus insederat, montibus aut Mosella amne septum. Et addiderat fossas obicesque saxorum.
 20 Nec deterruere ea munimenta Romanum ducem quo minus peditem perrumpere iuberet, equitum aciem in collem erigeret, spreto hoste, quem temere collectum haud ita loco iuvari ut non plus suis in virtute foret. Paulum morae in ascensu, dum missilia hostium praevehuntur: ut ventum in manus, deturbati
 25 ruinae modo praecipitantur. Et pars equitum aequioribus iugis circumvecta nobilissimos Belgarum, in quis ducem Valentinum, cepit.

72. Cerialis postero die coloniam Treverorum ingressus est, avido milite eruendae civitatis. "Hanc esse Classici, hanc Tutoris patriam; horum scelere clausas caesasque legiones. Quid tantum Cremonam meruisse, quam e gremio Italiae rap-
 5 tam, quia unius noctis moram victoribus attulerit? Stare in confinio Germaniae integram sedem spoliis exercituum et ducum caedibus ovantem. Redigeretur praeda in fiscum: ipsis sufficere ignes et rebellis coloniae ruinas, quibus tot castrorum

Transvexerat is used because of the difficulty of transporting them over the Alps at this early season.

17. *tertiis castris Rigodulum venit*, i.e. in three days' march from Mainz. He would come through Bingen and, by the Roman military road which led from there to Neumagen over the district of the Eifel. Rigodulum is now Réol, in the valley of the Moselle. Valentinus's right rested on some heights, his left on the Moselle. He had protected his front in the valley, but had omitted to guard his right flank, which rested on the hill, and of this fact Cerialis took advantage.

21. *aciem in collem erigeret*. For this use of *erigere*, see iii. 71, "erigunt aciem per adversum collem."

22. *ut non plus suis in virtute foret*. *Plus* is probably used absolutely like *quantum* in the phrase *quantum in me est*. If anything has to be supplied, we might read either *robore* with Ritter, or *praesidii* with Heraeus.

23. *dum missilia—praevehuntur*. "While they cross the ground covered by the missiles of the enemy." *Missilia* is thus accusative, not nominative; *praevehuntur* is used to show the rapidity of their movements. In ii. 2 it is also used with an accusative, "oram et laeva maris praevectus." In v. 16 and 23

it is used of the rapid advance of troops.

24. *ventum in manus*, as in Liv. ii. 46, for the more usual *ad manus*.

25. *ruinae modo*. "Like some falling building." So Liv. iv. 33, "ruinae similem stragem eques, quacumque pervaserat, dedit;" xlv. 41, "ruinae modo turbantur." *aequioribus iugis*. They made a detour and mounted the slope by a spur where it was less precipitous.

72. 1. *coloniam Treverorum*. For Trèves, see above, c. 62, note on line 2.

2. *eruendae*. The word is used by Vergil more than once for total overthrow, e.g. Aen. ii. 3, "Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum eruerint Danaï;" 611, "totamque a sedibus urbem eruit."

4. *quid tantum Cremonam meruisse?* Here again Heraeus quotes Verg. Aen. vii. 307, "quod scelus aut Lapithas tantum aut Calydonia merentem?" For the destruction of Cremona, see iii. 32, etc.

6. *ducum caedibus*, i.e. of Hordeonius, Vocula, Herennius, Numisius.

7. *redigeretur praeda in fiscum*. "Let the booty be made over to the emperor's chest" (and not divided among the soldiers). The resources of Belgica as an imperial province would naturally, if not divided as booty among the soldiers, pass into the emperor's privy purse.

excidia pensarentur." Cerialis a metu infamiae, si licentia saevitiaque inbuere militem crederetur, pressit iras. Et paruere, 10 posito civium bello ad externa modestiores. Convertit inde animos accitarum e Mediomatricis legionum miserabilis aspectus. Stabant conscientia flagitii maestae, fixis in terram oculis. Nulla inter coeuntes exercitus consalutatio. Neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria et lucem 15 ipsam vitantes. Nec perinde periculum aut metus quam pudor ac dedecus obstupescerat, attonitis etiam victoribus, qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi lacrimis ac silentio veniam poscebant, donec Cerialis mulceret animos, fato acta dictitans quae militum ducumque discordia vel fraude hostium evenissent. 20 Primum illum stipendiorum et sacramenti diem haberent: priorum facinorum neque imperatorem neque se meminisse. Tunc recepti in eadem castra, et edictum per manipulos ne quis in certamine iurgiove seditionem aut cladem commilitoni obiectaret. 25

73. Mox Treveros ac Lingonas ad contionem vocatos ita adloquitur: "neque ego unquam facundiam exercui, et populi Romani virtutem armis adfirmavi. Sed quoniam apud vos verba plurimum valent, bonaque ac mala non sua natura sed vocibus seditiosorum aestimantur, statui pauca disserere, quae 5 profligato bello utilius sit vobis audisse quam nobis dixisse. Terram vestram ceterorumque Gallorum ingressi sunt duces imperatoresque Romani nulla cupidine, sed maioribus vestris invocantibus, quos discordiae usque ad exitium fatigabant; et

9. a metu infamiae. "On account of the dread of infamy." So Liv. vi. 4, "ab odio ad pervastandos fines . . . duxere;" cf. Roby, § 1227. The idiom is almost peculiar to Livy. Some editors would omit the *a* on the ground that Tacitus has not used it elsewhere.

12. accitarum e Mediomatricis legionum, *i.e.* the 1st and 16th; see c. 71.

17. qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi — poscebant. "Who, not daring to address words or prayers to Cerialis, asked for their pardon by tears and silence." The words are arranged in alternative order, the silence contrasting with the words, the tears with the prayers. The *qui* has proved a stumbling-block to many. Some editors have suggested *quis*, Ruperti *quos*, holding that it was the vanquished not the conquerors who asked for pardon.

21. haberent. "They should consider." The use of *habere* in the active in this sense is rare in classical writers.

73. 2. neque ego — et. Tacitus is fond of this combination of particles. It is found even in Cicero, *e.g.* de Orat. i. 39, "homo neque meo iudicio stultus et suo valde sapiens." For *facundiam* exercui, cf. Liv. xxviii. 27, 1, "non quo verba unquam potius quam res exercuerim."

6. profligato bello. "Now the war is all but brought to a close." Cf. iii. 50, "sufficere cohortes alaeque et a legionibus lecti profligato iam bello videbantur;" Liv. xxi. 40 *ad fin.*

7. duces imperatoresque. The subordinate officers and commanders-in-chief; so Caes. B. G. vi. 8, "praestare eandem nobis ducibus quam saepe numero imperatori praestitistis."

10 acciti auxilio Germani sociis pariter atque hostibus servitutum inposuerant. Quot praeliis adversus Cimbros Teutonosque, quantis exercituum nostrorum laboribus quove eventu Germanica bella tractaverimus, satis clarum. Nec ideo Rhenum insedimus ut Italiam tueremur, sed ne quis alius Ariovistus regno Galliarum
 15 potiretur. An vos cariores Civili Batavisque et Transrhenanis gentibus creditis quam maioribus eorum patres avique vestri fuerunt? Eadem semper causa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia et mutandae sedis amor, ut relictis paludibus et solitudinibus suis fecundissimum hoc solum vosque
 20 ipsos possiderent. Ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina praetextuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.

74. "Regna bellaque per Gallias semper fuere, donec in nostrum ius concederetur. Nos, quamquam totiens lacessiti, iure victoriae id solum vobis addidimus quo pacem tueremur. Nam neque quies gentium sine armis neque arma sine stipendiis
 5 neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt. Cetera in communi sita sunt. Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris praesidetis, ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum clausumve. Et laudatorum principum usus ex aequo, quamvis procul agentibus; saevi proximis ingruunt. Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios

10. *acciti auxilio*. Caesar speaks of troops, B. G. iii. 11, as "*auxilio arcessiti*."

12. *Germanica bella tractaverimus*. In the campaigns fought under Drusus, Tiberius, Germanicus, Caius.

13. *Rhenum insedimus*. Referring to the big camps the Romans had established on the Rhine.

14. *quis alius Ariovistus*. In Cicero it would have been *alter Ariovistus*. For Ariovistus, see Caes. B. G. i. 31-53.

17. *transcendendi in Gallias*. For *transcendi*, *transgrediendi*; so v. 24, "*quod Rhenum transcenderent*."

18. *relictis paludibus et solitudinibus*. To Tacitus Germany seemed a land of morass and solitude; see G. 5, "*terra in universum aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda*." France is, no doubt, naturally a much more fertile and sunny land.

21. *alienum servitium et dominationem sibi*—*ut non*. "Slavery for others, power for himself." Here again we have the figure chiasmus. *Ut non*, "without," Madvig, § 440 a, *obs.* 3; Cic. pro Leg. Man. 7, "*ruere illa non pos-*

sunt ut haec non eodem labefacta motu considant."

74. 1. *regna bellaque*—*donec*—*concederetur*. *Regna*, "despotisms." For *concedo*, see Sall. Cat. 20, "*postquam res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit*."

3. *Id solum*—*addidimus*. "Laid on you by way of tribute." Rome claims to have made nothing out of Gaul by its conquest, as England claims to have made nothing out of India.

5. *cetera in communi sita sunt*. "All else is shared by us and you alike." So Ann. xiii. 27, "*maiores libertatem in communi posuisse*." On *in communi* as a predicate, see Furn. Int. v. § 60 a.

7. *has aliasque provincias regitis*. Thus Vindex, a Gaul, was in command of Aquitania.

8. *ex aequo, quamvis procul agentibus*. "You have had as much as we the advantage of good emperors, though at a distance from the capital: the evils of bad emperors you in great part escape." Cf. Sall. Jug. c. 102, 7.

imbres et cetera naturae mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam domi- 10
nantium tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines : sed neque haec
continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur. Nisi forte Tutore
et Classico regnantibus moderatius imperium speratis, aut
minoribus quam nunc tributis parabuntur exercitus quibus Ger-
mani Britannique arceantur. Nam pulsus, quod dii prohibeant, 15
Romanis, quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium
existent? Octingentorum annorum fortuna disciplinaque
compages haec coaluit, quae convelli sine exitio convellentium
non potest. Sed vobis maximum discrimen, penes quos aurum
et opes, praecipuae bellorum causae. Proinde pacem et urbem, 20
quam victi victoresque eodem iure obtinemus, amate, colite.
Moneant vos utriusque fortunae documenta ne contumaciam
cum pernicie quam obsequium cum securitate malitis." Tali
oratione graviora metuentes composuit erexitque.

75. Tenebantur victore exercitu Treveri, cum Civilis et
Classicus misere ad Cerialem epistulas, quarum haec sententia
fuit, "Vespasianum, quamquam nuntios occultarent, excessisse
vita; urbem atque Italiam interno bello consumptam; Muciani
ac Domitiani vana et sine viribus nomina. Si Cerialis imperium 5
Gallarum velit, ipsos finibus civitatum suarum contentos; si
praelium mallet, ne id quidem abnuere." Ad ea Cerialis Civili
et Classico nihil: eum qui attulerat, ipsas epistulas ad Domitia-
num misit.

16. quid aliud quam bella—exist-
tent? The editors compare Pseudo-Sall.
Ep. to Caesar, ii. 13, 6, "quippe si morbo
iam aut fato huic imperio secus accidat,
cui dubium est quin per orbem terrarum
vastitas, bella, caedes oriantur?"

18. compages haec. "This firmly
compacted structure." The eight hundred
years are given in round numbers as in i. 1.

19. aurum et opes. On the reputed
wealth of Gaul, see c. 17, note on line 27.

21. quam—obtinemus. "In which,
whether conquerors or conquered, we
claim an equal right." Claudius's admis-
sion of the Gauls to citizenship had made
the revolt of Gaul a virtual impossibility.
Recent events had demonstrated this.

22. utriusque fortunae, i.e. fidelity
and its rewards, revolt and its punish-
ment. The speech, whether actually
delivered by Vindex or not, is very in-
teresting as showing the grounds on which
the Romans justified to themselves and
to their subjects the empire which they

held. Nor is there any doubt that the
pleas they urge in justification are in the
main true, and that the establishment of
the empire did mean for Europe gener-
ally an advance in civilisation, order,
peace, and happiness.

75. 3. quamquam nuntios occult-
arent. The MSS. vary between *nuntii*
and *nuntios*; if *nuntios* be read the plural
occultarent is indefinite; if *nuntii* be
adopted it will mean the messengers who
came with despatches from Rome.

5. si velit—si mallet. The present
expresses the more desirable, the more
likely alternative; the imperfect, the less
desirable, the more remote. The same
change of tense occurs in chaps. 20 and 81.

7. Civili et Classico nihil; eum qui
attulerat, ipsas epistulas. After *nihil*
we must supply *rescripsit*. Heraeus
alters the reading of M. to *ipsis*, under-
standing that he sent back the bearer of
the letters to Civilis and Classicus, the
letters to Domitian. The change seems

- 10 Hostes divisis copiis advenere undique. Plerique culpabant Cerialem passum iungi quos discretos intercipere licuisset. Romanus exercitus castra fossa valloque circumdedit, quis temere antea intutis consederat. Apud Germanos diversis sententiis certabatur.

76. Civilis opperiendas Transrhenanorum gentes, quarum terrore fractae populi Romani vires obtererentur. Gallos quid aliud quam praedam victoribus? Et tamen, quod roboris sit, Belgas secum palam aut voto stare. Tutor cunctatione crescere
5 rem Romanam adfirmabat, coeuntibus undique exercitibus. "Transvectam e Britannia legionem, accitas ex Hispania, adventare ex Italia; nec subitum militem, sed veterem expertumque belli. Nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non iuberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere; pecuniamque ac
10 dona, quis solis corrumpantur, maiora apud Romanos, et neminem adeo in arma primum ut non idem pretium quietis quam periculi malit. Quodsi statim congrediantur, nullas esse Ceriali nisi e reliquiis Germanici exercitus legiones, foederibus Galliarum obstrictas. Idque ipsum, quod inconditam nuper
15 Valentini manum contra spem suam fuderint, alimentum illis ducique temeritatis. Ausuros rursus venturosque in manus non inperiti adolescentuli, verba et contiones quam ferrum et arma meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici; quos ubi aspexerint, redituram in animos formidinem fugam famemque ac totiens
20 captis precariam vitam. Neque Treveros aut Lingonas bene-

hardly needed. The asyndeton is a little awkward, but *et* may have dropped out.

10. culpabant — passum iungi. This accusative with infinitive after *culpabant* is not classical.

12. quis — intutis. "Unprotected," as in iii. 76, "intuta moenium firmare;" Liv. v. 45, "castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque."

76. 1. Civilis. We have to supply, from the preceding *diversis sententiis*, *censebat*.

2. obtererentur. "Would be crushed;" so Ann. xv. 11, "legionarios obtrivit;" Liv. xxx. 5 *ad fin.*

3. quod roboris sit — aut voto. *Quod roboris* is perhaps taken from Liv. xxvii. 23, "quod roboris erat delegit." For the superiority of the Belgae to the rest of the Gauls, see Caesar, B. G. i. 1, "Gallorum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae." *Palam, aut voto*, "either openly

or in their hearts;" so c. 8, "bonos imperatores voto expetere."

6. transvectam e Britannia legionem, *i.e.* the 14th. accitas ex Hispania. The 6th Victrix and the 10th. adventare ex Italia. The 8th, 11th, and 21st.

7. nec subitum militem. "And no hastily raised soldiery." Called elsewhere *tumultuarius*, *e.g.* Ann. i. 56.

8. sperentur. The personal construction with *spero* had already occurred, ii. 53, "plures nuntii sperabantur," and ii. 75, "ceterae Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur."

10. et neminem in classical Latin would have been *neque quemquam*. For the German love of fighting, see G. 15.

17. adolescentuli, *i.e.* Valentinus, who had been already described (c. 68) as more of a speaker than a general.

20. precariam vitam. *Precarium* is

volentia contineri: resumpturos arma, ubi metus abscesserit." Diremit consiliorum diversitatem adprobata Tutoris sententia Classicus; statimque exsequuntur.

77. Media acies Ubiis Lingonibusque data; dextro cornu cohortes Bâtavorum, sinistro Bructeri Tencterique. Pars montibus, alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen, tam inprovisi adsilvere ut in cubiculo ac lectulo Cerialis (neque enim noctem in castris egerat) pugnari simul vincique suos audierit, increpans pavorem nuntiantium, donec universa clades in oculis fuit, perrupta legionum castra, fusi equites, medius Mosellae pons, qui ulteriora coloniae adnectit, ab hostibus insessus. Cerialis turbidis rebus intrepidus et fugientes manu retrahens, intacto corpore promptus inter tela, felici temeritate et fortissimi cuiusque adkursu recipere pontem electa manu firmavit. Mox in castra reversus palantes captarum apud Novesium Bonnamque legionum manipulos et rarum apud signa militem ac prope circumventas aquilas videt. Incensus ira "non Flaccum," inquit, "non Voculam deseritis. Nulla hic proditio; neque aliud excusandum habeo quam quod vos Gallici foederis oblitos redisse in memoriam Romani sacramenti temere credidi. Adnumerabor Numisiis et Herenniis, ut omnes legati vestri aut

defined by Ulpian "quod precibus petenti utendum conceditur tam diu quam diu is qui concessit patitur." benevolentia. "From feelings of goodwill."

77. 1. Ubiis Lingonibusque. The Ubi had joined the revolt under pressure, c. 66. The Lingones had returned to their allegiance to Rome, but their troops still stayed out with Tutor and Civilis.

2. pars montibus, alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen. *Montibus* is an ablative of the route by which, like *centum gradibus aditur*. The road lay along the left bank of the Moselle, and crossed into Trèves by the bridge which is mentioned below. There is a note on the margin of some of the MSS. that there are certain words wanting here, which seems probable enough, as the sentence as it stands is very abrupt.

4. ut in cubiculo ac lectulo. Cerialis was spending the night in Trèves. The camp lay outside the city and on the other, or left, bank of the Moselle, being intended to protect the colony against the enemy advancing from the north. The bridge between the city and the camp the enemy managed to seize, and the

Roman soldiers and their general were thus cut off from one another. Cerialis recaptured it by a coup de main, leaving a detachment to guard it, and forced his way onwards into the camp.

6. in oculis fuit, for *ante oculos fuit*; by a mistaken analogy from *in conspectu*.

7. medius Mosellae pons. The bridge over the Moselle which lay between him and the camp. Strabo (iv. p. 194) asserts that the bridge was made by the Romans at this time during the course of this war.

8. ulteriora coloniae, i.e. the suburbs which lay on the left bank.

13. legionum. The legions are the 1st and 16th. He is not quite correct in speaking of them as captured at Bonn and Novesium, since both were captured at Novesium; but as the 1st had its headquarters at Bonn, this has led him to use the inaccurate expression.

15. nulla hic proditio. "There is no pretence of treachery here." The legions, being Vitellian, had suspected Hordeonius Flaccus and even Vocula of treachery.

18. Numisiis et Herenniis. They had been lately slain by the Treveri.

militum manibus aut hostium ceciderint. Ite, nuntiate Vespa-
siano vel, quod propius est, Civili et Classico, relictum a vobis
20 in acie ducem. Venient legiones quae neque me inultum neque
vos impunitos patiantur."

78. Vera erant, et a tribunis praefectisque eadem ingere-
bantur. Consistunt per cohortes et manipulos: neque enim
poterat patescere acies effuso hoste et impredientibus tentoriis
sarcinisque, cum intra vallum pugnaretur. Tutor et Classicus
5 et Civilis, suis quisque locis, pugnam ciebant, Gallos pro liber-
tate, Batavos pro gloria, Germanos ad praedam instigantes. Et
cuncta pro hostibus erant, donec legio unaetvicesima patientiore
quam ceterae spatio conglobata sustinuit ruentes, mox impulit.
Nec sine ope divina mutatis repente animis terga victores ver-
tere. Ipsi territos se cohortium aspectu ferebant, quae primo
10 impetu disiectae summis rursus iugis congregabantur ac speciem
novi auxilii fecerant. Sed obstitit vincentibus pravom inter
ipsos certamen, omisso hoste, spolia consecrandi. Cerialis ut
incuria prope rem afflixit, ita constantia restituit; secutusque
15 fortunam castra hostium eodem die capit excscinditque.

79. Nec in longum quies militi data. Orabant auxilium
Agrippinenses, offerebantque uxorem ac sororem Civilis et
filiam Classici, relicta sibi pignora societatis. Atque interim
dispersos in domibus Germanos trucidaverant; unde metus et
5 iustae preces invocantium, antequam hostes reparatis viribus ad
spem vel ad ultionem accingerentur. Namque et Civilis illuc
intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima cohortium suarum in-

19. *ite, nuntiate—relictum ducem.* Plutarch (Sull. 21, 3) makes Sulla at Orchomenus address his troops in similar terms, *ὅμεις δὲ τοῖς πιθανομένοις τοῦ παραδεδωκότε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, μεμνημένοι φράζειν, ὡς ἐν Ὀρχομένῳ*.

78. 1. *ingerebantur.* "Were repeatedly enforced;" Ann. iv. 42, "quae plerumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur."

2. *per cohortes et manipulos.* *Per* is used elsewhere to give the unit on which the formation rested, e.g. G. 6, "acies per cuneos componitur."

8. *sustinuit ruentes.* "Withstood their onset;" Ag. 35, "instinctos ruentesque (ready for the onset) ita disposuit."

9. *nec sine ope divina.* So Sall. Hist. Fr. i. 97, "ut tanta repente mutatio non sine deo videretur." *se ferebant.* "Represented themselves."

12. *sed obstitit vincentibus.* "But when on the point of victory they were hindered by." *Vincentibus* has the same sense as *victores* above. *Sed* gives the true reason of their defeat.

79. 1. *in longum.* Tacitus is fond of these adverbial forms with *in*; in c. 22 we have read "quae in longum sufficissent;" and Ann. i. 69, "odia in longum iaciens."

4. *et iustae preces invocantium.* *Iustae preces*, "well-founded prayers" on their part as they summon Cerialis to their aid.

6. *illuc intenderat—flagrantissima—integra.* *Illuc* for *in illos*. *Intenderat* for *intenderat animum*; cf. Ann. ii. 6, "igitur huc intendit (Germanicus)." *Flagrantissima*, "the most ardent." *Integra*, "fresh;" it had taken no part in the previous fight.

tegra, quae e Chaucis Frisiisque composita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensium agebat. Sed tristis nuntius avertit, deletam cohortem dolo Agrippinensium, qui largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos, clausis foribus, igne iniecto cremavere. Simul Cerialis proprio agmine subvenit. Circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus, ne quarta decima legio adiuncta Britannica classe adflicaret Batavos, qua Oceano ambiuntur. Sed legionem terrestri itinere Fabius Priscus legatus in Nervios Tungrosque duxit, eaeque civitates in deditionem acceptae. Classem ultro Canninefates adgressi sunt, maiorque pars navium depressa aut capta. Et Nerviorum multitudinem, sponte commotam ut pro Romanis bellum capesseret, iidem Canninefates fudere. Classicus quoque adversus equites Novesium a Ceriali praemissos secundum praelium fecit. Quae modica sed crebra damna famam victoriae nuper partae lacerabant.

80. Isdem diebus Mucianus Vitellii filium interfici iubet, mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restinxisset. Neque Antonium Primum adsciri inter comites a Domitiano passus est, favore militum anxius et superbiq; viri, aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis. Profectus ad Vespasianum Antonius ut non pro spe sua excipitur, ita neque averso imperatoris animo. Trahebatur in diversa, hinc meritis Antonii, cuius ductu confectum haud dubie bellum erat, inde Muciani epistulis: simul ceteri ut infestum tumidumque insectabantur,

8. quae e Chaucis Frisiisque composita Tolbiaci. The Frisii dwelt in Northern Holland, the Chauci east of them as far as the Elbe. Tolbiacum (now Züllich) was a town of the Ubii lying south-west of Cologne.

9. avertit. "Diverted him."

12. circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus. The phrase *circumstare* may be taken from Verg. Aen. ii. 559, "at me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror;" but it is used also by Cicero and Livy. In the same way we talk of a fear "besetting" us.

15. terrestri itinere. A Roman road starting from Gessoriacum, or Portus Gessoriacensis (Boulogne), led through Bagiacum (now Bavai) among the Nervii, and Atuatuca of the Tungri (now Tongres) to Cologne. It was no doubt along this that the 14th legion now advanced.

16. ultro. "Without being incited thereto by Civilis."

17. The Canninefates lived in a part of the Insula Batavorum; see above, c. 15.

22. lacerabant. "Impaired, damaged." The editors quote Liv. xxxviii. 54, "Populum Romanum ne morte quidem P. Scipionis exsatiari nisi et ipsius fama sepulti laceretur."

80. 1. Vitellii filium. He had been called Germanicus by his father, who had surrounded him with all the paraphernalia of empire; ii. 59.

5. adeo. "Much more." So iii. 64, "ne prosperis quidem parem adeo ruentibus debilitatum."

5. ad Vespasianum. He was still at Alexandria.

6. ut non pro spe sua—itaque neque averso imperatoris animo. The *non* and *neque* balance each other. He is not received as he hoped to be, and yet not quite coldly either.

7. trahebatur. The nominative has to be supplied from *imperatoris*.

10 adiunctis prioris vitae criminibus. Neque ipse deerat adrogantia vocare offensas, nimius commemorandis quae meruisset. Alios ut inbelles, Caecinam ut captivom ac dediticium increpat. Unde paulatim levior viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia.

81. Per eos menses quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quis caelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. E plebe Alexandrina quidam 5 oculorum tabe notus genua eius advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabaturque principem ut genas et oculorum orbis dignaretur respargere oris excremento.

10. neque ipse deerat. For this construction, see i. 22.

11. vocare offensas. "To challenge offence." Tacitus is fond of the simple in place of the compound verb; so *vocare* is for *provocare*; and v. 25, "sin populum Romanum armis vocent."

12. dediticium. "One who surrenders at discretion." This was Caecina's condition.

13. manente tamen in speciem amicitia. The reality of Antonius's friendship with Domitian, whatever his relations with Vespasian may have been, is attested by the fulsome terms in which Martial, Ep. x. 32, speaks of him, writing in Domitian's reign: "haec mihi quae colitur violis pictura rosisque quos referat voltus, Caeditiane, rogas. Talis erat Marcus mediis Antonius annis Primus; in hoc juvenem se videt ore senex. Ars utinam mores animamque effingere posset, pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret."

81. 1. statos aestivis flatibus dies. Two interpretations are given of these words. The first relies on a statement of Vegetius, v. 9, who says that from the rising of the Pleiades, the 26th of May, down to the rising of Arcturus, i.e. the 14th September, sailing is supposed to be safe, because the severity of the winds is mitigated by the tempering influence of the summer. In this case the words will mean "waiting for the stated days for the summer breezes." It is, however, to be observed that the Etesian winds blew for forty days during the period mentioned by Vegetius, and these were, as Tacitus tells us, ii. 98, unfavourable for the voyage from Alexandria to Rome (mare quoque Etesiorum

flatu in Orientem navigantibus secundum, inde advorsum fuit). But the Etesian winds did not set in till the end of July, and so Vespasian may have been waiting for the fine interval before they began. The other interpretation takes *statos* as almost equivalent to *stabiles*, and translates "the fine days when the summer winds blow," quoting for this sense of *status*, Sen. de Ben. iv. 28, "ventorum statos flatus." The former of them is to be preferred.

3. et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio—ostenderetur. These miracles of Vespasian seem unusually well attested. I am inclined to believe their reality, and to set them down to that class of cures which are from time to time brought about by faith.

5. oculorum tabe notus. Suetonius says less exactly *luminibus orbatus*. *Notus* is inserted to show that there was no possibility of fraud. Different forms of ophthalmia have always been very prevalent in Alexandria and in Egypt generally.

5. genua eius advolvitur. Tacitus uses this construction with the accusative in three places in the *Annals*, i. 13, vi. 49, xv. 71. It is taken from Sallust; but in Ann. i. 32 he uses the more usual dative.

6. exposcens gemitu, monitu. *Gemitu* is an ablative of accompanying circumstance; *monitu* is a causal ablative. The juxtaposition of the two different ablatives is awkward, and has led many editors to hold that there must be some corruption in the text.

6. dedita superstitionibus gens. For the superstitions of the Egyptians, see Juv. Sat. xv. 1-13.

8. oris excremento. "With spittle."

Alius manum aeger, eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur orabat. Vespasianus primo inridere, asper- 10
nari; atque illis instantibus modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in spem induci. Postremo aestimari a medicis iubet an talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie disserere: 15
huic non exesam vim luminis, et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia; illi elapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibea-
tur, posse integrari. Id fortasse cordi deis, et divino ministerio principem electum, denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Caesarem, inriti ludibrium penes miseros fore. Igitur Vespasia-
nus cuncta fortunae suae patere ratus nec quicquam ultra incre- 20
dibile, laeto ipse voltu, erecta quae adstabat multitudine, iussa exsequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac caeco reluxit dies. Utrumque, qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.

82. Altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi sacram sedem, ut super rebus imperii consuleret. Arceri templo cunctos iubet. Atque ingressus intentusque numini, respexit pone tergum e primoribus Aegyptiorum nomine Basiliden, quem procul

Tacitus avoids the term *saliva* as unworthy of the dignity of history. In Ann. xvi. 4 he, for a similar reason, speaks of *navium excrementa*. Pliny mentions that certain forms of leprosy and blindness were supposed to be cured by the application of spittle, N. H. xxviii. 7.

9. *altus manum aeger*. Suetonius, Vesp. 7, says the man was weak in his legs; but Dion agrees with Tacitus. *pede ac vestigio*. "Should be trampled under the soles" of his feet.

13. *aestimari*. M. has *estimari*; some of the secondary MSS. *extimari*. Ritter, following Ernesti, would read *existimari*, maintaining that this, and not *aestimari*, is the proper word for an opinion delivered by experts. No exact parallel is produced for *aestimari* in this sense.

14. *varie disserere* does not mean that they differed among themselves, but that they discussed the questions from different points of view, so as to state the pros and cons. It would seem from the opinions given by the experts that the cures were just of the kind that might have been brought about by an act of faith.

16. *elapsos in pravum artus*. "The

limbs had grown enfeebled and out of shape."

20. *cuncta—patere—erecta*. The metaphor in *patere* is from an open door; he has only to walk in and take possession, so Liv. i. 40, "*servis etiam regnum Romae patere*." *Erecta*, "on the tiptoe of expectation;" so Ann. iii. 7, "*erectis omnium animis*."

23. *nunc quoque, i.e.* in the days of Trajan, at which time the *Historiae* were finished.

82. 2. *super rebus*. *Super* for *de*, as in c. 40, "*consulendum tali super re principem*."

3. *intentus—respexit*. *Intentus*, "with his whole thoughts bent on the deity." *Respexit* has a kind of pregnant force, "looked behind him and saw." Suetonius (Vesp. 7) tells the story more fully and a little differently, "*quum de firmitate imperii capturus auspicium . . . propitiato multum deo, tandem se convertisset, verbenas coronasque et panificia ut illic assolet, Basilides libertus obtulisse ei visus est*."

4. *e primoribus Aegyptiorum*. Suetonius, Vesp. 7, says that he was a freedman. This is probably a mistake on the part of Suetonius.

- 5 Alexandria plurium dierum itinere et aegro corpore detineri
 haud ignorabat. Percunctatur sacerdotes num illo die Basilides
 templum inisset; percunctatur obvios num in urbe visus sit:
 denique missis equitibus explorat illo temporis momento oc-
 toginta milibus passuum afuisse. Tunc divinam speciem et
 10 vim responsi ex nomine Basilidis interpretatus est.

83. Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata: Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant, Ptolemaeo regi, qui Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriae recens conditae moenia templaque et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem
 5 decore eximio et maiore quam humana specie iuvenem, qui moneret ut fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis effigiem

9. tunc divinam speciem. "Then he recognised the appearance as that of the god, and gathered the meaning of the answer from the name of Basilides." He recognised that it was the god who had himself appeared to him, and that, appearing in the form of Basilides, this portended that Vespasian should reign.

83. 1. origo—celebrata. Tacitus was writing at a time when the worship of Serapis was coming greatly into favour at Rome. It was, however, among the poor that this particular cult was most in vogue, and so its origin had received but little attention from previous writers. Tacitus, therefore, sets himself to make good the deficiency.

1. Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant. The *antistites* were the priests, the attendants in the temple. Tacitus seems himself to have been in Egypt, and got his information from them. Now, as there is no doubt that Serapis is an ancient Egyptian deity, how are we to account for the story which follows? Guigniaut has the following ingenious hypothesis. Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic.* § 48, and *Plut. de Is. et Osir.* c. 28, give accounts which, though agreeing with that of Tacitus in the one main particular of making the worship of Serapis to have been imported by Ptolemy from Sinope, yet differ from him and from one another in most of their details. But Tacitus has himself (c. 84) preserved an account which connects the original home of Serapis, not with Sinope, but with Memphis in Egypt, and Pausanias and Strabo both mention an ancient temple of Serapis at Memphis. Moreover, Eustathius, commenting on a statement in Dionysius,

Perieg. § 254, who speaks of Serapis at Alexandria as *Zētr Zuvwtrēs*, explains this as *Zētr Mēvtrēs*, adding that *Zuvwtrēs* is a mountain of Memphis. If then we suppose that the *Zētr* or Serapis of Memphis was called *Zuvwtrēs* from Mount Sinopium, in the neighbourhood of which his temple originally stood, we have at once an explanation of how he came to be connected, first in the mind of the priests, and then in that of the people at large, with the Greek town of Sinope, on the Pontus; and this connexion would be established all the more easily if, as seems probable, the attributes of the *Zētr* *Πλοῦτος* worshipped at Sinope bore some resemblance to those of the Serapis of Memphis. How ready the Egyptian priests were to identify the various Greek gods with their own is abundantly proved by the Second Book of Herodotus. The story which follows would then be a mere fable concocted by the priests, perhaps in conjunction with Greek travellers, to explain the name Serapis Sinopites when its true origin had been forgotten.

2. qui Macedonum primus—firmavit. *Macedonum* is for *ἡ Μακεδονίᾳ*. The Ptolemy referred to is Ptolemy Soter, son of Lagus, who ruled from B.C. 306-283, and is regarded as the founder of the dynasty of the Lagidae.

3. recens conditae. *Recens* is here an adverb; iv. 48, "recens conscriptae;" and in i. 77, "recens ab exilio reversos."

4. religiones here means religious worship, cults.

5. maiore quam humana specie iuvenem. This is not quite usual; perhaps *maiore quam pro humana specie* would be more natural, Madvig, § 308, *obs.* 1.

suam acciret : laetum id regno, magnamque et inclutam sedem fore quae excepisset. Simul visum eundem iuvenem in caelum igne plurimo attolli. Ptolemaeus omine et miraculo excitus sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum, quibus mos talia intellegere, nocturnos visus aperit. Atque illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quaenam illa superstitio, quod numen, interrogat. Timotheus quaesitis qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum, vetere inter accolae fama, Iovis Ditis : namque et muliebrem effigiem adstidere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. Sed Ptolemaeus, ut sunt ingenia regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas rediit, voluptatum quam religionum adpetens, negligere paulatim aliasque ad curas animum vertere, donec eadem species terribilior iam et instantior exitium ipsi regnoque denuntiaret, ni iussa patrarentur. Tum legatos et dona Scydrothemidi regi (is tunc Sinopensibus imperitabat) expediri iubet ; praecepitque navigaturis ut Pythicum Apollinem adeant. Illis mare secundum, sors oraculi haud ambigua : “ irent, simulacrumque patris sui reveherent, sororis relinquerent.”

84. Ut Sinopen venere, munera preces mandata regis sui

10. quibus mos talia intellegere. We gather from the history of Joseph, in the Book of Genesis, that it was accounted a duty of the Egyptian priests to interpret dreams.

11. atque illis—parum gnaris. This is of course a mere fable of the priests. No Egyptian priests after the time of Alexander could have been ignorant of the Pontus. Still less could Timotheus the Athenian have been so.

12. e gente Eumolpidarum. The Eumolpidae were one of the ancient Attic priestly *Gentes*, to whom the worship of Demeter at Eleusis belonged by hereditary right ; see Soph. Oed. Col. 1050, οὐ πότνια σεμνὴ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν, ὧν καὶ χρυσέα κλῆρ ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβακε προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδῶν.

13. exciverat, i.e. Ptolemy.

13. illa superstitio. *Superstitio* is here used in a good sense for “that religious worship.”

15. meassent. The simple for the compound *commeassent*.

15. Sinope, now Sinub, was the oldest of the colonies of Miletus, on the south coast of the Euxine, and became later the residence of the kings of Pontus.

16. Iovis Ditis, *Ζεὺς Ἄδριος, Dis Pater*. He exercises over the world below all the power that Zeus exercises over the world above, Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 26. Cicero, oddly enough, in this passage connects the name, like that of Pluto, with the wealth found in the earth.

16. namque et. These words, according to Heraeus, import that the subsequent thought follows as a natural consequence from the preceding.

20. negligere paulatim. “Grows negligent by degrees.” The verb is used absolutely also by Cicero (Phil. xiii. § 33) and Sallust (Jug. 31, 28), yet not quite as here.

23. Scydrothemidi regi. He seems to be a purely mythical monarch.

25. sors oraculi. “The purport, the answer of the oracle.” This is a later post-classical use of the word.

26. patris sui—sororis. Apollo is the son of Jupiter, and the Jupiter of the world below is here taken as identical with the Jupiter of the world above. Some editors, not liking this identification, suggest *patruī*. *Sororis* is Proserpina, who, like Apollo himself, was regarded as a child of Jupiter.

- Scydrothemidi adlegant. Qui versus animi modo numen pavescere, modo minis adversantis populi terreri; saepe donis promissisque legatorum flectebatur. Atque interim triennio
 5 exacto Ptolemaeus non studium, non preces omittere. Dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri pondus augebat. Tum minax facies Scydrothemidi offertur, ne destinata deo ultra moraretur. Cunctantem varia perniciēs morbique et manifesta caelestium ira graviorque in dies fatigabat. Advocata contione
 10 iussa numinis, suos Ptolemaeique visus, ingruentia mala exponit. Volgus aversari regem, invidere Aegypto, sibi metuere templumque circumsedere. Maior hinc fama tradidit deum ipsum adpulsas litori navis sponte conscendisse. Mirum inde dictu, tertio die tantum maris emensi Alexandriam adpelluntur.
 15 Templum pro magnitudine urbis exstructum loco cui nomen Rhacotis. Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum. Haec de origine et advectu dei celeberrima. Nec sum ignarus esse quosdam qui Seleucia urbe Suriae accitum,

84. 2. *versus animi*. "Ever changing his mind." Heraeus suggests *diversus*, holding that the genitive could hardly be used with *versus*. The genitive is in any case a genitive of respect, like *captus animi*, *fidens animi*, *incertus animi*, etc.

7. *destinata deo*. Either "what is destined for the god," i.e. for Dis Pater, or "what is destined by the god," i.e. by Apollo.

11. *aversari regem*. "Dissuade the king; hold him away from his purpose in their own interests." Here, as elsewhere when the word occurs, there is a doubt whether *aversari* or *adversari* should be read. For its use with the accusative, see i. 38, "deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes;" Ann. i. 28, "sua facinora aversari deos lamentantur." *invidere Aegypto*. "Grudge Egypt the possession of their god." They fear too for themselves lest the god should be offended at their too lightly parting with him.

12. *maior hinc fama*. "There is a more wonderful report from this point onwards." The report is called *maior* because the substance of it being more wonderful, the report itself seems to gain in dignity. Orelli thinks that *maior fama* may mean "the more prevailing report," there being another to the effect that the ambassadors of Ptolemy stole the image; but this explanation seems hardly possible.

13. *mirum inde dictu*. "After this, wonderful to tell." *Inde* has a temporal sense, and this explanation seems necessitated by the order of the words. Heraeus, however, would give it its proper local sense, and take it with *tantum maris emensi*.

15. *loco cui nomen Rhacotis*. Strabo, xvii. p. 792. Rhacotis was the part of the city which overhung the dockyards; once it was a village. Clement calls Rhacotis *κώμη ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας ἢ καλοῦσιν Πακῶτιν*; see also Pliny N. H. v. 10, 11. Dionysius, Perieg. § 254, speaks of the temple thus: Μακρόδονον ποταμὸν ἔχον, ἐνθα Σινωπίται Διὸς μεγάλου μέλαθρον χρυσῷ τιμήνῃ κεκασμένον. Οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνου Νῆον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεώτερον ἄλλον ἴδοιο. For Eustathius's comment on this verse, and the inference which may be drawn from it, see c. 83, 2nd note on line 1. The temple called the Serapeum was destroyed 391 A. D., in the reign of Theodosius, and its great library along with it.

16. *fuerat—sacratum*. These words clearly imply that the worship of Serapis was no novelty of the time of Ptolemy Soter imported into Egypt, but an ancient national cult, and all other evidence bears out this conclusion. The story about Sinope was, as already explained, invented to give an account of the epithet *Σινωπίτης* attached to the deity.

18. *Seleucia urbe Suriae*, i.e. Seleucia, at the mouth of the Orontes, the

regnante Ptolemaeo quem tertia aetas tulit; alii auctorem eundem Ptolemaeum, sedem ex qua transierit Memphim perhibent, inclutam olim et veteris Aegypti columnen. Deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen, plerique Iovem ut rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem, insignibus quae in ipso manifesta, aut per ambages coniectant.

85. At Domitianus Mucianusque antequam Alpius propinquarent, prosperos rerum in Treveris gestarum nuntios accipere. Praecipua victoriae fides dux hostium Valentinus, nequaquam abiecto animo, quos spiritus gessisset, voltu ferebat. Auditus ideo tantum ut nosceretur ingenium eius, damnatusque, inter ipsum supplicium exprobranti cuidam patriam eius captam "accipere se solatium mortis" respondit. Sed Mucianus quod diu occultaverat, ut recens exprompsit: "quoniam benignitate deum fractae hostium vires forent, parum decore Domitianum confecto prope bello alienae gloriae interventurum. Si status imperii aut salus Galliarum in discrimine verteretur, debuisset Caesarem in acie stare: Canninefates Batavosque minoribus ducibus delegandos. Ipse Lugduni vim fortunamque principatus e proximo ostentaret, nec parvis periculis inmixtus et maioribus non defuturus."

port of Antioch, sometimes called Pieria. The Ptolemy meant is Ptolemy Evergetes, who was king of Egypt from B.C. 247-222. This report, Clement says, was given in Isidorus.

21. et veteris Aegypti columnen. In Ann. vi. 37, we have "columnen partium Abdagaeses." It may mean either "support" or "crowning ornament;" here most likely the first; Plin. N. H. v. 9 calls it "arx Aegypti regum." How this throws light on the name Sinopites, has been explained above.

24. insignibus—aut per ambages. "By the attributes with which he is endowed, or by a symbolical application of them." The *insignia* of Serapis are a Cerberus and dragon at his side, a bushel on his head, a broad cloak in which he is enshrouded; these are supposed all to have reference to his rule over the dead.

85. 1. at Domitianus. *At* is the regular resumptive particle after a digression.

3. dux hostium Valentinus. For his capture, see above, c. 71. For *fides*, see ii. 5, "praecipua concordiae fides Titus."

4. quos spiritus. This use of *spiritus* in the sense of "high spirit" is post-classical. Tacitus has it again, Ann. xiii. 21, "spiritus eius mitigantibus."

7. accipere se solatium mortis respondit. "It was a consolation to him in dying that he should not long live to see the downfall of his country." Cf. Ag. 44, "festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus."

8. ut recens exprompsit. "Produced as a new thought."

11. si—in discrimine verteretur. "Were in a critical condition." *Vertetur* is substituted for *versaretur* for the sake of variety. See Liv. vi. 36; xxxvii. 7.

13. Lugduni. They had not travelled the direct way over the Great Saint Bernard, but had gone over the Graian or Cottian Alps. fortunam. "The state."

15. non defuturus. "Ready at hand to meet." Josephus (Bell. Jud. vii. 4 *ad fin.*) speaks as if Domitian had himself conquered the Treveri and Batavi, and so does Silius, Pun. iii. 607, "at tu tran-

86. Intellegebantur artes; sed pars obsequii in eo ne deprehenderentur. Ita Lugdunum ventum. Unde creditur Domitianus occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis fidem eius tentavisse, an praesenti sibi exercitum imperiumque traditurus foret. Qua
 5 cogitatione bellum adversus patrem agitaverit an opes viresque adversus fratrem, in incerto fuit: nam Cerialis salubri temperamento elusit ut vana pueriliter cupientem. Domitianus sperni a senioribus iuventam suam cernens, modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat, simplicitatis ac modestiae
 10 imagine in altitudinem conditus, studiumque litterarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum et fratris aemulationi subduceretur, cuius disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.

scendes Germanice facta tuorum, iam puer auricomis praeformidate Batavo."

86. 1. *intellegebantur artes; sed —deprehenderentur.* "The device was seen through." The phrase occurs again, Ann. xiv. 6, "Agrippina solum insidiarum remedium esse sensit, si non intelligerentur." *Sed pars*, translate, "but it was the game of obsequiousness that they should not be openly detected." *ne* is used because not to appear to detect them required some effort. Godley objects to this interpretation on the ground that Domitian was hardly likely to show *obsequium* to his minister Mucianus; but the throne of Vespasian was as yet by no means firmly established, and Mucianus stood in an entirely exceptional position to the Flavian house.

2. *ita Lugdunum ventum.* Here Mucianus and Domitian separated; the one met Vespasian at Brundisium, the other at Beneventum.

3. *occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis.* So Ann. xiii. 9, "uterque ad Vologesem nuntiis monebant."

4. *traditurus foret.* "He would be prepared to deliver up." Tacitus prefers the form *foret* to *esset*; Cicero hardly ever uses it, Madvig, § 377, *obs.* 2.

4. *qua cogitatione.* "In which secret design." *Cogitatio* is so used in Ann. xv. 54, "magnae cogitationis manifestus erat."

5. *an opes viresque adversus fratrem.* Suetonius, Dom. 2, seems to take the latter view: "expeditionem in Galliam Germaniamque neque necessariam et dissuadentibus paternis amicis incohavit, tantum ut fratri se et operibus et dignatione adaequaret."

6. *salubri temperamento elusit* (sc. *eum*). For the sense of *eludere*, "to dodge aside from a blow," see Ann. ii. 52, "ne bellum metu eluderent." *Temperamentum* here simply means "device;" as in Cic. de Leg. iii. § 24, "inventum est temperamentum quo tenuiores cum principibus aequari se putarent."

10. *in altitudinem conditus.* "He wrapped himself in a profound reserve." Cf. Sall. Jug. 95, "ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis;" Ann. iii. 44, "sed ut solitum per illos dies egit, altitudine animi, an conpererat modica esse et volgatis leviora."

10. *studiumque—simulans.* Suetonius, Dom. 2, says, "simulavit et ipse mire modestiam imprimisque poeticae studium tam insuetum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abiectum." Quintilian, x. 1, 91, has spoken in fulsome terms of his merits as a poet. Some have supposed that he wrote the *Aratea* or translation of Aratus, but this was probably by the elder Germanicus. Pliny, N. H. Int. § 5, speaks in laudatory terms of the poetry of Titus as well as that of Domitian, "Quantus in poetica es! (Tite) o magna fecunditas animi! quem ad modum fratrem quoque imitaretis excogitasti."

12. *aemulationi subduceret* is the reading of M. Ritter inserts *ss*; Orelli reads *subduceretur*.

13. *contra interpretabatur.* "He put a bad construction on, one contrary to the facts." He thought that Titus's affability was assumed merely to win favour. For *contra*, see Ann. xiii. 47, "socris ingenium eius in contrarium trahens; callidumque et simulatorem interpretando."

LIBER QUINTUS

CHAPTERS 1-13

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH WAR

1. Titus takes over the command of the war in Judaea; forces composing his army.
2. Various views as to the origin of the Jewish people. 3. Their expulsion from Egypt and wanderings in the desert. 4, 5. Laws and rites attributed to Moses or adopted in later times by the people. 6, 7. Their land, its boundaries, products, and natural features. 8, 9. Jerusalem, its temple and earlier history. 10. Continuation of the history from the time of Pompey. 11, 12. Preparations for the siege, and fortifications of the city. 13. Prodigies and prophesies preceding the siege.

CHAPTERS 14-26

SEQUEL OF THE REVOLT OF CIVILIS, JULY-NOVEMBER, 70—C. LICINIUS MUCIANUS II,
P. VALERIUS ASIATICUS COSS.

14. Civilis takes up his position at Vetera. 15. Preliminary skirmish in the neighbourhood of the camp. 16. Disposition of the forces on both sides; address of Cerialis to his troops. 17. Address of Civilis. 18. In the battle which follows the Germans are at length defeated. 19. Civilis and the Gallic leaders retire to the Insula Batavorum. 20, 21. Renewed fighting in the island itself. 22. Cerialis on his way to inspect the winter quarters of the troops narrowly escapes being taken prisoner. 23. Indecisive naval engagement. 24. Civilis makes overtures for peace. 25. Change of feeling among the Batavians. 26. Interview between the two generals at a bridge over the river Nabalia.

I. Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Iudaeae delectus a patre et privatis utriusque rebus militia

A.U.C. 823
A.D. 70

1. *i. eiusdem anni principio, i.e.* at the beginning of 70 A.D., the events of which year form the subject of Book V.

1. *perdomandae Iudaeae delectus.* Vespasian had already conquered the whole country with the exception of Jerusalem, and it only remained to carry through the siege of that stronghold. See above, ii. 4, "profligaverat bellum Iudaeae Vespasianus obpugnatione Hiero-

solymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset." Titus had been chosen for the task some months previously, iv. 51, "validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradidit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda."

2. *privatis utriusque rebus militia clarus.* "While both occupied a private

clarus, maiore tum vi famaue agebat, certantibus provinciarum
et exercituum studiis. Atque ipse, ut super fortunam credere-
5 tur, decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et
adloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine
gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore. Tres eum in
Iudaea legiones, quinta et decuma et quinta decuma, vetus
Vespasiani miles, excepere. Addidit e Suria duodecumam et
10 abductos Alexandria duoetvicesimanos tertianosque. Comita-
bantur viginti sociae cohortes, octo equitum alae, simul Agrippa
Sohaemusque reges, et auxilia regis Antiochi, validaque et solito
inter accolae odio infensa Iudaeis Arabum manus; multi quos
urbe atque Italia sua quemque spes acciverat occupandi princi-
15 pem adhuc vacuum. His cum copiis fines hostium ingressus
composito agmine, cuncta explorans paratusque decernere, haud
procul Hiërosolymis castra facit.

station;" so iii. 65, "Flavius Sabinus aetate prior, privatis utriusque rebus auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum anteibat." M. reads *praelatis utriusque rebus*, which has been explained (1) "by honours bestowed on each," or (2) "by the exploits which each had performed;" neither explanation is satisfactory. Titus had served first as military tribune in Germany and Britain; later on, after being quaestor, as *legatus legionis* in Judaea, Suet. Vesp. 4, Tit. 4; and for the distinction he had won in Galilee, see Joseph. Bell. Jud. iii. 10; iv. 1.

3. *maiore tum vi*. We may understand this, either "with greater fame and energy than he had previously shown," or "greater than that possessed by his father."

4. *ut super fortunam crederetur*. "That he might not be considered to be dependent on his position" as prince of the blood and commander, or "that he might be believed to be more than up to his high station."

5. *in armis* is rightly explained by Walther "in the discharge of his military duties."

6. *in opere*, i.e. the task of constructing earthworks for the siege. *Incorrupto*. "Without derogating from his position as general."

7. *tres eum—legiones*. The three legions were the 5th Macedonica, the 10th Fretensis, the 15th Apollinaris. See i. 11.

9. *addidit e Suria duodecumam*. The 12th was called Fulminata; the other Syrian legions were the 3d (since removed), the 4th, and 6th. See i. 10.

10. *abductos Alexandria duoetvicesimanos tertianosque*. Not the whole, but detachments of these two legions, detachments consisting, as Josephus tells us, Bell. Jud. v. 1, 6, of two thousand men in all. This force Titus led in person across the desert and then up the coast of Palestine, Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 11, § 9. The 22d was called Deiotariana, the 3d Cyrenaica. In addition to these, Josephus says that he was joined by 3000 of the guards from the Euphrates. Ritter would read *Alexandriam*, thinking that these two legions had been brought to Alexandria from Germany, but it seems simpler to suppose that their dépôts had been left at Alexandria.

11. *Agrippa Sohaemusque reges*. The first of these was prince of Chalcis, ii. 81; the second, king of Sophene and prince of Emessa in Syria.

12. *auxilia regis Antiochi*. Antiochus was king of Commagene and of a part of Cilicia, ii. 25; ii. 81, note on line 3.

14. *occupandi principem adhuc vacuum*. "Of establishing themselves in the regard of a prince as yet at any one's disposal." The metaphor seems to be borrowed from taking possession of an unoccupied country or district.

16. *haud procul Hiërosolymis*. Josephus, who describes the order of march, says (Bell. Jud. v. 2) that he encamped at the village of Gabath-Saule, in the Valley of Thorns, about four miles from Jerusalem.

2. Sed quoniam famosae urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus, congruens videtur primordia eius aperire.

Iudaeos Creta insula profugos novissima Libyae insedissee memorant, qua tempestate Saturnus vi Iovis pulsus cesserit regnis. Argumentum e nomine petitur: inclutum in Creta Idam montem; accolae Idaeos aucto in barbarum cognomento Iudaeos vocitari. Quidam regnante Iside exundantem per

2. 2. *primordia eius aperire*. In the account which Tacitus here gives of the origin of the Jews, he seems to have consulted purely heathen, mainly Greek, authorities, and to have been ignorant alike of the writings of Josephus and of the Hebrew Scriptures. His ignorance of Josephus it is easy to explain. Josephus published his work on the *Antiquities of the Jewish Nation* only in the reign of Trajan, and it may well have been that a work published by an obscure provincial at a time when Tacitus's own *Histories* were nearly completed, had never been brought to the notice of Tacitus. The Hebrew Scriptures in the original language would be beyond doubt a sealed book to Tacitus, and the LXX Version was so uncouth in form and language as to repel rather than attract a cultivated Roman, who was inclined in any case to treat with scorn the sacred writings of a race which he both disliked and despised.

3. *Iudaeos Creta insula profugos*. Tacitus is the only writer who asserts that the Jews were originally fugitives from Crete. Various explanations have been suggested of the origin of the myth. The most probable are the three following. (1) In II. Sam. viii. 18, we have mention of the Cherethites and Pelethites as forming part of David's army. They would seem (I Sam. xxx. 14) to have been neighbours of the Philistines. In these passages of the LXX they are called ὁ Χελεθθαὶ καὶ ὁ Φελετταί, but the same Cherethites are elsewhere called Κρήτες, e.g. in Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5. Now finding Κρήτες thus enrolled among the Israelites, Greek commentators may easily have inferred some connexion between Israel and Crete. (2) There may have been a confusion of Jews with the Phoenicians or Philistines themselves, and the latter do seem to have come from Crete, see Amos, ix. 7; or to have had early connection with it, cf. the town Phoenice in Crete, Acts xxvii. 12, and Dunker's *Hist. of Greece*, c. 4. (3) The myth may have been based on the supposed identity

of the names *Iudaei* and *Idaei*, see below, note on line 6.

3. *novissima Libyae insedissee memorant*. *Novissimus* is twice used by Tacitus of a sea which is most remote, i.e. with no land beyond it, Ann. ii. 24, "aut ita vasto et profundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare;" Ag. 10, "hanc oram novissimi maris." Here Tacitus seems to use it of land which is most remote, having nothing but sea beyond it. It thus comes to mean the extreme edge of Africa.

4. *qua tempestate Saturnus*. This use of *tempestat* for *tempore* Cicero (de Or. iii. c. 38) quotes as a permissible archaism, "neque enim illud fugerim dicere ut Caelius qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam venit." As the Hebrew Sabbath was the Jewish institution best known to the Romans, the observation of the Sabbath (*Saturni dies*) naturally led the Romans to connect the Jews with the worship of Saturn; and so it seemed natural to associate their expulsion from Crete with that of Saturn at the hands of Zeus.

5. *argumentum, i.e. in favour of the Cretan origin of the Jews*.

6. *accolae Idaeos aucto in barbarum cognomento*. The *Idaei* are generally accounted the companions of Zeus, not of Saturn; but from c. 4, "quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepimus," Tacitus seems to have followed an account preserved also in Plutarch, de Facie in orbe Lunae, xxvi. 12, which represents them as sharing Saturn's exile. The change to which he refers in the words *aucto in barbarum cognomento* is that from *Idaeos* to *Iudaeos*. In *barbarum*, "to a barbarism;" so Ann. vi. 42, we have "civitas saepta muris neque in barbarum corrupta." The myth connecting the Jews with Crete may have arisen from the supposed identity of the two names; see above, 1st note on line 3.

7. *regnante Iside*. A somewhat similar story, though with differences of detail, is told in Plutarch, de Isid. et Osir. 31. His story states that Hiero-

- Aegyptum multitudinem, ducibus Hierosolymo ac Iuda, proximas in terras exoneratam; plerique Aethiopum prolem, quos
 10 rege Cepheo metus atque odium mutare sedes perpulerit. Sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, indigum agrorum populum, parte Aegypti potitos, mox proprias urbes Hebraeasque terras et propiora Suriae coluisse. Clara alii Iudaeorum initia, Soly-
 15 mos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditae urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse.

solymus and Judaeus were the sons of Typhon, born to him in his exile. This story clearly came from an Egyptian source, probably from one of those temple attendants who had already told Tacitus the story of Serapis. Hierosolymus is clearly the eponymous hero of Jerusalem, Juda of the Judaei. Lactantius states that while in the wilderness the Jews dropped their ancient name of Hebraei; and that since Judah was the leader of the horde they were called Judaei and their land Judaea.

9. *exoneratam*. "Discharged itself" (lit. were unloaded on to), a contemptuous term. Livy, xxiv. 29, has "ad eam multitudinem exonerandam."

9. *Aethiopum prolem, quos rege Cepheo—perpulerit*. What was the origin of this story is not known. But since King Cepheus appears in the myth of Perseus as the father of Andromeda, whom Perseus delivered from the sea-beast, and since the scene of this exploit is uniformly laid at Joppa, regarded by the ancients as a town of Phoenicia (Plin. N. H. v. 13), it has been supposed that this story is a Phoenician myth. Instead of *rege Cepheo*, Cicero would have written *regnante Cepheo*.

10. *sunt qui tradant*. Some of the MSS. read *tradunt*, which is not impossible. He seems to have got hold of some sort of summary of the Biblical story, but by whom preserved we cannot tell. A somewhat similar narrative is to be found both in Justin (xxvi. 2) and in Trogus Pompeius. The latter perhaps derived his account from Nicolas of Damascus, his contemporary. Justin says "the origin of the Jews is from Damascus, a most famous city of Syria. From it too came the stock of the Assyrian kings from Queen Semiramis. The city got its name from its king Damascus. After Damascus came Azelus; then in succession Adores and Abraham and Israhel were kings—Israhel a stock of ten sons

made more famous than his ancestors. And so he divided his people into ten kingdoms, and gave them to his ten sons, and called all of them Judaei, from the name of Juda, who had died after the division, and ordered that honour should be paid to his memory by them all, since his portion had fallen to them all." Pompeius adds that Abraham had come originally from the land of the Chaldees, and that his name was still honoured in Damascus. *convenas*. "Wanderers."

13. *propiora Suriae*. Probably the parts nearer to Syria, rather than the parts of Syria nearer to Egypt.

13. *clara alii Iudaeorum initia*. We have to supply *tradunt* from *sunt qui tradant*. A classical scholar would consider anything tending to connect the Jews with Homer a distinction.

13. *Solymos—gentem*. The Solymi are mentioned thrice in Homer, Il. § 184, δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μάχισατο κυδαλλμοῖσι; Il. § 204, μαρμόρων Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε κυδαλλμοῖσιν; and Od. ε 282, τὸν δ' ἔξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀνίων κρείων Ἐφοσίχθων τῆλ' ἔθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὄρεων Ἴων. Choerilus the Samian is said to have been the first writer (450-400 B.C.) who connected the Jews with the Solymi, but he seems to have mixed up the Jews with the Phoenicians.

15. *Hierosolyma*. This form seems first to have been used by Hecataeus. Ἱερουσαλὴμ is the ordinary form in the LXX. The form *Ierosolyma* is a neuter plural, but some MSS. read *Ierosolymam*, and both forms seem to have been in use both in Latin and in Greek. *nomen—fecisse*. Perhaps taken from Verg. Georg. i. 137, "navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit." The form of the name gave rise to the myth which connected the Jews with the Solymi, the name being interpreted as Ἱερὸν Σολύμων. Another reading is *conditam urbem nomine suo Ierosolyma fecisse*.

3. Plurimi auctores consentiunt, orta per Aegyptum tabe quae corpora foedaret, regem Bocchorim adito Hammonis oraculo remedium petentem purgare regnum et id genus hominum ut invisum deis alias in terras avehere iussum. Sic conquisitum collectumque volgus, postquam vastis locis relictum sit, ceteris per lacrimas torpentibus, Moysen unum exsulum monuisse ne quam deorum hominumve opem exspectarent utrisque deserti, sed sibimet, duce caelesti, crederent, primo cuius auxilio praesentes miseras populus. Adsensere atque omnium ignari fortuitum iter incipiunt. Sed nihil aequae quam inopia aquae fatigabat. Iamque haud procul exitio totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem nemore opacam concessit. Secutus Moyses coniectura herbidi

8. 1. plurimi auctores consentiunt. Orelli has been at much pains to discover who these writers are. He enumerates

(1) Lysimachus of Alexandria, a writer of the close of the 2d or commencement of the 1st century B.C. The beginning of the narrative which follows is taken from him. (2) Manetho, who lived under Ptolemy I. or II. circ. 300 B.C., to whom Tacitus was perhaps indebted for his account of Moses. (3) Diodorus, who was perhaps responsible for the statement as to the Jewish worship of the ass. (4) Trogus Pompeius, who tells of the journey of Moses through the deserts of Arabia.

1. orta—tabe. This was, according to Justin, a scab or leprosy. See Justin. xxxvi. 2.

2. regem Bocchorim. This statement is taken from Lysimachus. Bocchoris was a king of the 24th dynasty, which extended from B.C. 763 to 720, coinciding nearly with the close of the Northern Kingdom; the Exodus must, of course, be many centuries earlier than this. The mistake may have arisen from the desire of the Egyptians to minimise the antiquity of the Israelites.

2. addito Hammonis oraculo. Ammon was the Egyptian Zeus, Plut. de Isid. et Osir. 9. His oracle was situated in an oasis in the desert, twelve days' march west of Memphis, Herod. ii. 32, 55.

4. sic conquisitum collectumque, i.e. sought out in their homes and hiding-places, and marshalled into a single band.

5. vastis locis. "In the desert." Justin connects, xxxvi. 2, 14, the institution of the Sabbath with the hardships they had to go through in the desert.

8. utrisque deserti. *Utrisque* is dative for *ab utrisque*. "They were deserted both" by gods and men of Egypt.

8. sed sibimet, duce caelesti, crederent. This is the reading of M. and should be retained, as it gives fair sense, while none of the suggested corrections are satisfactory. *Duci caelesti* is an obvious suggestion, and gives a good sense, only there has been no mention hitherto of Moses having done anything for them. Ritter's suggestion, *sed sibimet duces* (guides to themselves) *caelesti id crederent*, seems far-fetched. Taking the reading of M. as it stands, *duce caelesti* is an ablative absolute. We may translate, "but they must trust to themselves, as that is to be their heaven-sent leader, through whose help they should first have got rid of their present miseries." In these words Moses seems to be made darkly to hint at the adoption of monotheism in place of their Egyptian superstitions. Orelli explains differently, "Trust to yourselves since you have a heaven-sent guide, relying on whose help you have escaped from your present miseries." M. reads *credentes* before *praesentes*, but this seems to have slipped in as a gloss.

9. populus would have been in oratio recta *populoribus*.

10. sed nihil aequae—fatigabat. So ii. 39, "penuria aquae fatigarentur;" and ii. 84, "sed nihil aequae fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio."

11. totis campis. "Over the whole face of the desert;" as in iv. 18 we have, "totis campis palantes."

13. coniectura herbidi soli. "Guessing it from the grassy character of the soil."

soli largas aquarum venas aperit. Id levamen; et continuum
 15 sex dierum iter emensi, septimo pulsus cultoribus obtinere
 terras in quis urbs et templum dicata.

4. Moyses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos
 ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic
 omnia quae apud nos sacra; rursum concessa apud illos quae
 nobis incesta. Effigiem animalis quo monstrante errorem
 5 sitimque depulerant, penetrati sacravere, caeso ariete velut in
 contumeliam Hammonis. Bos quoque immolatur, quia Aegyptii
 Apin colunt. Sue abstinent merito cladis qua ipsos scabies
 quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium. Longam olim
 famem crebris adhuc ieiuniis fatentur; et raptarum frugum

14. *venas aperit.* "He discovers and brings to the surface abundant springs of water."

16. *urbs et templum dicata.* *Dicata* is used with both by a kind of zeugma, perhaps all the more easily because the city no less than the temple was regarded as sacred.

4. 2. *contrariosque ceteris mortalibus.* For *contrarios ritibus ceterorum mortalium*, a contraction to be found in almost all languages. The exclusiveness of the Jews, intended to preserve them from idolatry, was a great offence to the Romans; cf. Juv. Sat. xiv. 100-106.

2. *profana illic—sacra.* *Illic* means "With them." He is probably alluding to their horror of the worship of images, of dead ancestors, of the emperor.

3. *quae nobis incesta.* He is referring to the marriage laws of the Jews, which contained several regulations (*i.e.* the brother marrying the dead brother's wife, the marriage of an uncle and niece) abhorrent to Roman feelings.

4. *effigiem animalis—penetrati sacravere.* *Penetrati* is a local ablative, "in their inmost shrine," *i.e.* the Holy of Holies. The belief that the Jews worshipped an ass was widely spread in the heathen world—Josephus (c. Apion, ii. 7), Tertullian (Apol. c. 16), Minucius Felix (Oct. c. 28), Plutarch (Symp. iv. 5), Diodorus, all notice it. What was the origin of the belief it is hard to say. Some have supposed that the rites of the Egyptian god Typho, in which the worship of an ass held a prominent place, were by a mistake accredited to the Jews, while others have thought that the figures of the cherubim overshadowing the mercy-seat were mistaken for the effigy of an ass. The

Christians were subjected to the same calumny. There is still to be seen in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome the rough sketch of an ass, with an inscription by a soldier of the guard, to this effect, *Ἀλεξάνερος σέφειν δεῖο*.

4. *errorem sitimque depulerant.* "They had escaped from their wanderings and their thirst." He makes the wild ass deliver them from their wanderings, since he had said at the close of the last chapter that in seven days after finding water they had come into the Promised Land.

5. *caeso ariete—Hammonis.* A ram was one of the animals most constantly offered in sacrifice, Levit. xvi. 3. Jupiter Ammon was represented with the horns of a ram.

6. *bos quoque—colunt.* Oxen were also offered in sacrifice, Levit. xvii. 3, etc. Apis was worshipped under the figure of a bull, Plin. N. H. viii. 46, 184, "bos in Aegypto etiam numinis vice colitur, Apim vocant;" Herod. iii. 28.

7. *sue abstinent.* Swine's flesh, along with that of other animals, was forbidden to the Jews, probably for reasons of health, Levit. xi. 7, 8; but see also Deut. xxviii. 60. *merito cladis.* This, the reading of M., "thanks to the disaster" (the disease from which they had suffered), is to be preferred to *memoria cladis*, which is clearly a correction. Cf. Cic. Epp. ad Fam. xiv. 2, 2, for this use of *merito*.

9. *crebris—ieiuniis.* There was only one fast prescribed in the Mosaic law, that on the great Day of Atonement, Levit. xvi. 29, 30, 31; Num. xxix. 7; but in Tacitus's time the practice of frequent fasts had grown up. The Pharisees fasted twice in each week, S. Luke, xviii. 12.

argumentum panis Iudaicus nullo fermento detinetur. Septimo 10
die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein
blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum.
Alii honorem eum Saturno haberi, seu principia religionis
tradentibus Idaeis, quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis
accepimus, seu quod de septem sideribus quis mortales reguntur, 15
altissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni feratur: ac
pleraque caelestium viam suam et cursum septenos per numeros
compleant.

5. Hi ritus, quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur.
Cetera instituta sinistra foeda pravitate valere. Nam pessimus
quisque spretis religionibus patriis tributa et stipes illuc
gerebant; unde auctae Iudaeorum res, et quia apud ipsos fides

The Romans thought the Jews observed every Sabbath as a fast; Martial iv. 4, 7, "ieiunia Sabbatariorum."

10. panis Iudaicus nullo fermento detinetur. *Nullo fermento* is an ablative of quality, going with *panis*, "unleavened bread." *Detinetur* is "retained." The unleavened bread was originally a sign of the haste with which they left the land of Egypt, Exod. xii. 15; Levit. xxiii. 6.

10. septimo die. Heraeus reads *diei*. The rest on the seventh day was older than the Exodus, being assumed throughout the narrative in Genesis. For the Roman view of the Jewish Sabbath, see Juv. Sat. xiv. 105-106.

12. septimum quoque annum. The institution of the Sabbatical year seems to have been mainly dictated by the desire to obtain rest for the soil; so Ex. xx. 8-11, xxiii. 10-11, Lev. xxv. 1-7. Tacitus does not seem to have been acquainted with the more remarkable institution of the year of Jubilee. *blandiente*. For the use of *blandiri*, see Liv. xxiii. 18, "otium consuetudine in dies blandiens."

13. alii—Saturno haberi. This would be the view taken by those who also traced the origin of the Jews to Crete, perhaps on this very ground; see above, c. 2, note on line 4.

15. de septem sideribus. "Out of the seven stars;" so Cic. pro Rosc. Am. c. 35, "de tribus et decem fundis."

16. feratur. Orelli, probably rightly, takes this as meaning "moves along," not "is held," or "believed."

17. viam suam et cursum—compleant. *Viam suam et cursum septenos per numeros commearant* is the reading of M.,

while the other MSS. have *commearant*. Heraeus would alter *viam* into *viam*, as he thinks *viam commearant*, "to exert their force," too harsh a Zeugma even for Tacitus. Orelli, reading *commearant*, explains the infinitive as a sort of note added by Tacitus, equivalent to "quod commeat." Ruperti reads *conficiant*, Halm *compleant*, making it coordinate with *feratur*. This, together with the further correction of *septenos* for *septimos*, and perhaps *viam* for *viam*, gives a sufficiently good sense; and the departure from the MS. authority is slight. Cf. on the subject Dio, xxxvii. 18, 19, a passage which has much in common with this of Tacitus, as the influence of the planets no less than their revolutions is by Dio associated with the number seven; this would be so far a reason for retaining the reading *viam suam*.

5. 2. sinistra foeda pravitate valuerunt. "The rest of their customs, evil and disgusting, have gained ground from their very depravity." The exclusiveness which the Jews displayed gave rise to much ill-will and disgust towards them on the part of their Roman masters.

2. pessimus quisque spretis religionibus patriis—gerebant. He is referring here to the proselytes to Judaism, who were very numerous throughout the East in the last century B.C. and the 1st A.D., Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. ii. pp. 166-167; Hor. Sat. i. 4, 143. Each Jew and each proselyte sent a contribution of two drachmas (a half shekel) yearly towards the support of the Temple services, in accordance with Exod. xxx. 11-16. Cicero, pro Flacc. 28, complains of the drain of silver which this caused in a province like Asia. Josephus in

- 5 obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium. Separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, proiectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil illicitum. Circumcidere genitalia instituerunt, ut diversitate noscantur. Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant,
- 10 nec quidquam prius inbuuntur quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes liberos fratres vilia habere. Augendae tamen multitudini consulitur. Nam et necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas, animosque praelio aut suppliciis peremptorum aeternos putant. Hinc generandi amor et moriendi contemptus. Corpora

various places, Bell. Jud. v. 5, 1, Ant. Jud. i. 7, 2, and Philo, in Flacc. p. 971, ad Caum p. 23, testify to the vast sums received, and the punctuality with which the payments were made.

5. sed adversus—odium. This is added by a kind of afterthought, as it throws no light on the causes which promoted the power of the Jews. Other editors put a full stop at *Judaearum res*, and connect what follows with *separati epulis*. The exclusiveness of the Jews and their hostility to other races is often insisted on by the classical writers, e.g. Juv. Sat. xiv. 100, "Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges, Judaicum ediscunt et servant et metuunt ius, tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses, non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti, Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos." Tacitus, Ann. xv. 44, says, "haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt;" Diodorus, xxxiv. 1, τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μόνους ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀκουσθήτους εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἐθνὸς ἐπιμύθιας καὶ πολεμικοῦ ὀπολαμβάνειν πάντας. Other quotations to the same effect might be multiplied.

7. alienarum. This has been altered by Heinsius into *alienigenarum*. Inter se nihil illicitum. This is of course a mere slander. In Deut. xxii. 20 very strict laws on these subjects are laid down.

8. circumcidere—instituerunt. For the origin of the rite of circumcision, see Gen. xvii. 10. At a later date, under Hadrian, circumcision was absolutely forbidden, Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. ii. p. 228.

9. transgressi in morem eorum. "Converts to their customs." This substantival use of the past participle is very rare in Latin. Heraeus quotes to illustrate it Ann. ii. 69, "missi a Pisone incusabantur," where *missi* means "emissaries from."

10. inbuuntur quam contemnere deos. The infinitive after *inbuo* is used on the analogy of such words as *assuefieri*, *discere*, after which it is ordinarily employed. The refusal of the Jews to worship any other God but Jehovah brought upon them from the Romans a charge of impiety or atheism, so that Pliny speaks of them, N. H. xiii. 4, 46, as "gens contumelia numinum insignis."

11. vilia habere. For this use of the neuter adjective in the predicate to express the class to which the subject belongs after a substantive of the masculine or feminine gender, see Madvig, § 211 b, obs. 1. The use is found in Cicero and Vergil. In English we might say, "to hold parents, children, brothers, as things of little worth."

12. quemquam ex agnatis. The word *agnati* here and in G. 19 is not used in its strict legal sense, in which it denotes those who are related to one another on the father's side, through coming under the same *patria potestas*, but of children born after the father had made his will; cf. Cic. de Or. i. 57, "constat agnascendo rumpi testamentum." Such children might by Roman custom be exposed or otherwise made away with. Infanticide of this kind was of course forbidden among the Jews.

13. animosque—aeternos putant. Some of the MSS. alter this into *animas aeternas*; but the change seems hardly necessary, as Cicero, de Leg. ii. 11, uses *animi* for "souls." *suppliciis* must be understood of punishments or tortures inflicted by enemies; cf. 11. Macc. 7; Joseph. c. Apion. ii. § 30.

14. corpora condere quam cremare, e more Aegyptio. If this be the right reading—and there is no variation in the MSS.—the infinitives must be historical infinitives. *Condere* must be taken in the sense of "they

condere quam cremare, e more Aegyptio; eademque cura 15
et de infernis persuasio; caelestium contra. Aegyptii plera-
que animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur; Iudaei mente
sola unumque numen intellegunt: profanos qui deum imagines
mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant; summum
illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque interitum. Igitur 20
nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sinunt. Non regi-
bus haec adulatio, non Caesaribus honor. Sed quia sacerdotes
eorum tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur,
vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem
Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus 25

bury," and *e more Aegyptio* must be taken clearly with *condere*, the Jewish and Egyptian custom of burial being contrasted with the ordinary Roman practice of cremation. But Heraeus, following a suggestion of various editors, would substitute *condire* for *condere* and transpose *cura* out of the next sentence. "It is their care to embalm their dead after the Egyptian fashion rather than burn them." The Jewish mode of burial was not, however, identical with the Egyptian embalming, for the Jews did not embalm the body, but merely wrapped it round with linen and spices. See S. John, xi. 44; xix. 39, 40; S. Matt. xxvii. 59. Under the Kings, burning had not been uncommon, see Is. xxx. 33, Jer. xxxiv. 5; but at the Captivity the Jews reverted to the earlier custom, and cremation was strictly forbidden, being used only in the case of criminals, Joshua vii. 15, 25.

15. *eademque cura et de infernis persuasio; caelestium contra.* Heraeus omitting *cura* puts only a comma at *persuasio*, and reads *est* for *et*; *cura*, if retained here, means "mode of treatment." *Caelestium* is in any case dependent on *persuasio*—"belief as to heavenly beings." The Egyptians held that many of the gods might be represented under human or even animal shapes; to the Jews all representations of God were forbidden.

17. *effigiesque compositas.* "Images combining the shapes of men and animals." Serapis was represented with the head of a ram, Anubis with that of a dog. Iudaei—intellegunt. This of course is true of the Jews in Tacitus's own time, but inasmuch as in praying they lifted their eyes to heaven, they were often by heathen writers supposed to wor-

ship the heavens; e.g. Juv. Sat. xiv. 97, "nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant."

18. *profanos.* Properly those who betray sacred mysteries; here means "impious, profane."

21. *nedum templis sinunt.* *Urbibus* and *templis* are local ablatives. Heraeus adopting a suggestion of Doederlein reads *sintunt* for *sinunt*. This is not inconsistent with Tacitus's previous statement that the figure of a wild ass was placed in the Holy of Holies, for that may have been done from gratitude, not for purposes of worship.

22. *non Caesaribus honor.* The Jewish (and Christian) refusal to sacrifice to the deified emperors brought them into constant difficulties with the authorities.

23. *tibia tympanisque concinebant.* Musical instruments were largely used in the Jewish worship, and we have constant reference to them in the Psalms, e.g. Psalm cl. 3, etc. More especially were they used on the Feast of Trumpets; see Lev. xxiii. 24. *hedera vinciebantur.* The Jewish priests did not deck themselves with ivy; he may be, perhaps, alluding to some of the ceremonies at the Feast of Tabernacles.

24. *vitisque aurea templo reperta.* Josephus tells us, Bell. Jud. v. 5, 4, how over the gate of Herod's temple vines were carved with clusters as long as a man; see also Joseph. Ant. Jud. xv. 11, 3. These clusters hung down over the lintel.

25. *quidam arbitrati sunt.* This was the view of Plutarch (Symp. iv. 6), who rests it mainly on the fact that the Feast of Tabernacles, the most joyous of the Jewish feasts, followed immediately on the vintage. The emphatic disgust expressed by Tacitus for the institutions of the Jews arose partly out of the exclusiveness of the people, partly from their



institutis. Quippe Liber festos laetosque ritus posuit, Iudaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque.

6. Terra finesque, qua ad Orientem vergunt, Arabia terminantur; a meridie Aegyptus obiacet; ab occasu Phoenices et mare; septentrionem e latere Suriae longe prospectant. Corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum. Rari imbres, 5 uber solum. Fruges nostrum ad morem, praeterque eas balsamum et palmae. Palmetis proceritas et decor. Balsamum modica arbor: ut quisque ramus intumuit (si vim ferri adhibeas, pavent venae), fragmine lapidis aut testa aperiuntur; humor in usu medentium est. Praecipuum montium Libanum erigit, 10 mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus. Idem amnem Iordanen alit funditque. Nec Iordanes pelago

fanaticism, a fanaticism and a formalism which grew more intense as the destruction of Jerusalem approached.

6. 1. *Arabia terminantur*, i.e. by the Arabian desert which separates Palestine from the valley of the Euphrates.

2. *Aegyptus obiacet*. On the south, as on the east, Palestine is bounded by a desert which separates it from Egypt.

3. *septentrionem—longe prospectant*. In classical Latin we should have had *in* (or *ad*) *septentriones*. The metaphor seems to be "it is a far view across the territory to the north;" i.e. it runs far up on that side. The land stretches farthest in the direction of the Anti-Libanus rather than on the side of Syria. There is probably also, as Mr. Godley remarks, a reference intended to the general high level of the country.

4. *rari imbres*. There were two rainy seasons, "the earlier" rains from October to December, "the latter" from March to April, Deut. xi. 11.

5. *uber solum*. Hecataeus had spoken of the soil of Palestine as very fertile.

5. *fruges nostrum ad morem*. The words which follow make it clear that he is here referring to the kinds rather than the amount of fruits. Some MSS. insert *exuberant* or *exsuperant*, but this seems a mere gloss.

6. *balsamum et palmae*. Both balsam and palms grew in the neighbourhood of Jericho, the balsam farther up the Jordan valley and in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee. Jericho is called (Deut. xxxiv. 3) the City of Palm-trees; and Horace (Epp. ii. 2, 184) speaks of "ungui praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus." The balsam which Pales-

tine and Arabia alone were supposed to produce, was highly prized by the Romans for its healing properties and fragrance. After their conquest of the country they took the cultivation of it into their own hands. Much damage, it is said, was done to the plants by the Jews out of spite. Josephus says that King Solomon originally received it as a gift from the Queen of Sheba; Strabo xvi. 763; Justin. xxxvi. 3; Liv. xxv. also mention it. Pliny (who calls it "opobalsamum," N.H. xii.) says, "omnibus odoribus praeferitur balsamum uni terrarum Iudaeae concessum. Ostendere arbusculam hanc urbi Vespasiani imperatores, clarumque dictu a Pompeio Magno in triumpho arboris quoque duximus. Servit nunc haec et tributa pendit cum sua gente. Saeviere in eam Iudaei sicut in vitam quoque suam. Contra defendere Romani et dimicatum pro frutice est. Seritque nunc eam fiscus." Of the palms Plin. N. H. xiii. 6, 26, says "Iudaea vero inclyta est vel magis palmis."

7. *ut quisque ramus*. Cf. Plin. *loc. cit.* "inciditur vitro, lapide, osseive cultellis. Ferro laedi vitalia odit. Emoritur protinus, eadem amputari supervacua patiens."

9. *erigit—fidumque nivibus*. *Erigit* for *se erigit terra*, so G. 46, "quidquid silvarum ac montium erigitur." *Fidum nivibus* is a poetical phrase for "covered with perpetual snow;" so Claudian, R. Pros. i. 165, has "scit nivibus servare fidem." Many of the phrases in this chapter are poetical.

11. *Idem amnem Iordanen*. It is the range of Anti-Libanus (said, by error, to be the Libanus), which is covered with

accipitur, sed unum atque alterum lacum integer perfluit, tertio retinetur. Lacus inmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur. Incertae undae 15 superiacta, ut solido, ferunt; periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur. Certó anni bitumen egerit; cuius legendi usum, ut ceteras artes, experientia docuit. Ater suapte natura liquor et sparso aceto concretus innatat. Hunc manu captum, quibus ea cura, in summa navis trahunt: inde nullo iuvante influit onerat- 20 que, donec abscindas. Nec abscindere aere ferrove possis: fugit cruorem vestemque infectam sanguine quo feminae per menses exsolvuntur. Sic veteres auctores. Sed gnari locorum tradunt undantes bitumine moles pelli manuque trahi ad litus; mox, ubi vapore terrae, vi solis inaruerint, securibus cuneisque 25 ut trabes aut saxa discindi.

7. Haud procul inde campi quos ferunt olim uberes mag-

perpetual snow, and from the base of which, at Banias, the Jordan rises.

12. *sed unum—integer perfluit.* *Integer* means "without being absorbed by them." The two lakes referred to are the Waters of Merom (Joshua xi. 5-7) and the Sea of Galilee, or Lake of Gennesaret, or Sea of Tiberias. *tertio retinetur.* *Tertio* is of course the Dead Sea or Lacus Asphaltites. With respect to this, Plin. N. H. v. 15, 71, says "velut invitus Asphaltiten lacum dirum natura petit a quo postremo ebibitur aquasque laudatas perdit pestilentibus mixtus."

13. *lacus inmenso ambitu.* It is from 40 to 45 miles long, and from 8 to 10 broad. Josephus (Bell. Jud. iv. 8) gives the measurements considerably greater, and so does Pliny, N. H. v. 15, 72; both seem to have overstated them.

13. *specie maris, sapore corruptior.* "In appearance like the sea, in taste more salt." The ablatives are ablatives of quality.

14. *gravitate odoris.* Its waters are so impregnated with salts of various kinds that few fish can live in them, and they give off in some parts a pungent and sulphurous smell. The statement about the birds appears to be an exaggeration; cf. Dict. Bible, art. "Sea, the Salt," §§ 38, 39, 41.

15. *incertae undae—ut solido ferunt.* By *incertae undae* is meant that its waters are something between liquid and solid; *ut solido* means "as on

dry ground." M. reads *incertas*, and this has been altered into *inertes*.

16. *perinde attolluntur.* "Are equally buoyed up." Josephus asserts this same fact, stating that Vespasian threw in soldiers to try, Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 4.

17. *certo anni bitumen egerit.* *Certo anni* is for *certo anni tempore*, after Tacitus's manner. Josephus (Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 4) says that the lumps of bitumen which float on the surface of the water are in size and shape not unlike hornless bulls. Pliny seems to have mistaken them for animals, N. H. v. 15.

20. *in summa navis trahunt: inde.* *Summa navis*, "the deck of the ship;" *inde*, "after that;" i.e. when a certain quantity has been hauled in, it is so sticky that the rest gets drawn in of its own accord. The bitumen was used, Josephus tells us, not only for caulking ships, but for medicine as well.

21. *neo abscindere.* The same strange myth is told by Josephus, Bell. Jud. iv. 8; Pliny, N. H. vii. 15, 65.

7. 1. *haud procul inde campi.* These are the plains where Sodom and Gomorrah once stood, Gen. xix. 24-28. *magnis urbibus—habitatos* may be taken from Verg. Aen. iii. 398, "cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graiis." There were five cities of the Plain—Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar, Gen. xiv. 2. Strabo states that the inhabitants said there had been as many as thirteen, xvi. p. 764. The destruction of

nisque urbibus habitatos fulminum iactu arsisse; et manere vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta sponte edita aut manu sata, sive herba
 5 tenuis aut flore, seu solitam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt. Ego sicut inclutas quondam urbes igne caelesti flagrasse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, corrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque fetus segetum et autumnii putrescere reor, solo caeloque iuxta gravi. Et Belus amnis
 10 Iudaico mari inlabitur; circa cuius os lectae arenae admixto nitro in vitrum excoquuntur. Modicum id litus et egerentibus inexhaustum.

8. Magna pars Iudaeae vicis dispergitur; habent et oppida. Hierosolyma genti caput. Illic immensae opulentiae templum, et primis munimentis urbs, dein regia, templum intimis clausum.

these cities of the Plain was probably brought about by volcanic agency; cf. also Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 4, γειτνιᾷ δὲ ἡ Σοδομίτις αὐτῇ λίμνῃ, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμων γῆ, καρπίων τε ἐνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλεις περιουσίας, νῦν δὲ κεκαυμένη πᾶσα. φασὶ δὲ ὡς δι' ἀσβεβίας οὐκ ἐπὶ ὁρῶν κεραυνῶς κατεφλέγη.

5. seu solitam in speciem. Heraeus with some probability reads *solidam*, understanding it of forming in appearance solid fruit. If *solitam* the sense is scarcely altered. So Josephus, Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 4, says, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς καρποῖς ἰδεῖν σποδίας ἀναγεννωμένης, οἱ χρεῶν μὲν ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐδωδίοις ὁμοίαν, δρεψαμένῳ δὲ χερσὶν εἰς καπνὸν ἀναλίσκονται καὶ τέφραν. The truth of the existence of these "apples of Sodom" is confirmed by many travellers.

8. corrumpi superfusum spiritum. "The atmosphere which spreads over it is tainted." *Spiritus* is used both by Cicero (Cat. i. § 15) and Pliny (N. H. ii. 5, 10) as equivalent to air. The soil is unhealthy, the air apparently not.

9. et Belus amnis. He passes here from the south-east to the north-west of Palestine. The Belus flows into the Mediterranean Sea north of Mount Carmel in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais (Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 10, 2). It is now called Numān or Namān. Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 26, 65, gives the following account: "quingentorum est passuum non amplius litoris spatium (cf. *modicum id litus*) idque tantum multa per saecula gignendo fuit vitro. Fama est appulsa nave mercatorum nitri, cum sparsi per litus epulas

parent, nec esset cortinis attollendis lapidum occasio, glebas nitri e nave subdidisse. Quibus accensis permixta harena litoris, translucetes novi liquoris fluxisse rivos; et hanc fuisse originem vitri;" cf. Strabo, xvi. p. 758.

11. et egerentibus. *Et* = "and yet." *Egerentibus* is a dative of the agent. Strabo says that all the shore between Tyre and Ptolemais has vitreous sand, but the neighbourhood of the Belus has the best.

8. 1. vicis dispergitur = *dispersis vicis habitatur*. This was specially true of Galilee, which was very thickly peopled by villages and little towns at this time; see Josephus, Bell. Jud. iii. 3, 2.

2. Hierosolyma genti caput. Jerusalem is situated on a high table-land rather nearer to the Jordan than to the Mediterranean Sea. Jerusalem was the Jewish capital, but Caesarea on the sea-coast was the Roman capital and is so described by Tacitus himself, ii. 79.

3. et primis munimentis urbs—intimis clausum. It is not to be thought that the three are concentric and one within the other. The walls of the city varied a good deal from time to time. The city lay mainly in the valley between two heights—one on the west usually but incorrectly called Zion, and Mount Moriah to the east—, and sloped up into the table-land to the north. The palace, built by Herod the Great, was situated on the western hill, and had a wall of its own; so had also the Temple, which was on Mount Moriah. Above and north of the Temple rose the

Ad fores tantum Iudaeo aditus; limine, praeter sacerdotes, arcebantur. Dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium: postquam Macedones praepotuerunt, rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adnissus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat. Tum Iudaei, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant) sibi ipsi reges inposuere; qui mobilitate volgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum coniugum parentum neces aliaque solita regibus ausi superstitionem fovebant, quia honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiae adsumebatur.

fort of Antonia. The valley of Jehoshaphat protected the eastern side of the Temple, the valley of Hinnom the western side and the southern side of "Mount Zion." Both Mount Moriah and "Mount Zion" were exceedingly strong by nature and had been strongly fortified.

4. *ad fores tantum Iudaeo aditus.* This is illustrated by S. Luke, i. 8-9, where it is described how the people stood without while Zachariah entered into the Holy Place; see also Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 5-6, *περίστρεψε δὲ τὸν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκλίσθαι τι καὶ χάριν γέλοιον, ὅσον πηχυαίων θύρας, ὃ διαίργον ἐξωτέρῳ τὸν ὄμιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν.* The Holy of Holies, which lay behind the veil, was entered only by the High Priest, and that once a year on the Day of Atonement. Gentiles were excluded even from the court of the Israelites. On the wall which divided the court of the Gentiles from the court of the Israelites an inscription in Greek and Latin warned all Gentiles that the penalty of entering was death. The following inscription to this effect has been recently found:—*μηδένα ἄλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θυρῶν καὶ περιβάλλοντος ὅς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων αἰτίας ἐστὶν διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον.*

5. *dum—despectissima pars servientium.* This is not true. Under David and Solomon the Israelites attained to considerable power, and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah succeeded for a long time in maintaining their independence in presence of the great nations of the East.

6. *Macedones praepotuerunt, i.e.* in the times of Alexander the Great and the Seleucidae.

7. *rex Antiochus.* This is King Antiochus the Fourth, called Epiphanes, by the Jews Epimanes, who ruled over Syria from 176 B.C. to 164 B.C. He put himself at the head of the Hellenising party in Jerusalem, desecrated and destroyed the Temple, and attempted by dint of persecution to force Hellenic customs on all the Jews. Against him the Maccabees rose in successful revolt, see I Macc. i.-v., II Macc. iv.-x., Joseph. Ant. Jud. xii. 5, 3, and xii. 7, 1.

9. *nam—Arsaces desciverat.* If these words are genuine (and the MSS. give us no grounds for suspecting them) Tacitus has fallen into a considerable error. The revolt of Arsaces belongs, not to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, but to that of Antiochus II, who reigned over Syria from 260 B.C. to 245 B.C., and is variously fixed for the year 250 B.C. and 256 B.C. Antiochus II and Antiochus IV were both called *Θεός*, hence perhaps the error.

11. *sibi ipsi reges inposuere.* Aristobulus, eldest son of John Hyrcanus, was the first of the Maccabees to assume the title of King, in 107 B.C., Joseph. Ant. Jud. xiii. 11. Earlier members of the family had been styled Prince and Deliverer.

12. *qui mobilitate volgi.* This again is hardly correct. The dynasty of the Maccabees fell from internal feuds, not from popular risings. There was a war in 92 B.C. between Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees; and the quarrels between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus resulted in the rise of the Herods, and finally in the intervention of the Romans. In the words *resumpta per arma*, etc., Tacitus is probably

9. Romanorum primus Gn. Pompeius Iudaeos domuit, templumque iure victoriae ingressus est. Inde volgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuum sedem et inania arcana. Muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit. Mox civili inter nos
5 bello, postquam in dicionem M. Antonii provinciae cesserant, rex Parthorum Pacorus Iudaea potitus, interfectusque a P. Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten redacti: Iudaeos G. Sosius subegit. Regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum victor Augustus

referring to the enormities of Herod the Great, but members of the family of the Maccabees had also behaved to their own relations with great cruelty.

9. 1. *Romanorum primus Gnaeus Pompeius.* This was in the year 63 B.C. The adherents of Aristobulus on this occasion entrenched themselves in the Temple, and offered a determined resistance to Pompey, who was favoured by Hyrcanus and his followers. It was indeed only at the end of a three months' siege that Pompey was able to force his way into the Temple. He behaved on this occasion with the greatest gentleness, carrying off no spoils from the Temple, nor sacking the city. The greater part of Judaea was restored to Hyrcanus, the Romans retaining in their own hands only the coast-towns, see Strabo, xvi. p. 762; Dio, xxxvii. 16.

2. *templumque — ingressus est.* Josephus, Ant. Jud. xiv. 4, says that "Pompey entered into the interior of the Temple, and not a few of his suite as well, and they saw what it was not lawful for the rest of mankind to see, but only for the priests; but from motives of piety he touched nothing." *Inde* has a temporal sense.

3. *vacuum sedem et inania arcana.* Cf. Joseph. Bell. Jud. vi. 6, *ἐκεῖτο δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ ἁβᾶτον δὲ καὶ ἀχραντὸν καὶ ἀθέατον ἦν πᾶσι.* That the Temple should contain no visible image seems to have filled the heathen writers with astonishment; cf. Dio, xxxvii. 17.

3. *muri — diruti.* Antipater, father of Herod the Great, subsequently obtained leave from Caesar to rebuild them.

5. *provinciae cesserant.* Heraeus inserts *Orientis*, which is no doubt the meaning. For *cesserant*, representing the destination to which a thing goes, see Ann. i. 1, "in Augustum cessere."

6. *rex Parthorum Pacorus Iudaea potitus.* He was not properly king of the Parthians, being son of the Parthian king Orodes. He was called in by

Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, in 40 B.C., and succeeded in routing Herod, spoiling Jerusalem, and handing over the country to Antigonus, Joseph. Ant. Jud. xiv. 13-15.

6. *interfectusque a Publio Ventidio.* Publius Ventidius Bassus was a man of low extraction, said to have been originally a charioteer and mule-driver, but a friend of Julius Caesar, and of Lucius and Marcus Antonius. By their influence he rose rapidly, and became consul in 43 B.C. In 38 B.C. he was despatched by Mark Antony against the Parthians, overthrew them in a pitched battle, and confined them to the east bank of the Euphrates, Tac. G. 37; Plutarch, Anton. 34; Joseph. Ant. Jud. xiv. 15; Appian, B. C. i. 47.

7. *Iudaeos G. Sosius subegit.* Sosius was legate of Antony and governor of Syria. Pacorus had established Antigonus on the throne of Judaea. But after Ventidius's victory Sosius, in conjunction with Herod, besieged Antigonus in Jerusalem, and after an obstinate siege captured the city and him with it, and had him put to death, thus ridding Herod of his last rival in the Asmonean house, 34 B.C.

8. *regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum.* This is Herod, called the Great. He was an Idumaean, son of Antipater, favourite of Hyrcanus. In his father's lifetime he was made governor of Galilee, but expelled in the year 40 B.C. by Antigonus, with the help of Pacorus. He repaired to Rome, and succeeded in obtaining from the senate, through the influence of M. Antony and Octavianus, the title of *Socius Rex Iudaeae*. Having defeated Antigonus and gained possession of Jerusalem, he married Mariamne, Antigonus's niece, and remained king of the Jews till his death in 3 B.C. His reign was signalled by considerable vigour, but also by the grossest and most intolerable cruelty. See Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. ii. pp. 177-182.

8. *victor Augustus auxit.* Josephus, Bell. Jud. i. 20, 3, tells us that Augustus

auxit. Post mortem Herodis, nihil exspectato Caesare, Simo quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quintilio Varo obtinente 10 Suriam punitus; et gentem coërcitam liberi Herodis tripartito rexere. Sub Tiberio quies. Dein iussi a G. Caesare effigiem eius in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere; quem motum Caesaris mors diremit. Claudius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis, Iudaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut 15 libertis permisit; e quibus Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatrae et Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut eiusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset.

10. Duravit tamen patientia Iudaeis usque ad Gessium

restored the portions of his dominions that had been taken from him by Cleopatra, and added besides Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria, and all the coast-towns—Gaza, and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower (Caesarea).

9. *Simo quidam.* He was a slave of Herod, of great strength and daring, who in the absence of Archelaus established himself in the mountain district between Jerusalem and Jericho, and assumed the title of King of Israel, Joseph. Ant. Jud. xvii. 10, 6.

10. *Quintilio Varo.* This was the Quintilius Varus who afterwards met with his death at the hands of Arminius in the Teutoburgian forest in 9 A.D. Josephus says that Simo was put to death by Gratus, his deputy.

11. *liberi Herodis tripartito rexere.* Archelaus received half his father's dominions, but with the title of Ethnarch, not of King. His portion included Idumaea, Judaea, and Samaria. The other half was divided between Antipas and Philip, the first receiving Galilee and Peraea; Philip Gaulonitis, Batanaea, Ituraea, Trachonitis, and the town of Paneas or Caesarea Philippi, by the sources of the Jordan.

12. *iussi a G. Caesare.* This was in the year 40 A.D. Petronius, the governor of Syria, to whom the order was sent, apprehending the danger, entreated Caius not to enforce the command, and, aided by the intercession of Herod Agrippa, induced him to defer the attempt for a time. Before the order was actually carried out Caius died. Philo has left an account of his embassy to Caius; see also Joseph. Ant. Jud. xviii. 8.

14. *defunctis regibus aut*

tis, i.e. after the death of Herod Agrippa I. in 44 A.D., whose death is described in Acts xii. 20-23. After his death, Herod Agrippa II was the sole survivor of the line of the Herods.

15. *provinciam — permisit.* *Permisit* has the sense of "gave over." The first Roman procurator of the whole of Judaea after Herod's death (44 A.D.) was Cuspius Fadus, who ruled it till 45 A.D. He was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, 46 A.D., and he again in 49 A.D. by Ventidius Cumanus. Felix succeeded him in 52 A.D., and was followed by Festus, 60 A.D.

16. *Antonius Felix.* He was the brother of Pallas, Claudius's favourite. He received the name of Antonius because he and his brother were freedmen of Antonia (Claudius's mother). According to Josephus, he was deposed in 60 A.D. For a fuller account of Felix, see Ann. xii. 54, from which it appears that Felix was associated with Cumanus in the government of Judaea before he became procurator of the whole district.

17. *Drusilla* was the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra; how exactly seems not to be known. If, as some suppose, she was the daughter of Agrippa I., it must have been through her mother. Orelli, however, distinguishes this Drusilla from the daughter of Agrippa.

19. *progener, nepos.* *Progener*, "husband of granddaughter." Antony would be in relation to Felix *socer magnus*. Claudius was the son of Antonia Minor, Antony's daughter by Octavia, and Drusus. Tacitus shows a certain grim irony in tracing the relationship between the freedman and the emperor.

20. *Gessius Florus* was the sixth

Florum procuratorem : sub eo bellum ortum. Et comprimere
coeptantem Cestium Gallum Suriae legatum varia praelia ac
saepius adversa excepere. Qui ubi fato aut taedio occidit,
5 missu Neronis Vespasianus fortuna famaue et egregiis ministris
intra duas aestates cuncta camporum omnesque praeter Hiero-
solyma urbes victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus civili
bello intentus, quantum ad Iudaeos, per otium transiit. Pace
per Italiam parta et externae curae rediere. Augebat iras
10 quod soli Iudaei non cessissent. Simul manere apud exer-
citus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utilius
videbatur.

Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum
positis instructas legiones ostentavit.

11. Iudaei sub ipsos muros struxere aciem, rebus secundis
longius ausuri, et si pellerentur, parato perfugio. Missus in eos
eques cum expeditis cohortibus ambigue certavit. Mox cessere

procurator of Judaea, following in 64 A.D. after Albinus, successor to Porcius Festus, mentioned in Acts xxv. He was a Greek of Clazomenae, and the husband of Cleopatra, the intimate friend of Poppaea Sabina, Nero's mistress. He is said to have sought by his cruelty to drive the Jews into revolt, in order to escape impeachment for his maladministration, Joseph. Ant. Jud. xx. 10.

2. sub eo bellum ortum. In the spring of 66 A.D., Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 14, 4. He was killed early in the rising; see Suet. Vesp. 4, "caesoque praeposito (*i.e.* Gessius Florus) legatum insuper Suriae consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta aquila, fugaverunt."

3. Cestium Gallum. Caius was his praenomen. He advanced into Jerusalem itself, but was unable to take either the Temple or the Palace, and soon gave up the siege, and purchased even a hasty retreat by the sacrifice of his baggage and of his rear-guard in the pass of Beth Horon, Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. ii. pp. 209, 210; Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 19, 8, 9.

4. qui ubi—occidit. This was in 67 A.D. The two summers referred to below are those of 67 and 68 A.D., Joseph. Bell. Jud. iii. 1, 2.

6. cuncta camporum. Tacitus carries this use of the neuter adjective to an absurd extent. The adjective is really equivalent here to a substantive, "the whole of the plain country," Madvig, § 284, *obs.* 5.

7. proximus annus, *i.e.* the year 69.

8. quantum ad Iudaeos. "As far as the Jews were concerned." So Ag. 44, "quantum ad gloriam longissimum aevum peregit."

10. soli Iudaei non cessissent. Agrippa II earnestly entreated them to follow the example of all other nations, and submit to the Roman arms, Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 16.

11. ad eventus casusve. "To meet all successes or mishaps." So Liv. xxiii. 18, "nec ad varios conatus hostium aut vis ulla aut ars deerat." For the combination of the two words, see Ann. ii. 26, "satis iam eventuum, satis casuum."

13. uti diximus, *i.e.* in c. 1, above.

14. instructas legiones ostentavit. "He presented his legions in battle array." The legions were the 5th, 10th, 12th, and 15th, and detachments of the 3d and 22d, numbering about 30,000 men. To them must be added the troops of the subject kings, bringing up the total to nearly 60,000, according to Josephus, though Mommsen considers this a somewhat exaggerated estimate; Mommsen, P. R. E. vol. ii. pp. 210, 211.

11. 3. ambigue certavit. Josephus, Jud. Bell. v. 2, 2-4, says that Titus on this occasion had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner. He further adds that the 10th legion was driven out of its camp, and would have been in imminent danger had not Titus come to its assistance.

hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis praelia serebant, donec assiduis damnis intra moenia pellerentur. Romani ad obpugnandum versi. Neque enim dignum videbatur famem hostium opperiri; poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia et cupidine praemiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos; ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem arduam situ opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles *in* inmensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera obpugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis abrupta; et turre, ubi mons iuvisset, in sexaginta pedes, inter devexa in centenos vicenosque

4. *praelia serebant.* Tacitus has substituted this for the more usual *manus conserbant*.

10. *morari videbantur.* This is explained in two ways: (1) *morari* is regarded as neuter, in which case *Roma et opes voluptatesque* are the nominative to *videbantur*, "thus seemed to be delayed;" (2) *morari* is taken in an active sense, in which case *Hierosolyma* will be the nominative, "Jerusalem seemed to come between him and them." The first is to be preferred.

10. *opera molesque.* This is almost a hendiadys, "works of unusual strength." *Molis* refers to the massive stones used in the construction of the walls, particularly of the foundation.

12. *duos colles in inmensum editos.* There were practically four hills included within the walls of Agrippa—(1) Bezetha, lying most to the north, and immediately within the walls on the side from which the Romans were attacking the city; (2) the Acra, immediately north of the Temple, on part of which the fort Antonia stood; (3) Mount Moriah, or the Temple height; (4) the western height, called ordinarily "Mount Zion," on which stood Herod's palace and the main part of the city. Which are the two hills meant is not quite certain. Heraeus understands Bezetha and the Acra to be meant, the other two being mentioned later; Ritter, "Mount Zion" and the Acra; Orelli, following Ferlet, the Acra to the north, and the two points of "Mount Zion" and Mount Moriah to the south. Ferlet adds that from the north-west side, where Titus was encamped, he would see the exterior wall of Agrippa immediately in front of him; behind this a second wall carried along the ridge of the Acra; beyond this again the

Palace and the height of "Zion" to the west, and the Temple on Mount Moriah to the east, each of them defended by its own wall. For *in inmensum editos*, cf. Sall. Jug. 92, "mons saxeus in inmensum editus."

13. *obliqui aut introrsus sinuati.* Orelli quotes Vegetius to show that this was the recognised principle for constructing walls of defence, Veget. iv. 2, "ambitum muri directum veteres duci noluerunt ne ad ictus arietum esset dispositus; sed sinuosis anfractibus, iactis fundamentis, clausere urbes crebrioresque turre in ipsis angulis ediderunt, propterea, quia, si quis ad murum tali ordinatione constructum vel scalas vel machinas voluerit admovere, non solum a fronte sed etiam a lateribus et prope a tergo veluti in sinum circumclusus opprimitur."

14. *et turre.* Not only were the towers of great height and strength; they were also very numerous. Orelli reckons from Josephus's account that there were sixty on the outside wall, fourteen on the middle, ninety on the innermost wall. The ground fell sharply away to the east, the west, and the south. On the eastern side the city was defended by the valley of the Kedron, which separated it from the Mount of Olives, on the west by the valley of Hinnom, while at the south the valley of Hinnom bending round joined the valley of the Kedron. *ubi mons iuvisset* means "where the ground fell sharply," so as to give them practically greater height.

15. *inter devexa.* "Where the ground was lower." *procul intuentibus pares.* The ground rises gradually to the north above the city, so that as one looked down on the towers, their tops seemed all on a level.

attollebantur, mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares. Alia intus moenia, regiae circumiecta, conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.

12. Templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipsae porticus, quis templum ambibatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus. 5 Praeviderant conditores ex diversitate morum crebra bella: inde cuncta quamvis adversus longum obsidium. Et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. Atque per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum, magna conluvie et

17. regiae circumiecta. The Palace, which had been greatly enlarged by Herod, stood on the western hill facing the Temple, a bridge spanning the valley between them.

17. turris Antonia. This stood on Mount Moriah, at the north-west angle of the Temple platform, on a hill rising some fifty feet above the Temple. It was built by Herod the Great on the site of an earlier fortification called the Baris. It is called in Acts xxi. 34, *παραβολή*, and served as the barracks of the small Roman garrison at Jerusalem.

12. 1. templum. It was situated on the top of Mount Moriah, the eastern of the two summits, and was defended on the east by the valley of the Kedron or valley of Jehoshaphat, on the west by the Tyropoeon, which separated it from the rival and somewhat higher western summit. The existing temple had been built by Herod the Great at vast expense and with great magnificence. So strong and high were its walls that it was all but impregnable. It occupied a square of 600 feet, and was surrounded by a portico or colonnade. The splendour of its buildings is alluded to several times in the Gospels, S. Matt. xxiv. 1, 2; S. Mark, xiii. 2-1; S. Luke, xxi. 5, 6.

2. ipsae porticus. The Temple courts were surrounded by a number of colonnades or porticos, that of Solomon (Acts iii. 11) being one of them. The pillars supporting these were, according to Josephus, twenty-five cubits high, and of the whitest marble. The flat roofs of the porticos were often used for purposes of defence.

3. fons perennis aquae. Now called the Virgin's Spring, the one natural spring which Jerusalem possesses, a little south

of the Temple, on the east side of the hill, whence a tunnel some 1700 feet long, excavated in the rock, leads down to the "Pool of Siloam," at the entrance to the Tyropoeon valley, and supplies it with water. The Virgin's Spring is intermittent, but it flows at all periods of the year, and so deserves the epithet which Tacitus applies to it. By means of the tunnel—which is perhaps the one alluded to in 11 Chron. xxxii. 30 (cf. 11 Kings xviii. 17)—the city would be kept provided with water in the event of a siege. Under and about the hill, on which the Temple stood, there are still numerous remains of reservoirs and conduits, connected with the water-supply of the city, capable also of being used as storehouses and hiding-places in time of war.

6. et a Pompeio expugnatia. The city had been taken not only by Pompey after a long siege, but also by Sosius and Herod.

7. per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum. The walls, after they had been destroyed by Pompey, had originally been rebuilt by Hyrcanus and Antipater in the time of Antony, but Agrippa in Claudius's time had added to them and extended them.

9. magna conluvie et ceterarum urblum clade aucti. The *conluvia* refers to the wild and fanatical spirits, the *sicarii* and others who flocked to Jerusalem from Galilee in the north and Idumaea in the south, and from the district east of the Jordan. The other cities alluded to are those captured by Vespasian in 67 and 68 A.D., such as Jotapata, Gamala, Gischala, Lydda, Jamnia, Azotus, and many towns in the district east of the Jordan.

ceterarum urbium clade aucti: nam pervicacissimus quisque 10
illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem
exercitus. Extrema et latissima moenium Simo, mediam urbem
Ioannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant, templum Eleazarus fir-
maverat. Multitudine et armis Ioannes ac Simo, Eleazarus
loco pollebat. Sed praelia dolus incendia inter ipsos, et magna 15
vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Ioannes, missis per speciem sacri-
ficandi qui Eleazarum manumque eius obtruncarent, templo
potitur. Ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propin-
quantibus Romanis bellum externum concordiam pareret.

13. Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis neque votis
piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.
Visae per caelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito
nubium igne conlucere templum. Exapertae repente delubri

12. *Simo.* He came from Gerasa beyond the Jordan, and had first distinguished himself in the retreat of Cestius. He had been expelled from Jerusalem by the more moderate party, but had established himself in the district south of the Dead Sea. In consequence of a dispute which broke out between the Idumaeans and the Galilean zealots, he was recalled by the former and introduced once more into Jerusalem. Josephus says (Bell. Jud. ii. 19, 2, iv. 9, 3) that he was the son of Gioras. He adds that he was less cunning than John, but superior to him in bodily strength. The outer walls which he occupied were those built by Herod Agrippa. Simon survived the siege, was taken to Rome by Titus to grace his triumph, and afterwards put to death.

12. *mediam urbem Ioannes, i.e.* "Mount Zion" and also the lower city. John is called by Josephus, son of Levi. He came from Gischala, and was the ferocious leader of the Galilean zealots, Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 6, 1. If we are not to suppose that the words *quem et Bargioram vocabant* have crept in through the error of a copyist, we must, since the statement of Josephus is quite explicit, believe that Tacitus has here made a mistake, and has confused Simon with John.

13. *templum Eleazarus firmaverat.* Eleazar is called Bar-Simon by Josephus. He came of the stock of the high priests, was the head of the war party in Jerusalem itself, and is described by Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 4, as the most capable of all the leaders. He did not hold the whole

of the Temple, as the outer portico was occupied by John, but the inner court and the Holy of Holies.

14. *armis Ioannes.* He had got possession of all the siege train which had been captured from Cestius Gallus.

15. *incendia inter ipsos.* Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. 1, 4, relates that it fell out that all the corn, which would have lasted them for a long siege of many years, was burnt, with the exception of a small amount. At last the city was taken by famine, which could hardly have been the case had not the leaders by their quarrels destroyed the supplies in advance.

16. *missis — qui Eleazarum — obtruncarent.* This was done at the time of the Passover. Eleazar and his adherents were not, as we might gather from the language of Tacitus, actually massacred, but submitted themselves to John of Gischala and took service under him, Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 6.

18. 1. *evenerant prodigia.* A number of these are recounted by Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. 5, 3.

1. *quae — superstitioni obnoxia.* To pay any respect to omens was forbidden by the Mosaic law, Levit. xix. 26, Jer. x. 2. The Roman contempt for the Jews comes out very clearly in the unappreciative language in which Tacitus here speaks of their faith.

4. *exapertae repente — fores. Exapertae* is Orelli's correction for *apertae* of M. The word is not elsewhere found except in a passage of S. Augustine. Ritter suggests *expasas*, Heraeus *apertae*. It was the eastern gate of the inner Temple

5 fores, et audita maior humana vox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium. Quae pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Iudaea rerum potirentur. Quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum
10 praedixerat: sed vulgus, more humanae cupidinis, sibi tantam factorum magnitudinem interpretati ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obsessorum, omnis aetatis, virile ac muliebre secus, sexcenta milia fuisse accepimus. Arma cunctis qui ferre possent; et plures quam pro numero audebant. Ob-

which thus opened of its own accord; ordinarily it took twenty men to open it, Joseph. Bell. Jud. vi. 5, 3.

6. quae pauci in metum trahebant. "Which few interpreted as an omen of fear." For this use of *trahere*, see Ann. i. 62, "in deterius trahenti," and elsewhere. Josephus, *l.c.*, gives the following account of the prodigy: "At the feast of Pentecost the priests having passed at night into the inner Temple, as was their custom, for their religious services, they said they were first of all conscious of a movement and a noise, and afterwards they heard a united cry, 'We are departing hence.'" The omen would impress itself the more on the Romans because their custom was, when they besieged a city, to invite the tutelary gods to come out of it, promising that they would receive with them an equal or a greater worship, Plin. N. H. xxviii. 2, 18; cf. also Livy's account, v. 22, of the removal of the gods of Veii to Rome.

7. antiquis sacerdotum litteris. He is referring here to the many Messianic prophecies contained in the Bible, e.g. Daniel, ii. 35, 44.

8. ut valesceret Oriens. Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. 5, 1, testifies to the prevalence of this belief among the Jews. "But that," he says, "which incited them most to the war was an oracle found in their sacred writings that at that time there would arise out of their country one who would rule the world. This some interpreted as applicable specially to the Jews, and many of their wise men were misled in their judgment. The oracle clearly pointed to Vespasian, who was appointed imperator against Iudaea." Suetonius, Vesp. 4, has a very similar view: "There was prevalent throughout the East an ancient and constant belief that it was fated

that at that time certain men starting from Iudaea should become masters of the world. Though that was predicted about the Roman emperor, as appeared afterwards from the event, the Jews interpreted it as referring to themselves, and rebelled." Tacitus, in explaining the prophecy of the Roman victory, is thus only following a belief prevalent among his contemporaries.

9. quae ambages — praedixerat. Many editors, following some of the inferior MSS., alter this into *praedixerant*, on the ground that the singular of *ambages* is never found except in the ablative case.

10. sed vulgus — sibi — interpretati — mutabantur. The sentence is, strictly speaking, ungrammatical, but *interpretati* is made to agree with *vulgus* by a construction *κατά σφέων*; *sibi* means "in their own favour;" *ad vera mutabantur* means "were made to take a true view."

12. virile ac muliebre secus. Tacitus repeats the phrase, Ann. iv. 62. *Secus* is an accusative of description, cf. Roby, § 1104, and Liv. xxvi. 47.

13. sexcenta milia — accepimus. The last word perhaps denotes that Tacitus had some doubts in his own mind. Josephus apparently gives the number as much greater, as he states that those killed during the siege amounted to 1,100,000. But it is not quite clear how much he includes within the siege, as many of the Jews had perished in their civil wars before the actual siege by the Romans began.

14. plures quam pro numero, *i.e.* a far larger proportion of the population than would ordinarily be found to do so, ventured to take up arms.

stinatio viris feminisque par ; ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, 15
maior vitae metus quam mortis. Hanc adversus urbem gentem-
que Caesar Titus, quando inpetus et subita belli locus
abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare statuit. Dividuntur
legionibus munia, et quies praeliorum fuit, donec cuncta ex-
pugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres aut novis ingeniis 20
struerentur.

14. At Civilis post malam in Treveris pugnam reparato
per Germaniam exercitu apud Vetera castra consedit, tutus
loco, et ut memoria prosperarum illic rerum augescerent bar-
barorum animi. Secutus est eodem Cerialis, duplicatis copiis
adventu secundae et sextae et quartae decumae legionum. 5
Cohortesque et alae iam pridem accitae post victoriam prope-
raverant. Neuter ducum cunctator. Sed arcebat latitudo
camporum suoapte ingenio humentium. Addiderat Civilis obli-
quam in Rhenum molem, cuius obiectu revolutus amnis adiacen-
tibus superfunderetur. Ea loci forma, incertis vadis subdola et 10
nobis adversa : quippe miles Romanus armis gravis et nandi
pavidus ; Germanos fluminibus suetos levitas armorum et
proceritas corporum attollit.

15. Igitur lacescentibus Batavis ferocissimo cuique nostro-

16. maior vitae metus. Cf. Dio, lxxvi. 6, *καὶ ἰδοὺ πᾶσι μὲν οὐχ ὅτι θάνατος ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκη καὶ σωτηρία εὐδαιμονία τε εἶναι οἱ τῷ κατὰ συνὰ πτόλουντο.*

17. inpetus et subita belli. "As-
saults and surprises."

20. aut novis ingeniis. "Or by
new inventions," but with a reference to
the inventions being due to human ingeni-
uity ; or perhaps, "by new wits."

14. 1. post malam in Treveris
pugnam. For the account of their
defeat by Cerialis, see above, iv. 77.

1. reparato per Germaniam exer-
citu. This was in accordance with
Civilis's original advice (iv. 76), his view
being before his late defeat that reinforce-
ments from Germany should be waited for.
Germania in the singular is, as always
in Tacitus, Germany proper, Germany
east of the Rhine. The Roman German
provinces west of the Rhine are always
spoken of as *Germaniae*—the Germanics.

4. duplicatis copiis adventu se-
cundae et sextae et quartae decumae
legionum. Of these, the 2d Adiutrix
came from Italy, having been recently
levied, probably from the fleet. The 6th

was brought up from Spain, the 14th
from Britain, to which country it had
only just returned, ii. 66, iv. 68. Cerialis
had five legions with him before—the
4th, the 18th, the 1st, the 6th, and the
21st, iv. 71, 72, 78 ; but four out of the
five were only portions of legions, so that
his force may well have been doubled by
the arrival of three fresh entire legions.

6. iam pridem accitae. They had
been called out by Hordeonius Flaccus
quite early in the campaign, iv. 24.

8. suoapte ingenio. For this post-
classical use of *ingenium* (first found in
Sallust) to express the physical character-
istics of inanimate objects, see above, i. 51.

8. obliquam in Rhenum molem,
i.e. a dam built out into the stream.
The use of *obiectum* just below is perhaps
borrowed from Verg. Aen. i. 159, "in-
sula portum efficit obiectum laterum."

11. armis gravis. He refers mainly
to the defensive armour, the heavy shield
and the breastplate which the Roman
soldiers wore. The *pilum* was also a
heavy weapon.

12. levitas armorum. In Ann. ii. 14
Tacitus says, "non lorica Germano,



rum coeptum certamen ; deinde orta trepidatio, cum praealtis paludibus arma equi haurirentur. Germani notis vadis persultabant, omissa plerumque fronte latera ac terga circumvenientes. Neque ut in pedestri acie, comminus eminus certabatur ; sed tamquam navali pugna, vagi inter undas aut, si quid stabile occurrebat, totis illic corporibus nitentes, vulnerati cum integris, periti nandi cum ignaris in mutuam perniciem implicabantur. Minor tamen quam pro tumultu caedes, quia non ausi egredi paludem Germani in castra rediere. Eius praelii eventus utrumque ducem, diversis animi motibus, ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit. Civilis instare fortunae, Cerialis abolere ignominiam. Germani prosperis feroces ; Romanos pudor excitaverat. Nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas acta.

16. Postera luce Cerialis equite et auxiliariis cohortibus frontem explet ; in secunda acie legiones locatae ; dux sibi delectos retinuerat ad improvisa. Civilis haud porrecto agmine sed cuneis adstitit. Batavi Gugernique in dextro ; laeva ac propiora fluminis Transrhenani tenere. Exhortatio ducum non more contionis apud universos, sed ut quosque suorum

non galeam ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenues et fucatas colore tabulas."

15. 3. notis vadis persultabant. "Skimmed lightly over the surface of morasses with which they were well acquainted." *Persultare* is a favourite word with Tacitus. He uses it, for instance, Ann. iv. 47 ; and in Ann. xi. 9, "Hibero exercitu campos persultante."

5. ut in pedestri acie. *Pedestris acies* is here contrasted with *navalis pugna*, as in Caes. B. G. iii. 9 we have *pedestria itinera* contrasted with the use of ships. *comminus eminus certabatur*. This is Gronovius's correction, accepted by Orelli, of the reading of M. *comminus minus certabatur*. The phrase had already occurred, ii. 42, "comminus eminus catervis et cuneis concurrebant." Heraeus, however, holds that the *minus* has crept in by the repetition of the last syllable of *comminus*, and expunges it altogether.

6. si quid stabile occurrebat. "If any spot affording a foothold." So Livy, xlv. 5, "stabilem ad insistendum nancisci locum."

10. in castra rediere, i.e. to their camp at Vetera.

11. ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit. "Roused them to hasten on a decisive engagement." The phrase *summae rei discrimen* is repeated Ann. ii. 12, "propinquo summae rei discrimine."

14. apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas. The double change from *apud barbaros* to *nostris*, and from *cantu aut clamore* to *per iram et minas* is noteworthy.

16. 2. frontem explet. *Explet* is here used instead of *firmat*, which occurs in Ann. i. 51, and Ag. 35.

4. sed cuneis adstitit. Vegetius, the writer on Roman tactics, explains *cuneus* as a wedge-shaped formation, used for breaking the enemy's line. But here and in other passages in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. i. 51 (where see Furneaux's note), it seems used in a wider sense of formation in column, as contrasted with formation in line. The ablative is an ablative of manner, for which in other places Tacitus uses the preposition *per*.

4. Gugernique. For this people, see above, iv. 26, note on line 15.

5. Transrhenani, i.e. the Bructeri, Tencteri, and others, see iv. 33.

6. ut quosque suorum adveh-

advehebantur. Cerialis veterem Romani nominis gloriam, anti-
 quas recentesque victorias: ut perfidum ignavum victum hostem
 in aeternum excinderent, ultione magis quam praelio opus esse.
 Pauciores nuper cum pluribus certasse, ac tamen fusos Germa- 10
 nos, quod roboris fuerit. Superesse qui fugam animis, qui
 vulnera tergo ferant. Proprios inde stimulos legionibus ad-
 movebat, domitores Britanniae quartadecumanos appellans;
 principem Galbam sextae legionis auctoritate factum; illa
 primum acie secundanos nova signa novamque aquilam dicatu- 15
 ros. Hinc praevectus ad Germanicum exercitum manus tende-
 bat, ut suam ripam, sua castra sanguine hostium recuperarent.
 Alacrior omnium clamor, quis vel ex longa pace praelii cupido
 vel fessis bello pacis amor, praemiaque et quies in posterum
 sperabantur. 20

17. Nec Civilis silentem struxit aciem, locum pugnae
 testem virtutis ciens. Stare Germanos Batavosque super
 vestigia gloriae, cineres ossaque legionum calcantes. Quocun-
 que oculos Romanus intenderet, captivitatem clademque et
 dira omnia obversari. Ne terrentur vario Treverici praelii 5

bantur. "As they rode up to the several divisions of their own men." The phrase is repeated in Ann. ii. 45, "tunc Arminius ut quosque advectus erat." *Advehi* is first used with an accusative of person in Verg. Aen. viii. 136, "Dardanus advehitur Teucros."

7. *Cerialia*. There is here an ellipse of some word like *memorabat*, an ellipse of which Tacitus is fond.

9. *excinderent*. This word is used of the total destruction of an enemy, Ann. ii. 25. In both places Tacitus may have borrowed from Vergil, Aen. ix. 137, "ferro sceleratam excindere gentem."

10. *Germanos, quod roboris fuerit*. The phrase is repeated from iv. 76, "quod roboris sit Belgas." "The very backbone of their army."

12. *proprios inde stimulos, i.e.* "incentives which appealed to them alone."

13. *domitores Britanniae quartadecumanos appellans*. For the exploits of this legion in Britain, see Ann. xiv. 34-37; H. ii. 11, note on line 5; i. 59, note on line 3.

14. *sextae legionis auctoritate*. "By the initiative of the 6th legion," then quartered in Spain, i. 6, note on line 9, and i. 16.

15. *secundanos*. They had been mentioned in iv. 68, as *e recens conscriptis*.

They were, perhaps, enrolled from the fleet. The eagles were regarded by the legions as their presiding deities, and it is to this fact Cerialis here refers.

16. *hinc praevectus ad Germanicum exercitum manus tendebat*. *Praevectus* is probably for *praetervectus*. By *Germanicus exercitus* we must of course understand the Roman army of Germany who had deserted to the Gauls and again returned to allegiance. Cerialis had with him the 4th, 1st, and 21st legions of this army, iv. 71. They were to recover the ground which was properly their own. *Vetera* was their camp.

17. 1. *silentem struxit aciem*. "Drew up his line in silence." The silence, which should properly have been denied of Civilis himself, is denied instead of the line; but speech on his part would naturally be answered by shouts of approval on theirs, so the silence can properly be denied of both; any change is therefore unnecessary.

21. *ciens*, "appealing to;" so Ann. i. 21.

4. *et dira omnia*. "Everything to daunt them;" the opposite of *fausta* or *lata omnia*, which occurs in ii. 74, iv. 49. In all these passages some MSS. read *omina* for *omnia*, but the change is not required.

5. *vario Treverici praelii eventu*.

eventu. Suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse, dum omissis telis praeda manus impediunt: sed cuncta mox prospera et hosti contraria evenisse. Quae provideri astu ducis oportuerit, provisa, campos madentes et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus
 10 noxias. Rhenum et Germaniae deos in aspectu; quorum numine capesserent pugnam, coniugum parentum patriae memores. Illum diem aut gloriosissimum inter maiores aut ignominiosum apud posteros fore. Ubi sono armorum tripudiisque (ita illis mos) approbata sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque
 15 et ceteris missilibus praelium incipitur, neque nostro milite paludem ingrediente, et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacessentibus.

18. Absumptis quae iaciuntur, et ardescente pugna, procursum ab hoste infestius. Inmensis corporibus et praelongis hastis fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant; simul e mole quam eductam in Rhenum rettulimus, Bructerorum
 5 cuneus tranatavit. Turbata ibi res, et pellebatur sociarum cohortium acies, cum legiones pugnam excipiunt, suppressaque

"The ups and downs of the engagement among the Treveri." He will not speak of it as a defeat, misliking the omen. Heraeus quotes Liv. xxiii. 13 to illustrate this use of *varius*, "quam varia victoria priore Punico bello fuerit plerique qui meminerimus, supersumus." For the *Treverici praelii*, see above, iv. 81.

6. *dum* — *impediunt*. This interposition in the midst of oratio obliqua of an explanatory clause, or even of a relative clause, in the indicative, is not infrequent in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. ii. 81, "Piso oravit ut maneret in castello dum Caesar . . . consulitur." See Furneaux, Int. v. 49, where many other passages are quoted. The clause is regarded as simply equivalent to an adjective or participle.

7. *mox*. "Subsequently."

8. *quae provideri* — *oportuerit*. This phrase seems taken directly from Sall. Jug. 49, 2, "quae ab imperatore decuerint provideri omnia suis provisa."

9. *ipsis gnaros*. This passive use of *gnarus*, "known by," is peculiar to Tacitus, but *ignarus* is used passively by other authors (Sallust and Ovid) Nipperdey, Ann. xi. 32, note 1.

10. *Rhenum et Germaniae deos*. The Rhine seems to have had then, as it has now, a special fascination for the Germans; otherwise they did not worship rivers, but the spirits of the forest and the grove. See G. 9. *quorum numine*. "Under whose protection."

12. *gloriosissimum inter maiores*. This expression is somewhat obscure from its extreme terseness. It seems to mean "most glorious among the days made glorious by the deeds of our ancestors." He puts it in this form from his anxiety to secure an antithesis to *ignominiosum apud posteros*.

14. *ita illis mos*. For the custom, see G. 11, "si displicuit sententia fremitu aspernatur; sin placuit frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare." Caesar recounts a similar custom as prevalent among the Gauls, B. G. vii. 21.

16. *lacessentibus*. A doubt has been raised whether the Germans provoked the Romans by words or by plying them with missiles; probably the latter is intended.

18. 3. *hastis*. The German spears are thus described by Tacitus, G. 6, "hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnent." *fluitantem labantemque*. "Buoyed up on the water, slipping on the land."

4. *rettulimus*. See above, c. 14.

5. *cuneus* is here, as in c. 16, "a column."

6. *pugnam excipiunt*. For this use of *excipio*, "to take a conflict over off some one else's hands," see above, iv. 71.

hostium ferocia praelium aequatur. Inter quae perfuga Batavus adiit Cerialem, terga hostium promittens, si extremo paludis eques mitteretur: solidum illa, et Gugernos, quibus custodia obvenisset, parum intentos. Duae alae cum perfuga missae incauto hosti circumfunduntur. Quod ubi clamore cognitum, legiones a fronte incubuere, pulsique Germani Rhenum fuga petebant. Debellatum eo die foret, si Romana classis sequi maturasset. Ne eques quidem institit, repente fuis imbris et propinqua nocte.

19. Postera die quartadecuma legio in superiorem provinciam Gallo Annio missa; Cerialis exercitum decuma ex Hispania legio supplevit. Civili Chaucorum auxilia venere. Non tamen ausus oppidum Batavorum armis tueri, raptis quae ferri poterant, ceteris iniecto igni, in insulam concessit, gnarus deesse naves efficiendo ponti, neque exercitum Romanum aliter transmissurum. Quin et diruit molem a Druso Germanico

8. *terga hostium promittens.* "Offering to take the enemy in the rear," a somewhat forced expression, nor is any exact equivalent quoted.

8. *extremo paludis.* An ablative of "the road by which."

9. *solidum illa, i.e. illa parte,* "on that side;" so Ann. ii. 17, "illa rupturus;" H. iii. 8; G. 34. For the Gugerni, see above, c. 16.

10. *parum intentos.* "Little on the alert."

12. *Rhenum — petebant.* Because their home lay across the stream.

13. *Romana classis.* The flotilla kept on the Rhine, see below, c. 21.

14. *institit.* "Followed up their advantage."

19. 2. *Gallo Annio.* He was governor of Germania Superior, as appears from iv. 68.

2. *decuma ex Hispania legio.* It had been mentioned in iv. 68 that this legion, along with the 6th, had been summoned from Spain.

4. *oppidum Batavorum.* M. has *oppidū*, other MSS. *oppida*. Ritter reads *oppidum*, and regards *Batavorum* as a gloss, understanding *oppidum* of Vetera, the town, as distinct from the camp. Orelli and Heraeus concur in reading *oppidum Batavorum*, and understand it of the capital of the Batavians, situated south, or on the left bank, of the Vahalís. It would then be parallel to the capital of the Ubii, called *oppidum Ubiorum*,

Ann. i. 36. Its exact site has been variously fixed. Heraeus places it in the neighbourhood of Cleves. Orelli, following Walckemar, identifies it with Battenburg, situated at the point where the Vahalís and the Mosá join. Others incline to identify it with Batavodurum, but this was probably situated in the Insula Batavorum, while the place here referred to was certainly situated on the south or left bank of the south arm of the Rhine. The difficulty in the way of considering the capital of the Batavi situated south of the Rhine to be here meant is that no other author makes direct mention of such a capital.

5. *in insulam concessit, i.e. retired into the Insula Batavorum across the Vahalís.*

7. *diruit molem a Druso Germanico factam.* This *mole* of Drusus is mentioned in Ann. xiii. 53, and there called *agger*. It was made by Drusus in the last year of his life, i.e. 9 B.C. Sixty-three years afterwards, i.e. 55 A.D., Paulinus Pompeius completed it. It seems to have been made just at the point where the Rhine divides, at the extreme end of the Insula Batavorum. Drusus's object in constructing it was to divert the main stream of the Rhine into the northern channel, partly to get water to supply the *fossa Drusiana*, but still more in order to connect the Insula with Gaul and to sever it from Germany. Civilis now demolishes the dam for a precisely opposite reason,

factam, Rhenumque prono alveo in Galliam ruentem, disiectis quae morabantur, effudit. Sic velut abacto amne, tenuis alveus
 10 insulam inter Germanosque continentium terrarum speciem fecerat. Transiere Rhenum Tutor quoque et Classicus et centum tredecim Treverorum senatores; in quis fuit Alpinus Montanus, quem a Primo Antonio missum in Gallias superius memoravimus. Comitabatur eum frater D. Alpinus. Simul
 15 ceteri miseratione ac donis auxilia concibant inter gentes periculorum avidas.

20. Tantumque belli superfuit ut praesidia cohortium alarum legionum uno die Civilis quadripertito invaserit, decumam legionem Arenaci, secundam Batavoduri, et Grinnes Vadamque cohortium alarumque castra, ita divisis copiis ut ipse et Verax,
 5 sorore eius genitus, Classicusque ac Tutor suam quisque manum traherent; nec omnia patrandi fiducia, sed multa ausis aliqua in parte fortunam adfore: simul Cerialem neque satis cautum, et pluribus nuntiis huc illuc cursantem posse medio intercipi. Quibus obvenerant castra decumanorum, obpugnationem legionis
 10 arduam rati egressum militem et caedendis materiis operatum turbavere, occiso praefecto castrorum et quinque primoribus centurionum paucisque militibus: ceteri se munimentis defendere. Et interim Germanorum manus Batavoduri rumpere

in order that the Vahalis might be increased and the northern stream diminished. By these means he diverted in the direction of Gaul the main stream of the Rhine, which rushed again down its original channel.

9. *velut abacto amne*. "As if the river were drawn off." The northern branch became now much the less important of the two arms.

12. *tredecim Treverorum senatores*. He uses the more honourable title *senatores*, instead of the more correct *decuriones*.

13. *quem — memoravimus*, iii. 35, iv. 31. He had described him there as sent into Germany, here into Gaul.

20. 1. *praesidia*. "The standing camps." The precise character of the operations described in this chapter is hard to follow, because of our ignorance of the exact position of the four places mentioned in it. Ritter considers that Arenacum and Batavodurum are north of the northern branch of the Rhine, Grinnes and Vada south of the southern branch,

so that Cerialis's object in occupying these points was to attack the island from two sides. Heraeus places all four of the towns south of the Vahalis, Grinnes and Vada farther to the west than Arenacum and Batavodurum. Orelli seems to include them all in the Insula.

6. *traherent*. M. reads *traheret*, but it is Tacitus's universal custom elsewhere to construct *quisque* with the plural.

6. *nec—fiducia, sed—adfore*. The change from the direct to the oblique oration is rather abrupt.

8. *posse medio intercipi*. *Medio* is a local ablative, as often in Tacitus.

13. *Batavoduri rumpere inchoatum pontem nitebantur*. Over what stream the bridge went will depend on the position of Batavodurum. If with Ritter we place it north of the northern arm of the Rhine, between it and Noviomagus, then it will be this northern arm the Romans were attempting to bridge; if with Heraeus we place it south of the Vahalis, it will be the Vahalis. Kiepert seems not to recognise this place at all.

incohatum pontem nitebantur. Ambiguum praelium nox diremit. Plus discriminis apud Grinnes Vadamque. 15

21. Vadam Civilis, Grinnes Classicus obpugnabant. Nec sisti poterant interfecto fortissimo quoque; in quis Briganticus praefectus alae ceciderat, quem fidum Romanis et Civili avunculo infensum diximus. Sed ubi Cerialis cum delecta equitum manu subvenit, versa fortuna praecipites Germani in amnem 5 aguntur. Civilis dum fugientes retentat, agnitus petitusque telis relicto equo tranatavit. Idem Veracis effugium. Tutorem Classicumque adpulsae lintres vexere. Ne tum quidem Romana classis pugnae adfuit, ut iussum erat: sed obstitit formido et remiges per alia militiae munia dispersi. Sane Cerialis parum 10 temporis ad exsequenda imperia dabat, subitus consiliis, sed eventu clarus. Aderat fortuna etiam ubi artes defuissent. Hinc ipsi exercituique minor cura disciplinae. Et paucos post dies, quamquam periculum captivitatis evasisset, infamiam non vitavit.

22. Profectus Novesium Bonnamque ad visenda castra quae hiematuris legionibus erigebantur, navibus remeabat, disiecto agmine, incuriosis vigiliis. Animadversum id Germanis; et insidias conposuere. Electa nox atra nubibus; et prono amne rapti, nullo prohibente, vallum ineunt. Prima 5

15. apud Grinnes Vadamque. In the tabula Peutingeriana, Vada is called "ad duodecimum," and is placed between Lugdunum Batavorum (Leyden) and Noviomagus (Nimwegen) and east of Grinnes. This seems to make it pretty clear that these places were either in or north of the Insula Batavorum.

21. 2. Briganticus—diximus, *i.e.* in iv. 70.

5. in amnem, *i.e.* into the northern arm of the Rhine.

7. Idem Veracis effugium. This is the correction of Jacobus Gronovius for *Germani* of M. Ritter would read *Germanis*, there being, as he points out, a contrast intended between the Batavians and Germans, who could swim, and Classicus and Tutor, who could not. But *Veracis* is to be preferred, for Tacitus seems to be tracing here the fate of the leaders, not of their followers.

8. ne tum quidem. He had lamented its absence before, c. 18. It now seems to have been ordered out of the Vahaldis into the northern arm of the Rhine, where the increased volume of water would make its operations possible.

12. ubi artes defuissent. "Where he had shown a want of tactical skill." The subjunctive is used because the occasions are left indefinite.

14. quamquam periculum evasisset. Neither the use of the subjunctive with *quamquam* nor the accusative with *evadere* is usual in prose. The latter occurs again, Ann. i. 51; Ag. 33, etc.

22. 1. Novesium. For the position of this place, see iv. 26.

2. hiematuris. It appears from the next chapter, "cum interim flexu autumnii et crebris per aequinoctium imbris," that the narrative has now reached the end of September.

3. disiecto agmine. His escort on shore did not keep up with the ships, and marched in broken order.

5. vallum ineunt. Where the camp was it is of course impossible to say, but it appears from what follows that it was somewhere in the country of the Ubii. *suismet tentoriis* This is a correction based on the Vatican MSS. for *loriis*, the reading of M. Many of the minor MSS. read *loriis*.

- caedes astu adiuta: incis is tabernaculorum funibus, suis met tentoriis coopertos trucidabant. Aliud agmen turbare classem, inicere vincla, trahere puppes. Utque ad fallendum silentio, ita coepta caede, quo plus terroris adderent, cuncta clamoribus
- 10 miscebant. Romani vulneribus exciti quaerunt arma, ruunt per vias, pauci ornatu militari, plerique circum brachia torta veste et strictis mucronibus. Dux semisomnus ac prope in-tectus errore hostium servatur. Namque praetoriam navem vexillo insignem, illic ducem rati, abripiunt. Cerialis alibi
- 15 noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob stuprum Claudiae Sacratae mulieris Ubiae. Vigiles flagitium suum ducis dedecore excusabant, tamquam iussi silere, ne quietem eius turba- rent; ita intermisso signo et vocibus se quoque in somnum lapsos. Multa luce revecti hostes, captivis navibus, praetoriam
- 20 triremem flumine Luppia donum Veledae traxere.

23. Civilem cupido incessit navalem aciem ostentandi. Complet quod biremium, quaeque simplici ordine agebantur. Adiecta ingens lintrium vis, tricenos quadragenosque . . . ; armamenta Liburnicis solita; et simul captae lintres sagulis

8. *iniciere vincla*, *i.e.* ropes; so used by Verg. Aen. ii. 236, "stuppea vincula collo intendunt."

8. *ad fallendum*. "To conceal their advance," like *λθεῖν* in Greek. *silentio* — *cuncta clamoribus miscebant*. *Miscere* is used with *silentio* by a kind of zeugma. From *miscebant* we have to supply *utebantur* or *agebant*.

10. *ruunt per vias*, *i.e.* "through the streets of the camp."

13. *praetoriam navem*. The admiral's ship, after the analogy of *praetoria cohors*, *praetoria porta*, etc.

18. *intermisso signo et vocibus*. *Signum* refers to the signal by trumpet by which the commencement of the different watches was notified; *vocibus*, the cries of the patrol who went the rounds, answered by corresponding cries from those on guard.

20. *flumine Luppia*. An ablative of direction, as we say "by the river Lippe." The Lippe is the tributary which falls into the Rhine just opposite Vetera.

23. 1. *Civilem cupido incessit*. *Incessit* is for the more usual *invasit*, which occurs in Ann. i. 61. *Incessit* is used with an accusative, H. ii. 2, "illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum;" Ann. i. 16, "Pannonicas le-

giones seditio incessit." M. has *invasi incessit*, giving probably the text and a gloss on it.

2. *complet quod biremium, quaeque* — *agebantur*. He means all his biremes and the ships which were worked by a single bank of oars. These latter were called in Greek *μωρίπες*, but there is no corresponding Latin word, hence Tacitus's paraphrase.

3. *tricenos quadragenosque* — *armamenta*. There is clearly an hiatus here in M., which has been variously filled. Ritter suggests *armatos portantium*, others *ferentium*, and this seems the simplest emendation. As some MSS. read *ferre*, Ruperti, followed by many other editors, reads *ferre et*, explaining *ferre* as an historical infinitive. Bach has "*ad tricenos quadragenosque sed*." He understands *ad* = "fitted to carry," but this is not satisfactory. The sense in any case is plain. *Armamenta* is either dependent on the lacking participle, or begins a fresh sentence; it means "rigging."

4. *et simul captae lintres*. These, if the reading is right, must be the *captivae naves* of the last chapter. Many editors suggest *aptae*, but this could hardly be used absolutely. Heraeus has *actae*, understanding it *actae remis*. *sagulis*

versicoloribus haud indecore pro velis iuvabantur. Spatium 5
 velut aequoris electum, quo Mosae fluminis os amnem Rhenum
 Oceano adfundit. Causa instruendae classis, super insitam
 genti vanitatem, ut eo terrore commeatus Gallia adventantes
 interciperentur. Cerialis miraculo magis quam metu direxit
 classem, numero inparem, usu remigum, gubernatorum arte, 10
 navium magnitudine potiozem. His flumen secundum; illi
 vento agebantur. Sic praevecti, tentato levium telorum iactu
 dirimuntur. Civilis nihil ultra ausus trans Rhenum concessit.
 Cerialis insulam Batavorum hostiliter populatus, agros villasque
 Civilis intactas nota arte ducum sinebat, cum interim flexu 15
 auctumni et crebris per aequinoctium imbris superfusus amnis
 palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit. Nec
 classis aut commeatus aderant, castraque in plano sita vi flu-
 minis differebantur.

24. Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones, et voluisse Germanos,
 sed dolo a se flexos inputavit Civilis. Neque abhorret vero,

versicoloribus, the striped plaids worn by the Gallic chiefs. Caecina had appeared in one (ii. 20), and had given great offence to right-thinking Romans by doing so. Vergil, Aen. viii. 660, says of the Gauls, "virgatis lucent sagulis." For this use of garments for sails, see Ann. ii. 24.

6. quo Mosae — adfundit. The Maas pours itself into the Vahalis near the western end of the Insula Batavorum, and both together enter the sea by the mouth of the Rhine known to the ancients as Helium. The Maas being the swifter stream, seems to carry the more sluggish Rhine along with it; hence the expression *adfundit*. Cf. Ann. ii. 6, "ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens — verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt — mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine eiusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur." It is the *immensum os Mosae*, *spatium velut aequoris*, which Civilis chose as the scene of his naval operations.

8. commeatus. Supplies would come down the Maas and Waal. Drusus had had a plan of connecting the Mediterranean with the North Sea by constructing a canal to join the Saône and Moselle, so that supplies could be brought up the Rhone and Saône into the Moselle and so into the Rhine and the North Sea; Ann. xiii. 53.

9. miraculo magis, i.e. from wonder

that Civilis should venture on the course he had taken, since the Romans were so superior.

11. ~~his~~ — illi. His, the Romans; illi, the Batavians.

12. praevecti. "Carried past one another," for *praetervecti*.

13. trans Rhenum, i.e. the northern branch of the Rhine, which separated the Insula from the German tribes. Cerialis seems to have crossed into the Insula by the bridge at Batavodurum, which was probably now completed, c. 20.

15. nota arte. This was the device of Archidamus against Pericles (Thuc. ii. 13); of Cn. Marcius against the Roman patricians (Liv. ii. 39), and of Hannibal against Fabius Maximus (Liv. xxii. 23).

15. flexu auctumni. "As the autumn had now reached its middle." Cicero, pro Cael. § 75, has "in hoc flexu quasi aetatis." crebris per aequinoctium imbris. This is Orelli's correction of the corrupt reading of M., *gtiū*. Ritter suggests *per id tempus*, holding that the equinox is too early in the year for the time indicated. Heraeus follows Orelli. Ruperti reads *per hiemem*.

19. differebantur. "Were cut off from one another." Others understand it: were "cut asunder," "broken in upon."

24. 1. Germanos, i.e. the Bructeri and Chauci who were with Civilis.

2. inputavit. "Civilis claimed as a

quando paucis post diebus deditio insecuta est. Nam Cerialis per occultos nuntios Batavis pacem, Civili veniam ostentans,
 5 Veledam propinquosque monebat fortunam belli, tot cladibus adversam, opportuno erga populum Romanum merito mutare. Caesos Treveros, receptos Ubios, ereptam Batavis patriam; neque aliud Civilis amicitia partum quam volnera fugas luctus. exsulem eum et extorrem recipientibus oneri; et satis peccavisse quod totiens Rhenum transcenderint. Si quid ultra
 10 moliantur, inde iniuriam et culpam, hinc ultionem et deos fore.

25. Miscebantur minis promissa. Et concussa Transrhena-
 norum fide inter Batavos quoque sermones orti. "Non pro-
 rogandam ultra ruinam, nec posse ab una natione totius orbis
 5 servitium depelli. Quid profectum caede et incendiis legionum nisi ut plures validioresque accirentur? Si Vespasiano bellum navaverint, Vespasianum rerum potiri; sin populum Romanum armis vocent, quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse? Respicerent Raetos Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum: sibi non tributa sed virtutem et viros indici. Proximum id

merit." The sense of the word is the same as in i. 38, "quis mihi plurimum inputet;" i. 71, "Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ultro inputavit."

5. *Veledam propinquosque.* It was through her relations that all questions were asked of Veleda and her answers given; see iv. 65. From Statius's verses, *Silv.* i. 4, 90, it appears that she was subsequently brought a captive to Rome, "non vacat Arctos acies Rhenumque rebellem captivaeque preces Veledae . . . pandere."

5. *monebat—mutare.* "Exhorts to give a fresh direction to." Even Cicero, though rarely, uses the infinitive with *monere*. Cf. *Ann.* iv. 67, "qui monerent perferere."

7. *caesos Treveros, receptos Ubios.* For the first, see above, iv. 70; and for the second, iv. 79. *Receptos* means "recovered, regained," as in *Liv.* ii. 39.

8. *neque aliud—partum quam volnera fugas luctus.* *Partum* is Ritter's correction of *paratum* in M.; *fugas* means "exiles," "banishments;" the plural is used in this sense again in *Ann.* xiv. 64, "quotiens caedes et fugas iussit princeps."

10. *Rhenum transcenderint.* The same word is used of crossing a river, *Ann.* iv. 44, "post exercitu flumen

Albim transcendit." The use is rare, and post-classical.

11. *inde.* "On their side," i.e. the Germans' side; *hinc*, the Roman side.

25. 2. *non prorogandam ultra ruinam.* "That their ruin must not be longer protracted or prolonged." This is the proper sense of *prorogare*, as in the phrase *prorogare imperium*. *Ruina* is not often, as here, used of a continuing process.

4. *caede et incendiis legionum.* For the burning of the camp at Vetera, see iv. 60.

5. *bellum navaverint.* "They had carried on vigorously the war" for Vespasian. The phrase is repeated from iv. 59; they had always half claimed to be carrying on the war against Vitellius and in Vespasian's interest.

7. *vocent.* "They challenge." The simple for the compound, as in *Ann.* vi. 34, "Pharasmaenes vocare ad pugnam."

9. *sed virtutem et viros indici.* "Their valour and their men are demanded of them." Tacitus is referring to what he has stated more at length in the *Germania* 29, that no tribute was required of the Batavi; they furnished instead soldiers to the Roman army. "Batavi exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum praeliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma bellis reservantur."

libertati; et si dominorum electio sit, honestius principes 10
 Romanorum quam Germanorum feminas tolerari." Haec
 volgus. Proceres atrociora: "Civilis rabie semet in arma
 trusus; illum domesticis malis excidium gentis obposuisse.
 Tunc infensos Batavis deos, cum obsiderentur legiones, inter-
 ficerentur legati, bellum uni necessarium, ferale ipsis sumeretur. 15
 Ventum ad extrema, ni resipiscere incipiant et noxii capitis
 poena paenitentiam fateantur."

26. Non fefellit Civilem ea inclinatio, et praevenire statuit,
 super taedium malorum etiam spe vitae, quae plerumque mag-
 nos animos infringit. Petito colloquio scinditur Nabaliae
 fluminis pons; in cuius abrupta progressi duces, et Civilis ita
 coepit: "si apud Vitellii legatum defenderer, neque facto meo 5
 venia neque dictis fides debebatur. Cuncta inter nos inimica,
 hostilia, ab illo coepta, a me aucta erant. Erga Vespasianum
 vetus mihi observantia; et cum privatus esset, amici vocabamur.
 Hoc Primo Antonio notum, cuius epistulis ad bellum

11. *Germanorum feminas.* They are referring to the supremacy enjoyed by Velede.

12. *proceres atrociora.* This, a correction of the previously received text, but now supported by the authority of M., gives a much better sense than the old reading *atrociore*, which had to be joined with *rabie*. *Atrociora* means "stronger terms."

13. *domesticis malis.* "His private wrongs." They refer to the death of his brother and his own imprisonment; see iv. 13.

15. *bellum — sumeretur.* This phrase, a copy, perhaps, of the Greek *πολεμὸν ἀρᾶσθαι*, is taken from Liv. viii. 4, 3; it often occurs in Tacitus.

16. *noxii capitis poena.* Ritter is right in regarding *poena* as an ablative after *fateantur*.

26. 1. *ea inclinatio.* "That change of attitude." So Ann. i. 28, "utendum inclinatione ea Caesar . . . ratus."

2. *quae plerumque magnos animos infringit.* This sentiment is a bit of Tacitus's stoicism. He held that men ought to be so indifferent to life that the possibility of death should have no influence on their resolves.

3. *scinditur Nabaliae fluminis pons.* What the river referred to under the name of Nabalia is must always be matter of doubt. It may be either one of the many mouths of the Rhine itself,

e.g. the Yssel, or some stream farther north, like the Vecht, which finds its way into the Zuider Zee or the Northern Ocean. In the Dutch rhyming chronicle about Civilis (said to be of the twelfth century, and written by Nicolas Colerius or Colinus) the stream is called Nau Wale. The practice of framing treaties across a broken bridge, so that either side, if negotiations failed, might retreat to his own forces, is mentioned elsewhere in German histories.

5. *defenderer* has here a middle sense, "Were I defending myself." *debebat* expresses the certainty of the result, "would certainly be owed."

7. *hostilia* has here almost exactly the modern sense of "hostilities;" it has already occurred, ii. 70, "antequam in vicem hostilia coeptarent."

8. *vetus mihi observantia.* Heracus suggests, with a good deal of probability, that he may have made the acquaintance of Vespasian while the latter was serving as *legatus* of the 2d legion in Britain, under Aulus Plautinus Silvanus, 43 A.D. (see iii. 44); for Civilis had been, when the revolt broke out, five-and-twenty years in the Roman service (see iv. 32). *privatus* means "while in a private station," in opposition to his present position as emperor.

9. *culus epistulae.* On this, see iv. 13 and 32.

- 10 actus sum, ne Germanicae legiones et Gallica iuventus Alpes transcenderent. Quae Antonius epistulis, Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monebat, arma in Germania movi, quae Mucianus in Syria, Aponius in Moesia, Flavianus in Pannonia." . . .

12. quae Mucianus in Syria. See for this, i. 79. Neither Aponius nor Flavianus took the initiative in revolt, but Civilis naturally assumes they did for rhetorical purposes; see iii. 5. Thierry further makes him appeal to Cerialis's own example, but this of course is mere conjecture. Nothing certain is known of Civilis's subsequent history, but Tacitus, writing his *Germany* somewhat later, seems to speak of the Batavians as restored to their former position in the Roman Empire.

The poem of Nicolas Colerius breaks

off at this same point, and the author of it adds a note that he does not know what afterwards became of Count Civilis. This makes it clear that the poem was taken from the *Histories*, and that the *Histories* were in their present mutilated condition whenever the poem was composed. By Cannegieter the poem is referred to the twelfth century; but against this view Ritter strenuously protests, holding that the poem cannot be placed earlier than the fifteenth century, and that it was probably based on some copy of the *Histories* which Colerius obtained in Rome.

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Legio I., Adjutrix (Classicoorum), raised by Nero from the fleet, i. 6; hostile to Galba on account of the slaughter of the Classarii, i. 31; swears fealty to Otho, i. 36; advances with Otho from the city, ii. 11; some of its soldiers surrender to Caecina, ii. 17. 22; was on its way to relieve Placentia, ii. 23; fights against legio xxi (Rapax) in the battle of Bedriacum, ii. 43; sent into Spain, ii. 67; letters are sent to it by Vespasian, ii. 86; takes the lead in declaring for Vespasian, iii. 44.

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Legio II., Adjutrix, recently raised, sent into Gaul with Cerialis, iv. 68; fights for the first time at Vetera, v. 16; attacked by Civilis at Batavodurum, v. 20.

Legio III., Augusta, stationed in Africa, ii. 97, iv. 49.

Legio III., Gallica, recently brought from Syria into Moesia, i. 79, ii. 74; it

takes the lead in proclaiming Vespasian, ii. 85; joins Antonius, iii. 10; fights in the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 21. 24; and in the siege of Cremona, iii. 29; it winters at Capua, iv. 3; is subsequently sent back into Syria, iv. 39.

Legio III, Cyrenalca, detachments join Titus in Judaea, v. 1.

Legio IV, Macedonica, belongs to the army of Upper Germany, i. 18. 55; quartered at Mogontiacum, i. 55; revolts from Galba, i. 56; occupies the Vitellian right at the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 22; follows Vocola after the murder of Hordeonius, iv. 37.

Legio V, Alauda, part of the army of Judaea taken over by Titus, v. 1.

Legio V, Macedonica, stationed in Lower Germany, i. 55; attacks the images of Galba, i. 55; is the backbone of Valens's army, i. 61; defeats the 13th at the first battle of Bedriacum, ii. 43; present with Vitellius at Ticinum, ii. 68; forms part of Caecina's army, ii. 100; refuses to desert Vitellius, iii. 14; fights in second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 22; besieged at Vetera, iv. 35.

Legio VI, Ferrata, belonged to Syria; follows Mucianus on his march from Syria, ii. 83; Mucianus opposes it to the Dacians, iii. 46.

Legio VI, Viotrix, stationed in Spain, i. 16, v. 16; declares for Vespasian, iii. 44; despatched from Spain to reinforce Cerialis, iv. 68. 76; fights at Vetera, v. 14. 16.

Legio VII, Claudia or Claudiana, stationed in Moesia, declares for Vespasian, ii. 85; commanded by Vipstanus Messalla joins Antonius, iii. 9; takes part in the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 21; and in the storm of Cremona, iii. 27.

Legio VII, Galbiana, quartered in Pannonia, sets out to join Otho, ii. 11; sent back to its winter quarters by Vitellius, ii. 67; hastens to join Vespasian, ii. 86; joins Antonius Primus at Pata-vium, iii. 7; mutinies against Tampus Flavianus, iii. 10; takes part in the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 21. 22. 25; and in the storm of Cremona, iii. 27. 29; is sent back to its winter quarters in Pannonia, iv. 39.

Legio VIII, Augusta, stationed in Moesia, ii. 85; joins Antonius in Italy, iii. 10; fights in the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 21; joins in the storming of Cremona, iii. 27; despatched into Gaul, iv. 68.

Legio IX, Hispana, stationed at this time in Britain, detachments from it pre-

sent at the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 22.

Legio X, Fretensis, part of the army of Judaea, v. 1.

Legio X, Gemina, quartered in Spain, ii. 58; declares for Vespasian, iii. 44; despatched into Gaul, iv. 68. 76; takes part in the final operations against Civilis, v. 19. 20.

Legio XI, Claudia, quartered in Dalmatia, ii. 11; sent back to its winter quarters, ii. 67; tardily joins Mucianus, iii. 50; probably sent into Gaul, iv. 68 (see 18 note).

Legio XII, Fulminata, stationed in Syria, joins Titus, v. 1.

Legio XIII, Gemina, a Pannonian legion, declares for Otho, ii. 11; a detachment takes part in the skirmish at Ad Castorum, ii. 24; takes part in the first battle of Bedriacum, ii. 43. 44; set to build amphitheatres, ii. 67; declares for Vespasian, iii. 86; its headquarters at Poetovio, iii. 1; joins Antonius at Pata-vium, iii. 7; present at the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 21; and the storming of Cremona, iii. 27. 32.

Legio XIV, Gemina Martia Viotrix, had just been moved to Dalmatia from Britain where it had served with great distinction, ii. 11; the Batavian cohorts had separated from it, i. 59. 64, ii. 27; it joins Otho, ii. 11; present in part at the first battle of Bedriacum, ii. 32. 43; false news spread of its arrival after the battle, ii. 54; the legion ordered to return to Britain, quarrels with its Batavian auxiliaries and then resumes its march through Gaul, ii. 66; written to by the Flavianist leaders, ii. 86; sent to Cerialis's assistance in Gaul, iv. 68; it advances by land through the Nervii and Tungri, iv. 79; present at the battle of Vetera, v. 14. 16, and the subsequent operations, v. 19.

Legio XV, Apollinaria, part of the army of Judaea, v. 1.

Legio XV, Primigenia, stationed in Lower Germany, takes the oath of allegiance to Vespasian unwillingly, i. 55; follows Caecina from Rome, ii. 100; present at the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 22. 23; besieged in Vetera, iv. 35; Vocola takes a part of it away, iv. 35. 36, which joins in the murder of Hordeonius, iv. 36.

Legio XVI, Gallica, stationed in Lower Germany, i. 55; follows Caecina from Rome, ii. 100; present at the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 22; joins Vocola at Novaesium, iv. 26; mutinies against Herennius Gallus, iv. 27; takes the oath

of allegiance to the *imperium Galliarum*, iv. 57; ordered by the Gauls to go to Trèves, iv. 62; returns to the Roman allegiance and is sent into the country of the Mediomatrici, iv. 70; joins the army of Cerialis at Trèves, iv. 72; takes part in the battle, iv. 77-78.

Legions XVII, XVIII, XIX, were destroyed with Varus and not renewed.

Legio XX, Valeria Victrix, stationed in Britain (at Chester), i. 60; Roscius Caelius its legate, i. 60; sends a contingent to the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 22.

Legio XXI, Rapax, the backbone of the force which Caecina led into Italy, i. 61; fought in first battle of Bedriacum against Prima Adjutrix, ii. 43; forms part of Caecina's force when he quitted Rome, ii. 100; is despatched by Caecina to occupy Cremona, iii. 14; takes part in the second battle of Bedriacum, iii. 18, 22, 25; serves under Cerialis in Gaul, iv. 68, 70; takes part in the battle of Trèves, iv. 78.

Legio XXI, Delotariana, a detachment brought from Alexandria to serve under Titus, v. 1.

Legio XXII, Primigenia, part of the army of Upper Germany stationed at Mogontiacum, breaks Galba's images, i. 18, 55, 56; swears allegiance to the Senate and people of Rome, i. 55; follows Caecina from Rome, ii. 100; present at the second battle of Bedriacum on the left of the Vitellians, iii. 22; Vocula its legate, iv. 24; follows Vocula after Hordeonius's death, iv. 37; swears allegiance to the empire of the Gauls, iv. 59.

Lentulus Gaetulicus, Int. p. 65.

Leptitani, the people of Leptis in N. Africa, iv. 50.

Leuocorum Civitas, the district round Toul in N.E. France, i. 64.

Libanus Mons, the Lebanon, v. 6.

Libelli, petitions, more than 120 found of those who asked for reward for service done on the day of Galba's death, i. 44.

Liber Pater, not worshipped by the Jews, v. 5.

Libertatis atrium, its site not clearly determined, i. 31.

Liberti Caesaris, influence of Icelus, Galba's freedman, i. 13; his punishment, i. 46; *liberti* promoted to equestrian rank, i. 13, ii. 57; Patrobius, Nero's freedman, put to death by Galba, i. 49; in bad times *liberti* make themselves a part of the Commonwealth, i. 76; a freedman of Otho reports his death, ii. 53; a freedman of Nero spreads false news of Otho's survival, ii. 54; freedmen are counted

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Licinius Caecina, attacks Epirus Marcellus, ii. 53.

Licinius Proculus, made praefectus of the praetorians by Otho, i. 46, 82, 87; his faults, i. 87; urges immediate battle at Bedriacum, ii. 33; his want of skill, ii. 39; his influence with the army, ii. 39; his flight after the battle, ii. 44; claims merit for his treachery, ii. 60.

Ligures, in the Alpes Maritimae, ii. 14, 15.

Lingones, a people of N. E. Gaul, had taken no part in the rising of Vindex, i. 8, 5 note; hostile to Galba, i. 53, 54, iv. 69; join the cause of Vitellius, i. 57, 59, 64; are granted the citizenship, i. 78; join Civilis, but are routed by the Sequani, iv. 67; take part in the battle of Trèves, iv. 77.

Litterae on public matters addressed to the Senate only by the emperor, ii. 55, iv. 4.

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Londinium (London), a Roman colony in Britain, Int. p. 38.

Lucania, a district in S. Italy, ii. 83.

Lucretius Albinus, procurator of Mauretania, Int. p. 29, ii. 58, 59.

Lucilius Bassus, admiral of the fleet at Ravenna, enters into negotiations with Caecina, ii. 100; betrays the fleet to the Flavians, Int. p. 84, iii. 12, 36, 40; is sent to quiet Campania, iv. 3.

Lucus Asylli, iii. 71.

Lucus Augusti (Luc), a town of the Vocontii in Dauphiné, i. 66.

Ludi Cerialis, ii. 55; **Juvenalium**, iii. 62, 9 note.

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- Lysimachus**, a Greek historian, Int. p. 22.
- Maccabees**, v. 8, notes 7, 11, 12.
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- Magnesia**, the name of two cities in Asia, Int. p. 50.
- Magnus**, brother of Piso Licinianus, i. 48.
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- Marcellus**, chosen as his successor by Augustus, i. 15.
- Marcellus Eprius**, see Eprius.
- Marcodurum** (Düren), a village of the Ubii, iv. 28.
- Mariocus**, a Boian, heads a revolt, ii. 61.
- Marius Celsus**, consul designate, i. 14; sent to the Illyrian army, i. 31; returns to Galba, i. 39; saved by Otho from anger of the soldiers, i. 45. 71; claims merit for his fidelity, i. 71; is chosen general by Otho, i. 71. 85; Otho uses his counsels in war, i. 90; Celsus conducts operations successfully near Bedriacum, Int. pp. 79-81, ii. 24; counsels delay, ii. 33; viewed with suspicion by the soldiers, ii. 23. 39. 44; Vitellius leaves him the consulship, ii. 60.
- Marius, C.**, converted liberty into a tyranny, ii. 38.
- Marius Maturus**, procurator of the Maritime Alps, ii. 12; faithful to Vitellius, iii. 42; takes the oath to Vespasian, iii. 43.
- Mars**, god of the Germans, iv. 64.
- Marsac**, occupy the district near the mouths of the Rhine, iv. 56.
- Marsi**, a tribe of Central Italy, iii. 59.
- Martialis Cornelius**, sent by Sabinus to Vitellius, iii. 70. 71; is slain fighting in the Capitol, iii. 73.
- Martialis Julius**, tribune of the praetorians, i. 28; wounded, i. 82.
- Martis Campus**, funeral feast to the shades of Nero celebrated there, ii. 95; battle there between Flavians and Vitellians, iii. 82.
- Martius Macer**, commands the gladiators, ii. 23; the defeated gladiators demand his death, ii. 35. 36; he is superseded, ii. 36; his claim to the consulship ignored, ii. 71.
- Mathematici**, i. 22, 5 note; they are banished from Italy, ii. 62; Vespasian keeps one, ii. 78.
- Mattiaci**, a people of Germany, besiege Mogontiacum, iv. 37, 10 note.
- Mauretaniae**, Int. pp. 28, 29, i. 11, ii. 58.
- Mauri**, i. 78, ii. 58, iv. 50.
- Medi**, rule over the East, v. 8.
- Mediolanum** (Milan in N. Italy), surrendered to Caecina by the ala Siliana, i. 70, Int. p. 76.
- Mediomatrici**, a Gallic tribe in the neighbourhood of Metz, alarmed by the approach of Valens's army, i. 63; the surrendered legions retire to them, iv. 70. 71.
- Memphis**, the capital of ancient Egypt, iv. 84.
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- Mephitis** or **Mestis**, temple of, near Cremona, iii. 33.
- Messalla Vipstanus**, see Vipstanus.
- Mevania** (Bevagna), a town of Umbria, occupied by Vitellius and abandoned, iii. 55. 59.
- Miliarium aureum**, the central milestone of Italy under the Capitol, i. 27.
- Minerva**, has a shrine in the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus, iv. 53.
- Minturnae**, a town on the border of Campania and Latium, iii. 57.
- Minucius Justus**, *praefectus castrorum* of the 7th legion, iii. 7.
- Miracles**, wrought by Vespasian at Alexandria, iv. 81.
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